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# NATIONAL BIOGRAPHY

HENRY II——HINDLEY

# DICTIONARY

OF

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HENRY II (1133–1189), king of England, was the eldest child of Matilda, daughter of Henry I, and Geoffrey Plantagenet, count of Anjou. Geoffrey represented a family which in two centuries had grown from the defenders of the Angevin march against Bretons and northmen into the lords of three important counties, Anjou, Touraine, and Maine, and from dependence on the ducal house of France into rivalry with the ducal house of Normandy, and thus at last with the royal house of England; and it was for the purpose of extinguishing this rivalry, and providing England and Normandy, after Henry I's death, with a sovereign in whom the blood of the hitherto hostile races should be united, that Matilda (whose first husband, the Emperor Henry V, had left her a childless widow) was married to the Angevin count in 1128. Geoffrey was then scarce fifteen—ten years younger than his wife—and it was not till 1133 that their first child was born, at Le Mans on Mid-Lent Sunday, 5 March ('Acta Pontif. Cenomann.' c. 36, in MABILLON, *Vet. Analecta*, p. 322). From his very birth, says a writer of the time, 'many peoples looked to him as their future master;' and the most important part of his destiny was indicated in the name by which he was baptised, and the surname by which he was commonly described, 'Henry FitzEmpress.' He was before all things King Henry's grandson and chosen successor, destined by Henry to continue his work of building up a strong government in England. The English witan were at once made to swear him fealty as his grandfather's heir; and the first two years of his life were chiefly spent with his mother at her father's court in Normandy. The king's death (December 1135), however, set the Norman and English barons free to repudiate an engagement made under compulsion to a child not yet three years old, the child too of a woman whom they scarcely knew, and of a man whom they hated with all the accumulated force of the hate that parted Anjou from Normandy; and Matilda found her son's heritage, on both sides of the sea, wrested from her by her cousin Stephen. Through the ten years of war that followed, the boy's education went on where and how it could. His earliest tutor was one Master Peter of Saintes, 'learned above all his contemporaries in the science of verse,' who took charge of him by his father's desire (*Anon. Chron.*, *Rer. Gall. Scriptt.* xii. 120), probably after his mother went to England in 1139. In 1142 his uncle Earl Robert of Gloucester brought him over to join her, and for the next four years he was 'imbued with letters and instructed in good manners beseeming a youth of his rank' by a certain Matthew in Robert's house at Bristol. In 1147 he rejoined his father, who had now conquered Normandy. Shortly after Matilda's return next year both she and Geoffrey seem to have made over to their son the claims which they had been holding in trust for him on both sides of the sea (*Chron. S. Albin.* a. 1149; *Hist. Pontif.*, in PERTZ, *Mon. Germ. Hist.* xx. 532, 533). In 1149 he ventured upon an expedition to England, and was knighted at Carlisle on Whitsunday by his great-uncle, David king of Scots; in the summer of 1151 he received from King Louis of France the investiture both of Normandy, and of his father's hereditary dominions; and in September Geoffrey's death left him sole master of them all. To these territories

stretching from the Somme to the Loire and covering the whole western side of the royal domain of France, Henry in May 1152 added the great duchy of Aquitaine by his marriage with its duchess Eleanor, the divorced wife of the French king. The young duke found himself strong enough to disregard a citation before the royal court ('Gesta Ludov. Reg.,' in DUCHESNE, *Hist. Franc. Scriptt.* iv. 411; 'Hist. Ludov. Reg.,' *ib.* p. 414), to repel an attack made by Louis upon Normandy, to crush a rebellion of his own brother Geoffrey in Anjou, and to risk another visit to England at Epiphany 1153. Nine months of fighting and negotiation ended in the treaty of Wallingford (November), whereby Stephen and Henry adopted each other as father and son, Henry leaving the crown to Stephen for his life, on a promise of its reversion at his death, and Stephen undertaking to govern meanwhile according to Henry's advice; as Roger of Howden expresses it, 'the king made the duke justiciar of England under him, and by him all the affairs of the kingdom were settled.' The discovery of a plot among the king's Flemish troops to assassinate Henry drove him back to France early in 1154. On 24 Oct. Stephen died. Contrary winds detained Henry in Normandy till 7 Dec.; but the 'mickle awe' with which he was already regarded in England sufficed to keep the land in peace during the interregnum; and on Sunday, 19 Dec., he was crowned at Westminster.

There was little of regal dignity in the young king's look and ways, in his square-built, thick-set frame, his sturdy limbs, his bullet-shaped head with its mass of close-cropped tawny hair, his 'lion-like' face with its freckled skin, and its prominent eyes that, for all their soft grey colour, could glow like balls of fire when the demon-spirit of Anjou was roused; in his absorbing passion for the chase; in the disregard of conventionalities shown by his coarse gloveless hands, his careless dress, his rough-and-ready speech; in the restlessness which kept him on his feet from morning till night, scorning every seat but the saddle, grudging every minute withdrawn from active occupation, beguiling with scribbling or with whispered talk the enforced tranquillity even of the hour of mass, dragging his weary courtiers about the country in ceaseless journeys, often to the most unlikely and inconvenient places, with equal indifference to their comfort and to his own; or in the outbreaks of a temper which mounted to sheer momentary madness, when he would utter the most unaccountable blasphemies, or gnaw the rushes from the floor and lie rolling among them like one possessed. Yet already England had discerned in this uncouth lad of twenty-one the quiet strength of a born ruler of men. 'All folk loved him,' says the English chronicler, summing up the impression left by the five months which had elapsed between Henry's treaty with Stephen and his return to Normandy, 'for he did good justice and made peace.' And 'justice' and 'peace,' in the sense which those words conveyed to the men of his day, were to be the main characteristics of his reign in England.

Henry's first kingly act was the issuing of a charter declaring, as the basis of his scheme of government, the restitution and confirmation of all liberties in church and state as settled by his grandfather. He next put in force certain hitherto unfulfilled provisions of the treaty of 1153, for the expulsion of Stephen's Flemish mercenaries, the demolition of castles built by individual barons without royal license and held by them independently of royal control, and the restoration of royal fortresses and other crown property which had passed into private hands during the anarchy. William of Aumale in Yorkshire, Hugh of Mortimer and Roger of Hereford in the west, openly resisted this last decree; but in January 1155 Henry's mere approach brought William to restore Scarborough; Roger submitted in April; and a siege of Hugh's castle of Bridgnorth by the king in person ended in its surrender, 7 July. By the close of the year order was fairly re-established throughout the realm. The old machinery of justice, of finance, of general administration, was at work again; judges went on circuit through the country; capable ministers were set over the various departments of state business; even the succession to the crown had been thought of and carefully provided for in a council at Wallingford, 10 April 1155. The part of Henry's life-work bequeathed to him by his English grandfather was so well in train that he could safely turn his attention to that other, and probably in his eyes more important work, which he had inherited from his paternal ancestors: the building up of an empire which, as had been foretold to one of them, was to spread from the rock of Angers to the ends of the earth. It spread now from the Flemish border to the Pyrenees, commanding the whole western coast of France, and covering more than half the soil whose nominal lord paramount was King Louis VII of France. But it was made up of five distinct fiefs, with claims of suzerainty over some half-dozen others; all held on different tenures, all jealous of one another, and most of them in a state of chronic disaffection, which Louis, jealous as he naturally was of his formidable

vassal and rival, might easily turn to his own advantage; Henry's brother Geoffrey, too, claimed the Angevin patrimony, which his father's will had destined for him on Henry's accession to the English throne. Early in 1156, therefore, Henry returned to France; he renewed his homage to Louis, fought Geoffrey into accepting a money-compensation for his claims, and secured his hold over Aquitaine; then he came back (1157) to enforce the surrender of a few royal castles still held by the Earls of Warren and Norfolk; to demand and win from his cousin Malcolm of Scotland the homage due from a Scottish to an English king, and the restoration of the three English counties—Northumberland, Cumberland, and Westmoreland—granted to Malcolm's father by Stephen; and to claim at the sword's point the homage of the princes of Wales. Another visit to Normandy in 1158 resulted in Henry's acquisition of the county of Nantes on the death of its ruler, his brother Geoffrey, and a successful assertion of his right to the overlordship of Brittany, with the sanction of the French king, whose daughter Margaret was now betrothed to Henry's eldest son. Next year Henry ventured to assert his wife's claim to the overlordship of Toulouse, and when the claim was denied prepared to enforce it with an army consisting of the great barons of his realm with the Scottish king at their head, and a crowd of mercenaries hired with the proceeds of a 'great scutage,' a tax levied upon every knight's fee throughout his dominions instead of the personal service due from the knights. The Quercy was conquered and the war carried to the gates of Toulouse, but when Louis threw himself into the city Henry withdrew, out of reverence for the feudal etiquette which forbade a vassal to fight against his overlord in person. In May 1160 a truce was made; in November Henry secured his Norman frontier by marrying his son to Margaret, and thus gaining possession of her dowry, the Vexin; a triple alliance between France, Blois, and Champagne failed to wrest from him the advantage which he had won; and he was seen as virtual arbiter of western Europe in 1162, when his adhesion to Pope Alexander III in his struggle with the emperor turned the scale in Alexander's favour, and compelled Louis, with whom the pope had taken refuge, to make a formal alliance with the English king in Alexander's presence at Chouzy.

In the intervals of his continental warfare Henry had been feeling his way towards a scheme of administrative reform in England. He had come to his throne just when the social, industrial, intellectual, and religious movements which had been stirring throughout Europe since the beginning of the century were all at their most critical stage. All of them, save the last, seemed to have been checked in England by the troubles of the anarchy, but no sooner was outward order restored than the forces which hitherto had been working in the dark confronted Henry in the light of day. He saw that the mere re-establishment of the old administrative routine of his grandfather's time could no longer suffice for a country where the very confusion of the past nineteen years, the loosening of accustomed restraints, the abeyance of accustomed authority, had fostered a new spirit of self-assertion and independent activity in burgher and yeoman and clerk, as well as in earl and baron and knight. The breakdown of the higher judicature, and the consequently unchecked corruption of the lower courts, had given an enormous advantage to the revived canon law, of which the clergy were the representatives and interpreters. The new relations, too, with the continent into which men were brought by the accession of their Angevin king were opening wider fields for commercial enterprise, which in its turn stimulated the growth of industrial activity at home, and the intercourse with foreign churchmen and foreign scholars was quickened, whence the English clergy, and through them the English people, were learning to scrutinise more closely and criticise more sharply the relations of king and people, church and state. Henry saw the opportunity which such a transitional state of society afforded for the building up of a system of financial, judicial, and military organisation in direct dependence upon the king, wherein men should find their surest safeguard amid the dangers that beset them on every side in the rapidly changing conditions of the national life. Only a few incidental notices enable us to mark some of his early steps in the path of administrative and legal reform. At the outset of his reign he had re-established in working order the old financial machinery of the exchequer and the judicial machinery of the curia regis. In 1158 he caused the debased coinage of his predecessor and that which had been illegally issued from private mints during the anarchy to be all alike superseded by a new and uniform currency. He facilitated the removal of suits from the local courts to the curia regis; he facilitated the administration of justice in the curia regis itself and in the provincial visitations of its judges, by introducing new methods of procedure; he gave a new development to the system of inquest by sworn recognitors, by applying it to an important branch of civil litigation in a

'great assize,' which sanctioned the settlement of disputes concerning land by the sworn verdict of twelve chosen knights of the district, instead of by ordeal of battle between the claimants as heretofore. He broke through the dependence of the crown upon its feudal tenants for the supply of a military force by a series of skilfully planned innovations, culminating in the scutage of 1159, which, while it conferred a benefit upon the tenants-in-chivalry by exempting them from service beyond sea, swept away their old exemption from money-taxation, and enabled the king henceforth to replace them whenever he chose by a paid force under his own immediate control.

But the scutage touched other privileges besides those of the tenants-in-chivalry; it was levied not only upon the knight's fees of the lay lords, but also, and more stringently, upon those held under the churches. It was thus Henry's first step towards the execution of a plan for breaking down the barriers which, under the name of clerical immunities, kept a large part of the population free of all legal restraint save that of the canon law, and altogether beyond the reach of his kingly authority and justice. The chief agent of Henry's reforms hitherto had been his chancellor, Thomas Becket, and it was to secure for his plans the co-operation of Thomas on a wider scale, and in a capacity which would add enormously to its value and usefulness, that he set constitutional tradition, ecclesiastical propriety, and public opinion all alike at defiance by raising his brilliant, worldly chancellor to the primacy of all England (June 1162). Instead of co-operation, he met from his new archbishop an uncompromising opposition. His proposal of a change in the mode of levying the land-tax, which would have transferred its profits from the sheriffs to the exchequer, was defeated by Thomas's resistance (July 1163); his attempts to bring criminal clerks to justice broke against the shield of the canon law with which Thomas sheltered the delinquents; his demand, made in a great council at Westminster (October 1163), for a public acknowledgment of what he called the 'customs of his grandfather,' in other words, of his royal supremacy over all persons and all causes throughout his realm, was answered by the bishops, under their primate's guidance, with a declaration that they would only agree to the customs 'saving the rights of their order;' and a vague verbal promise of assent which he at last wrung from them was revoked as soon as the customs were set forth in the form of written constitutions at the council of Clarendon (January 1164). Henry saw that in making Thomas archbishop he had but laid a stumbling-block across his own path, and he thrust it roughly aside. In October 1164 he summoned Thomas before a council at Northampton to answer a string of charges concerning his conduct as chancellor and as archbishop. From the outset it was plain that the primate's condemnation was a foregone conclusion. Insults of every kind were heaped upon him; every offer of compromise was scornfully rejected or made vain by the introduction of some new and unexpected charge; the bishops were compelled to join with the lay barons in sitting in judgment on their primate, till a prohibition from Thomas himself, enforced by an appeal to Rome, scared them into a protest to which Henry found it necessary to yield; the lay lords, with 'certain sheriffs and lesser barons ancient in days' whom the king had summoned to join them, were ready to depose the archbishop as a traitor, but he checked the delivery of their sentence by another appeal to the pope, fought his way out of the council, and finally escaped over sea.

Thomas's flight left Henry master of the field, and the constitutions of Clarendon were put in force at once. By these constitutions disputes about presentations and advowsons were transferred from the ecclesiastical to the royal courts; appeals to Rome without leave from the king, and ordination of villeins without leave from their lords, were forbidden; the right of sanctuary was annulled as regards chattels forfeited to the crown; clerks were made amenable to lay tribunals; the provisions of the 'great assize' were applied to disputes about church lands; and an appeal to the witness of twelve local jurors summoned by the sheriff was introduced to protect laymen from injustice in the bishops' courts. With these provisions those 'customs' of the Norman kings which forbade bishops and beneficed clerks to quit the realm or excommunicate the king's tenants-in-chief without his license, and regulated the election and the temporal liabilities of bishops, were now for the first time coupled together in a written code, which Henry probably meant as the first instalment of a much wider code, whereby he hoped to remodel the entire legal and administrative system of the country. Two years later, in fact, he boldly undertook to deal single-handed, on his own sole responsibility, with the whole question of the administration of justice in all criminal cases whatsoever. In his assize of Clarendon (February 1166) he applied the principle of jury-inquest to criminal cases by ordaining that in every shire criminals should be arrested and brought

before the sheriffs and the itinerant justices, to be by them dealt with according to rules laid down in the same assize, on the presentment of twelve freemen of every hundred, and four of every township, bound by oath in full shire-court, to denounce all known malefactors in their districts; and he summarily set aside all claims to exemption, either from service on the juries or from liability to the interference of sheriffs and justices, founded on private jurisdictions or special franchises of any kind. In four ways especially Henry's assize is a landmark in English history. It was the first attempt made by an English king to put forth a code of laws, as distinct from a mere reassertion of traditional 'custom.' It was the first attempt to break down the feudal system of government by bringing its countless independent jurisdictions and irresponsible tribunals into subjection to one uniform judicial administration. It re-established once for all, so far as England was concerned, the old Teutonic principle of the right and the duty of a people to govern itself, in its own courts and by its own customary procedure, as against the Roman law which was fast taking its place in continental Europe; and it opened an almost boundless field for the training of the English people in self-government, by bringing home to every man his share in the administration of justice and police. About the same time Henry seems to have issued the assize of novel disseisin, which enabled any man disseised of his freehold without legal sentence to claim within a given period reinstatement by a writ from the king. The act whereby Henry thus 'cast his protection over possession made the disturbance of seisin a cause of complaint to the king himself,' though apparently little noticed at the time, was in fact 'perhaps the greatest event in the history of English law' (MAITLAND, Introd. to *Select Pleas in Manorial Courts*, Selden Soc., i. liv).

At the moment when Henry thus opened a new era in the history of English government, he was in the hottest of his fight with the church. In vain had he sought to prevent the pope and the French king from espousing the cause of Thomas; still more vainly had he driven into exile every man, woman, and child who could be charged with any sort of connection with the primate; Pope Alexander, ill as he could afford it at the moment, risked a breach with England by receiving Thomas honourably. Louis offered a shelter in France to him and his fellow-sufferers, and Henry found himself held up to the general scorn and indignation of orthodox Christendom. He turned to the eagerly-offered alliance of the emperor and the antipope, promised his daughter's hand to the emperor's cousin, Henry the Lion, duke of Saxony, and threatened to withdraw from Alexander the spiritual obedience of the whole Angevin dominions. A Welsh war furnished him with a means of evading the consequences of these pledges, and of gaining a breathing space, which was turned to good account for England by the issuing of the assize of Clarendon. In Lent 1166 he recrossed the Channel to take up again the threads, complicated as they were by his embroilment with the church, of his continental policy; to reopen diplomatic relations with all parties at once: with the Marquis of Montferrat, whose influence at Rome was secured for the royal cause by the offer of a daughter of England as wife for his son; with the duke and the nobles of Brittany, whose heiress Henry was bent upon wedding to his third son, Geoffrey; with Louis of France, whose assent was needed for this arrangement, and also for the recognition of little Henry as heir of Normandy and Anjou, and for that of the second son, Richard, as heir of Aquitaine; with the emperor on one hand and with his Lombard foes on the other; with the kings of Castile and Sicily, who proposed to become Henry's sons-in-law; with the discontented barons of Aquitaine, who were profiting by the troubles of their Angevin duke to break loose from his hated control; as well as with Thomas and Alexander, who were perpetually threatening to lay the English kingdom under interdict and excommunicate the king himself. In four years the work seemed all but done; Henry had secured the alliance of Germany and of Castile by the marriages of his two elder daughters, Matilda and Eleanor (1168–9); he had betrothed his youngest daughter, Joanna, to King William of Sicily (1169); he had broken the opposition of the Bretons in three successive campaigns (1166–9), and gained the French king's formal sanction to his plans for his three sons in the treaty of Montmirail (January 1169). In an unlucky hour he resolved to complete the new settlement of his dominions by the coronation of his eldest son, a scheme which he had planned seven years before, but which had been set aside owing to his quarrel with Thomas, who as metropolitan of all England was alone qualified to crown an English king. Now, seeing no hope of agreement with Thomas, Henry was rash enough to fall back upon a license for the boy's coronation by Archbishop Roger of York, granted by the pope three years ago, but since withdrawn; and at his command Roger, though forbidden by both Thomas and Alexander under pain of

suspension, crowned the young king at Westminster, 14 June 1170.

This action was the greatest blunder of Henry's life. The crowning of the heir during his father's lifetime was an innovation wholly at variance with all English constitutional theory and practice, and the moment was singularly ill-chosen for such an unprecedented step. For fifteen years Henry had been developing a scheme of government whereby all separate jurisdictions, all local and personal privileges, were to be brought into direct subjection to the authority of the crown. For six years he had been literally, throughout his English realm at least, over all persons and all causes supreme, and there had been no outward obstacles to hinder the working of his administrative system. It worked, indeed, regularly and in the main successfully, but not without a great deal of very severe friction; and the adherents of Thomas were far from being the only section of the community who saw in Henry's reforms nothing but engines of regal tyranny and extortion. The first visitation of the judges after the assize of Clarendon carried terror and desolation into every shire, while it brought to the treasury an enormous increase of wealth from the fines of justice and the goods and chattels of the criminals condemned under the assize. Scarcely was it concluded when a visitation of the forests was held in 1167, and this again was followed next year by the levy of an aid for the marriage of the king's eldest daughter. The people writhed helplessly under these manifold burdens; the barons watched in sullen silence for an opportunity to break the yoke which Henry was rivetting more tightly upon them year by year. Henry's own sense of an impending crisis in England, on his return thither in March 1170, was shown in the sweeping measure by which he sought to anticipate it. He suspended from their functions all the sheriffs of the counties and all the bailiffs of his own demesnes, and appointed a body of special commissioners to institute during the next two months an inquiry into every detail of the administration, judicial, financial, political, of every royal officer throughout the country and of every local tribunal, no matter to whom appertaining, during the last four years. When the two months expired, out of twenty-seven sheriffs only seven were reinstated in their office; to the places thus left vacant Henry appointed officers of the exchequer whom he knew and trusted. Three days later the feudal nobles, whose claims of hereditary jurisdiction and independence he had thus afresh trampled underfoot, were called upon to do homage and fealty to a new king, chosen by Henry himself to share with him in the sacred dignity which till now had been exclusively his own. The oath was taken readily enough; its possible results were perhaps better foreseen by some of those who took it than by him who demanded it. Meanwhile the wrath of primate and pope at the insult to Canterbury, and the wrath of the French king at the insult to his daughter, who had not been allowed to share in her husband's coronation, rose to such a pitch that in July Henry was driven to a formal reconciliation with both Louis and Thomas. But there was no real peace with either. The king was keeping Christmas at Bures, near Bayeux, when the Archbishop of York and the bishops of London and Salisbury came to tell him that Thomas on his return to England had refused to absolve them from the papal sentence under which they lay for their share in the coronation, and was setting his royal will at defiance. 'What a parcel of fools and dastards have I nourished in my house,' he burst out, 'that not one of them will avenge me of this one upstart clerk!' Four knights took him at his word, and on 29 Dec. 1170 he was 'avenged,' far otherwise than he desired, by the martyrdom of St. Thomas of Canterbury.

For the moment all seemed lost. Alexander threatened to interdict the whole Angevin dominions and excommunicate the king unless he would do penance for the murder and submit unconditionally to the demands of the church, and at once despatched two legates to execute the threat. But the hour of extreme danger was always the hour which Henry turned to account for some specially daring piece of work; and it was at this most perilous crisis of his life that he added a new realm to his dominions. As early as 1155 he had planned the conquest of Ireland, and it was afterwards said that he had obtained from Pope Adrian IV a bull to sanction the enterprise; this bull, however, has never been found among the papal archives, and its genuineness is disputed (cf. *Analecta Juris Pontifici*, Mai–Juin 1882, Paris; F. A. Gasquet in *Dublin Review*, 3rd ser. x. 83). The scheme, opposed by his mother, was left in abeyance till at the close of 1166 Diarmait Mac Murchadha, king of Leinster, having been driven from his throne, besought Henry's aid in regaining it, and offered him his homage in return. Henry accepted the homage, and proclaimed that any of his subjects who chose might enlist in the service of the Irish king. A band of knights from the South Welsh border availed themselves of the permission; by the end of 1170 they were masters of the Irish

coast from Waterford to Dublin; their leader, Richard de Clare (*d.* 1176) [q.v.], was married to Diarmait's daughter; on Diarmait's death (May 1171) he set himself up as Earl of Leinster, and was in a fair way to become the head of an independent feudal state whose growth might soon have threatened England with a new peril, if Henry had not summarily taken the matter into his own hands. The papal legates were on the point of entering Normandy when he announced to his barons that he was going to Ireland. Early in August he landed at Portsmouth; a month later he received the submission of Earl Richard, whom he had summoned to a meeting on the Welsh border; by the end of September he was at Pembroke, and a fleet of four hundred ships was gathering in Milford Haven; and on 17 Oct. he landed at Waterford with some four thousand men. He had left strict orders both in Normandy and in England that the ports should be closed to all clerks, and that no man should follow him unless specially summoned; but more effectual than these precautions was the stormy wind of the western sea, which for nearly six months severed all communication between Ireland and the rest of the world. Those six months were fateful alike for Ireland and for England; in them was laid the foundation of Ireland's subjection to the English crown. The hostile parties, whether of natives or invaders, all alike saw their only hope in submission to the new comer, and all alike laid themselves at his feet. Before Christmas 1171—which he kept at Dublin, in a palace built of wattles after the Irish fashion—Waterford, Wexford, Limerick, and Cork were in his hands, and all the Irish princes, except the king of Connaught, had given him hostages and promised tribute. The bishops and clergy made their formal submission to him at Cashel. With the promise of their spiritual obedience their conqueror might hope to strike a bargain with Rome; and the tidings which at last (March 1172) reached him from England made him feel that the bargain must be struck without delay. What little he could do for Ireland at the moment he did before he left her. He compelled Earl Richard and his fellow-adventurers to resign their conquests to him, and parcelled them out afresh as fiefs to be held in obedience to himself as sovereign; he appointed Hugh de Lacy to act as his representative and vicegerent; he fortified and garrisoned the coast towns; and he started Dublin, ruined as it was by three sieges in two years, on a new career of prosperity by granting it to the burghers of Bristol to colonise and raise into a trading centre as free and flourishing as their own native city. He sailed from Wexford on Easter night; by the middle of May he was in Normandy; on Sunday 21 May he met the legates at Avranches, purged himself of complicity in the primate's death, promised expiation, and abjured his 'customs;' four months later he repeated his submission, and was publicly absolved.

It was no light matter that had moved the king thus to break off the work which he had but just begun in Ireland and to surrender the constitutions which he had so stubbornly maintained for eight years in the teeth of primate and pope; it was the discovery that in leaving his eldest son as king in his stead he had placed within reach of his foes a weapon which they were quick to use against him, and which was only too ready to lend itself to their use. Father and son no sooner met again than the young king asserted his claim to be acknowledged as actual ruler of England, or, if not of England, then of Normandy and the Angevin lands. Henry, busy now with a scheme for the marriage of his youngest son John to the heiress of Maurienne, which would have given him command over all the passes of the Alps, not only refused the claim but proposed to settle upon John three of the most important castles in Anjou and Touraine. The young king hereupon fled to the court of France, and on his appearance there a vast conspiracy came to light. The French king, the counts of Blois, Flanders, and Boulogne, the king of Scots, a crowd of barons in England, Normandy, Aquitaine, and the Angevin lands, his brothers Richard and Geoffrey, his mother Queen Eleanor, ranged themselves at once upon his side; and Henry had scarcely time to fortify the Norman frontier, recall some of his troops from Ireland, and gather a force of Brabantine mercenaries at the cost of every penny he possessed, before a general war broke out (June 1173). Normandy, attacked on two sides at once, was saved by the death of the Count of Boulogne and by a rapid march of Henry which drove Louis from Verneuil; and another equally rapid march upon Dol crushed the revolt in Brittany. In a flying visit to England (Eyton, *Itin. Hen. II*, p. 173) Henry, it seems, had already concerted measures for its security with the justiciar, Richard de Lucy; here the actual outbreak had been delayed by the absence of the chief rebel, Earl Robert of Leicester; and Leicester no sooner landed in Suffolk than he was defeated and made prisoner by the royal forces (17 Oct.) Next spring, while Henry was crushing out rebellion in Anjou and Aquitaine, a Scottish

invasion stirred up a rising in the north; scarcely were the northern rebels defeated by the king's illegitimate son Geoffrey, bishop-elect of Lincoln, when East Anglia was overrun by a host of Flemings brought in by the traitor Earl of Norfolk, Hugh Bigod; the London citizens broke into anarchy; the young king threatened invasion from Flanders; and the justiciars in despair called Henry to the rescue. He crossed the sea in a terrific storm on 7 July, and made straight for Canterbury. Fasting, barefoot, in pilgrim's weeds, he entered the cathedral church, and there publicly did penance for the martyr's death, submitting to be scourged by all the seventy monks of the chapter, spending the night in vigil before the shrine, and loading it with costly gifts ere he set out next morning for London. Four days later a courier burst at midnight into the king's bedchamber, and woke him with tidings that on the very day, almost at the very hour, of his departure from Canterbury the Scottish king had been made prisoner at Alnwick (13 July 1174). Henry marched at once upon the English rebels, and in three weeks they were all at his feet. Then he recrossed the sea, forced Louis to raise the siege of Rouen, and by Michaelmas was in a position to dictate terms all round. The terms which he imposed on his sons, on the French king, and on the rebel barons amounted to little more than a return to the *status quo ante bellum*, with a pledge of general amnesty and reconciliation. The king of Scots, however, regained his freedom only by doing liege homage to the English king for his crown and all his lands, and giving up five of his strongest fortresses in pledge for his fidelity; and there was one captive whom Henry would not release at all. At the opening of the rebellion he had caught his wife, disguised in man's attire, attempting to follow her sons to the French court; he had put her in prison at once, and there, with one brief interval, he kept her for the rest of his own life.

In England his triumph was complete and final. He took up again at once his work of administrative reform, and carried it on thenceforth without check and without break. In January 1176 he issued the assize of Northampton; this was in effect a re-enactment of the assize of Clarendon, with important modifications and amendments of detail, and with the addition of several entirely new clauses, one of which originated the proceeding known as the 'assize of mort d'ancester,' while others defined the pleas, criminal and civil, which were to be reserved for the hearing of the royal justices, and another directed that every man in the realm, from earl to 'rustic,' should take an oath of fealty to the king. In the same year he wrung from a papal legate a partial assent to the constitutions of Clarendon, which enabled him to bring clergy as well as laity within the scope of a great visitation of the forests, held in punishment for the damage done in the rebellion. Next year he ordered a return of all tenements held in chief of the crown, with the names of the existing tenants and the services due from each. An inquiry into the several liabilities of the king's tenants-in-chivalry had been instituted ten years before, apparently for the assessment of the *aide pour fille marier*, and on that occasion the returns had been made by each baron for himself; the inquest of 1177, however, was seemingly designed to be of wider scope and more searching character, and was entrusted to the sheriffs and bailiffs of the different counties. In 1178 Henry reorganised the curia regis by restricting its highest functions to a small inner tribunal of selected counsellors, which afterwards grew into the court of king's bench. From 1176 to 1180 he was busy with a series of experiments which ended in the virtual establishment of the system of judges' circuits familiar to us now. By his assize of arms, 1181, he imposed on every free man the duty of bearing arms for the defence of the country; and by enacting that each man's liability should be determined by the amount, not of his land, but of his annual revenue and movable goods, he introduced into English finance the principle of direct taxation on personal property.

The English king's supremacy over the neighbour states and his importance in Europe at large grew with the growth of his power at home. Three Welsh campaigns (1157, 1163, 1165), and a series of negotiations conducted by Henry in person on his way to and from Ireland, had broken the independence of the Welsh princes; in the revolt of 1173, Rhys of South Wales appeared as the king's ally, and at its close David of North Wales was bound to him by a marriage with his sister. The loyalty of the Scottish king was secured in 1175, and in the same year the homage of the king of Connaught completed Henry's overlordship of Ireland. Next year his youngest daughter Joanna (1165–1199) [q.v.] was married to the king of Sicily, and welcomed in her new country with honours which showed how great was the reverence felt by its Norman rulers for the distant sovereign whom they were proud to acknowledge as the head of their race. The kings of Castile and Navarre chose him as arbiter in a family quarrel between themselves in 1177; the king of Arragon and the Count of Toulouse had done the like as early as 1173, when the latter had

even submitted to do homage to Henry for his county. In France itself the factions that raged around the deathbed of Louis VII and the ill-secured throne of his young successor, Philip Augustus, were driven to accept, nay to solicit, the mediation of the English king (1180–2); and the crowning-point of his glory seemed to be reached in 1185, when, as head of the Angevin house, he was implored by the patriarch of Jerusalem in person to undertake the deliverance of the Holy Land, where the Angevin dynasty and the Christian realm which they had been defending for half a century against the Moslems were both alike at their last gasp. The 'faithful men' of the land, however, assembled in council at Clerkenwell, refused to sanction such an undertaking (R. Diceto, ii. 33, 34); and Henry had ample reasons for yielding to their decision.

The peace-maker of Europe could not keep peace among his own sons. He had freely forgiven their rebellion, and fully reinstated all three in the positions which they had respectively occupied before it: Richard as duke of Aquitaine, Geoffrey as duke of Brittany, Henry as acknowledged heir to the overlordship of both, and to direct sovereignty over England, Normandy, and Anjou. But the brothers were jealous one of another, and their jealousy broke out at last in open war. In 1183 young Henry and Geoffrey joined the nobles of Aquitaine in a rising against their father and Richard, and twice, while besieging the rebels in their headquarters at Limoges, Henry himself narrowly escaped with his life. The young king's death (11 June) ended the strife for a while, but it opened the way to other quarrels. Henry proposed to transfer Aquitaine from Richard, now heir to the crown, to John, whose betrothal with Alice of Maurienne had come to nothing, but for whom he had in 1176 secured the rich heritage of Earl William of Gloucester, and whom in 1177 he had nominated king of Ireland. It was to Ireland, not to Aquitaine, that John was at last despatched by his father (1185); but his misconduct there forced Henry to recall him within a few months. Geoffrey meanwhile was plotting treason with Philip of France; in August 1186 he died, and Philip claimed the guardianship of his infant heir Arthur (1187–1203) [q. v.] The relations of Philip and Henry were already strained almost to breaking point; there was a standing dispute between them about the dower-lands of the young king's widow; there were other disputes about the overlordship of Auvergne, about the ownership of Berry, about the French king's right of intervention in a quarrel between Richard and the Count of Toulouse, and about Philip's sister Adela, who, as Richard's plighted bride, had been for fourteen years, or more, in the custody of Henry, and whom he would give up neither to her brother nor to her betrothed. The motives and the aim of Henry's policy at this juncture are as obscure to us now as they were to Richard then; but its outward aspect gave some colour of reason to the suspicion, adopted by Richard at Philip's instigation, that he was planning to oust Richard from his position as heir, and perhaps to rob him of his intended wife, in favour of John. Conference after conference failed to restore the good understanding of father and son, to satisfy Philip, or to force from Henry a definite avowal of his intentions. For a moment all differences were hushed by tidings of the capture of Jerusalem; the two kings took the cross together (October 1187), and Henry went to England to arrange for the collection of the 'Saladin tithe,' a tax of one-tenth of all the movable goods of clergy and laity, which was to defray the expenses of his crusade. In his absence an attack made by Richard on Toulouse gave Philip a pretext for invading Berry; Henry hastened to its defence; Philip fought and negotiated by turns with the father and the son; at last all three met in conference at Bonmoulins (18 Nov. 1188); Richard demanded an explicit recognition as heir to all his father's dominions, and on the refusal of his demand openly transferred his homage to the French king.

Henry was left alone, without troops, without money, without resources of any kind. His enemies saw their advantage and used it ruthlessly. They turned a deaf ear to his overtures of reconciliation, and to the remonstrances of the legates whom the pope, in terror for the peace of Europe and the success of the crusade, at once despatched to his support; they would be satisfied with nothing short of unconditional submission to their demands. Rather than stoop to this, Henry with a handful of followers shut himself up to await the end in his native city, Le Mans. The end came with startling rapidity. In a week Philip and Richard were masters of Maine; on 12 June 1189 they prepared to assault Le Mans; its defenders fired the suburbs; the city itself caught fire, and Henry with his little band fled for their lives towards Normandy. The wild words of blasphemy which Gerald de Barri (*De Instr. Princ.* dist. iii. c. 24) puts into the mouth of the fugitive king, if uttered at all, can only have been uttered in the irresponsible frenzy of despair; and as he lay that night at La

Frênaye Henry recovered his self-control and planned the last adventure which was to be the fitting close of his adventurous life. Sending on his followers to Normandy with instructions for the gathering of fresh forces and the disposal of the Norman castles, he turned back almost alone and made his way through the heart of the conquered land to Chinon. Fever-stricken, death-stricken, he lay there or at Saumur while Philip and Richard stormed Tours; on 4 July he dragged himself, by a supreme effort, to meet them at Colombières. He was forced to put himself at their mercy, to pardon and release from their allegiance all those who had conspired against him, to renew his homage to Philip, to acknowledge Richard heir to all his lands, and to give him the kiss of peace. The kiss was given with a muttered curse; but it was not Richard's treason that broke his father's heart. That night Henry bade his vice-chancellor read him the list of the traitors whose names Philip had given up. The first name was that of John. 'Enough,' murmured the king as he turned his face to the wall; 'now let things go as they may; I care no more for myself or for the world.' For two days he lay tossing in anguish and delirium, cursing his sons and himself, muttering 'Shame, shame on a conquered king!' till the approach of death, and the tender care of the one child who had remained with him to the last, his illegitimate son Geoffrey, brought him back to reason, penitence, and peace, and on 6 July he passed quietly away. Two days later he was buried in the abbey church of Fontevraud, where the characteristic outlines of the face so vividly described by his courtiers may still be seen in the effigy sculptured on his tomb.

Henry's children by his queen are enumerated in the biography of their mother [see ELEANOR OF AQUITAINE]. He is known to have had three illegitimate sons: Geoffrey, born probably before his accession to the crown, possibly even before his marriage [see GEOFFREY, archbishop of York]; Morgan, whose mother is said to have been the wife of a knight called Ralf Bloeth (*Hist. Dunelm. Scriptt. Tres*, Surtees Soc., p. 35); and William Longsword, afterwards Earl of Salisbury, who may have been a child of Fair Rosamond, though of this there is no actual proof. The romantic adjuncts of the Rosamond legend [see CLIFFORD, ROSAMOND] have been swept away, but its central fact remains. Of the darker tale about Adela of France (*Gesta Ric.*, ed. Stubbs, p. 160; GIR. CAMBR. *De Instr. Princ.* dist. iii. c. 2; cf. RIC. DEVIZES, in Howlett, *Chron. of Stephen and Henry II*, iii. 403) it can only be said, on the one hand, that it seems to have rested on evidence strong enough to convince her betrothed husband Richard and her brother Philip Augustus; and, on the other, that Richard was only too ready to believe any evil of his father, while Philip was equally ready to feign belief of anything, if it suited his policy at the moment. Still, though the pictures of Henry's private character given by lampooners such as Gerald de Barri and Ralph the Black may well be painted in needlessly glaring colours, we can hardly venture to say more in its defence than was said by another contemporary, that 'he left the palm of vice to his grandfather.' His nature was full of passion; but the passion was far from being all evil, though it was lavished too often upon unworthy objects, among the most unworthy being, unhappily, his own spoiled, ill-trained, mismanaged, but tenderly loved sons. Except in the case of his children, however, Henry's bestowal of honour and power was never dictated by blind partiality to a personal favourite. Despot as he was, his ministers were no mere tools of the royal caprice, but responsible statesmen such as the elder Earl Robert of Leicester, Richard de Lucy 'the loyal,' and Richard's successor, the great lawyer Ranulf de Glanville [q. v.], men who were not afraid to speak their minds and act upon their convictions, and to whom Henry, on his part, was not afraid to entrust the whole administration of affairs in his own absence from the country. His personal friends again, from Thomas Becket up to St. Hugh of Lincoln [q. v.], were far better men than himself; they were in fact among the purest and noblest characters of their time; and the more unlike they were to him, the holier and more unworldly were their lives, the more loyally and devotedly he clung to them, the more readily he accepted their counsel and their rebukes, and the more, too, he seems to have inspired in them a corresponding warmth of affection. The half droll, half pathetic stories of his relations with St. Hugh told in the 'Magna Vita S. Hugonis' reveal glimpses of a side of his character which is otherwise hardly perceptible in his career as an English king, but which has left traces to this day in the home-lands of his race, in the great hospitals which he built at Angers and at Le Mans, and in the remains or the records of the lazar-houses which he endowed in the chief towns of Normandy, that at Quévilly, near Rouen, indeed, being formed out of a hunting-seat which he had originally built for his own enjoyment.

Henry was a great builder, though not, like his predecessors, of churches and abbeys.

He founded but seven religious houses in the course of his life; the erection of three of these was part of the penance imposed on him for the death of St. Thomas; and though the commandery of Knights Templars at Vaubourg was founded in 1173, and the Charterhouse of Witham in the following year, while that of Le Liget in Touraine is said to date from 1175, they remained so insignificant that many years later Gerald de Barri could affect to ignore the very existence of two of them, and sneered at the niggardliness with which Henry was supposed to have fulfilled his vow at his predecessors' expense, by putting regular instead of secular canons into Harold's old foundation at Waltham, and foreign nuns from Fontevraud instead of English Benedictine sisters into the ancient abbey of Amesbury. His other religious foundations attained no greater fame; they were an Austin priory at Beauvoir in Normandy, established before his accession to the crown; a second near La Flèche in Maine, founded about 1180; a third at Newstead in Sherwood, dating possibly from 1170, more probably from 1166 or earlier; and a Gilbertine house at Newstead in Ancholm, which came into existence before 1175. Henry built much for himself, and, as he hoped, for his successors; Caen, Rouen, Angers, Tours were all adorned with royal palaces in his reign. He built yet more for his subjects, and while of his palaces scarcely a fragment remains, save the ruined pile at Chinon where he died, the waters of the Loire are kept in to this day by a great embankment or *levée*, thirty miles long, which he constructed as a safeguard against its frequent and disastrous floods. The 'Grand Pont' at Angers seems to have been built by him, in place of an earlier bridge destroyed by fire in 1177. The popular astonishment at the greatness of his architectural undertakings, and the rapidity with which they were accomplished, is expressed in the legend of the 'Pont de l'Annonain,' a viaduct over a swamp near Chinon, built by Henry, but locally said to have been reared by the devil in a single night at the bidding of his ancestor Fulk Nerra, the one other Angevin count who lived, side by side with Henry FitzEmpress, in the memory of the Angevin people.

The English people, on the other hand, seem to have quickly cooled in their enthusiasm for the king whom before his accession they had 'all loved;' it was only by slow degrees, and after he was gone, that they learned to appreciate his real merits as a ruler. Henry never courted popularity. He by no means shunned personal contact with the multitude, and when he did go forth into their midst, he and they alike flung etiquette to the winds. But he did not lay himself out to please them, as his grandfather had done, by a routine, at once familiar and splendid, of daily life lived of set purpose before their very eyes. When counsellors, courtiers, and spectators had flocked together from far and near at his summons for a great judicial and political assembly, he would disappear at dawn and keep them all vainly awaiting his return till nightfall put an end to his day's hunting. His household was a by-word for confusion and discomfort, to which he himself was utterly indifferent, and which went on unchecked while he withdrew to his chamber and there buried himself in his own pursuits. Chief among these was the discussion of literary questions with the scholars who thronged his court, and whom he delighted to honour. He had inherited both from his father and from his maternal grandfather a great love of learning; he was probably the most highly educated sovereign of his day, and amid all his busy, active life he never lost his interest in literature and intellectual discussion; he loved reading only less than hunting, and it was said by one of his courtiers that his hands were never empty, they always held either a bow or a book. He could speak, and speak well, in at least two languages, French and Latin, and is said to have known something of every tongue 'between the Bay of Biscay and the Jordan,' a definition which seems to exclude the English tongue. Of the varied elements, Angevin, Norman, and English, united in Henry FitzEmpress, the last indeed can hardly be traced at all in his strangely complex character. Yet the work that he did for England was the only part of his work that outlasted his own life, and it has lasted for seven centuries. It was under his rule that 'the races of conquerors and conquered in England first learnt to feel that they were one. It was by his power that England, Scotland, and Ireland were brought to some vague acknowledgment of a common suzerain lord, and the foundations laid of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland. It was he who abolished feudalism as a system of government, and left it little more than a system of land tenure. It was he who defined the relations established between church and state, and decreed that in England churchman as well as baron was to be held under the common law. It was he who preserved the traditions of self-government which had been handed down in borough and shire-moot from the earliest times of English history. His reforms established the judicial system whose main

outlines have been preserved to our own day. It was through his "constitutions" and his "assizes" that it came to pass that all over the world the English-speaking races are governed by English and not by Roman law. It was by his genius for government that the servants of the royal household became transformed into ministers of state. It was he who gave England a foreign policy which decided our continental relations for seven hundred years.' 'Indirectly and unconsciously, his policy did more than that of all his predecessors to prepare England for the unity and freedom which the fall of his house was to reveal.'

[Notices of events in Henry's life before his accession to the crown can only be picked out here and there from Robert of Torigni (Chronicle, ed. Delisle, Soc. de l'Hist. de Normandie; Contin. Will. Jumièges, in Duchesne, Hist. Norm. Scriptt.), Hen. Huntingdon, l. viii (ed. Arnold, Rolls Ser.), the Gesta Stephani (ed. Howlett, in Chronicles of Stephen, &c., vol. iii.), and the last pages of the English Chronicle (ed. Thorpe). From his coronation to the close of his struggle with the church information has to be extracted from the letters of Gilbert Foliot and John of Salisbury (ed. Giles, Patres Ecclesiæ Anglicanæ) and the vast store of Materials for Hist. of Archbishop Becket (ed. Robertson and Sheppard), supplemented by Ralph de Diceto and Gervase of Canterbury (ed. Stubbs). From 1169 onwards our primary authorities are the Gesta Henrici (wrongly ascribed to Benedict of Peterborough) and Roger of Howden (ed. Stubbs), while R. Diceto is of increased importance. Henry's dealings with Ireland are recorded in Gerald de Barri's Expugnatio Hiberniæ (Gir. Cambr. Opera, vol. v. ed. Dimock), and in an Anglo-Norman poem (ed. F. Michel); his dealings with Wales, in Gerald's Itin. Kambriæ (Opera, vol. vi. ed. Dimock), and in the Annales Cambriæ and Brut y Tywysogion (ed. Williams ab Ithel). The Scottish war of 1173–4 has its special chronicler in Jordan Fantosme (ed. Michel, Surtees Soc., and Howlett, Chron. of Stephen, &c., vol. iii.) William of Newburgh (ed. Hamilton, Engl. Hist. Soc., and Howlett, as above, vol. i.) is a valuable contributor to the history of the whole reign. The Draco Normannicus (ed. Howlett, as above, vol. ii.) is more curious than really useful. For Henry's continental policy and wars we have, besides Robert of Torigni's Chronicle, the assistance of an Aquitanian writer, Geoffrey of Vigeois (Labbe, Nova Bibliotheca MSS. Libr., vol. ii.), and two French ones, Rigord and William of Armorica (Duchesne, Hist. Franc. Scriptt., vol. v.) From these two last, and Gerald's De Instructione Principum (Anglia Christiana Soc.), the story of the king's last days has been worked out in detail by Bishop Stubbs in his preface to Rog. Howden, vol. ii. Henry's person and character are described by Gerald (De Instr. Princ.), W. Map (De Nugis Curialium, ed. Wright, Camden Soc.), Ralph Niger (ed. Anstruther, Caxton Soc.), and Peter of Blois (Epistolæ, ed. Giles). His buildings &c. may be traced in Dugdale's Monasticon, Sainte-Marthe's Gallia Christiana, Stapleton's introduction to the Norman Exchequer Rolls (Soc. Antiqu.), the Chroniques d'Anjou, edited by Marchegay and Salmon (Société de l'Histoire de France), the Cartulaire de l'Hôpital St. Jean d'Angers (ed. C. Port), the Revue de l'Anjou, vol. xii. (1874), and the essay on the Home of our Angevin Kings in Green's Stray Studies. The Tractatus de Legibus Angliæ, which passes under R. Glanville's name, throws light on the king's legal reforms; the Pipe Rolls 1–4 Hen. II (ed. Hunter) have been published by the Record Commission, those of 5–12 Hen. II by the Pipe Roll Soc.; other documents for the history of his government are to be found in Bishop Stubbs's Select Charters, as well as in Gesta Hen., Rog. Howden, Rymer's Fœdera, vol. i., the Liber Niger Scaccarii (ed. Hearne), and the appendices to Lord Lyttelton's Hist. of Hen. II. Lyttelton's own work is, in the words of a more modern authority, 'a full and sober account of the time.' An elaborate Itinerary of Henry II has been compiled by the Rev. R. W. Eyton. Dr. Stubbs has dealt with the constitutional side of the reign in Constit. Hist., chapters xii. xiii., and preface to Gesta Hen., vol. ii.; and with its more general aspects in Early Plantagenets, cc. ii–v., and preface to Rog. Howden, vol. ii. J. R. Green's Hist. of the English People, bk. ii. ch. iii., Short History, ch. ii. secs. 7, 8, and Stray Studies, pp. 361–381, are studies of Henry's character and career designed to form part of the groundwork for a history of the Angevin kings. Henry's claims to a place among English statesmen have also been vindicated in a monograph by Mrs. Green. A general account of the reign appears in England under the Angevin Kings, by the writer of this article.] K. N.

HENRY III (1207–1272), called HENRY OF WINCHESTER, king of England, elder son of John [q. v.] by his queen Isabella [q. v.] of Angoulême, was born at Winchester on 1 Oct. 1207, and was named after his grandfather, Henry II (WENDOVER, iii. 219; *Ann. Winton.* p. 80). In 1209 his father caused an oath of fealty to be taken to him throughout England. When John lay on his deathbed at Newark in October 1216 he again declared him his heir, and all present took an oath to him. John's death on the 18th completely changed the position of the two contending parties in England [see under JOHN, king]. The king's adherents may be said to have become the constitutional party, while the barons of the opposition ceased to appear as the upholders of the national cause against an intolerable tyrant, and were committed to an attempt to deprive an innocent child of his inheritance, and to place a foreign prince, Louis of France, on the throne. A similar change was effected

in the relations between the kingdom and the papacy. Innocent III had used his suzerainty to quash the great charter of liberties; Honorius III, who had just succeeded him, was, as the proper guardian of the heir to the throne, bound to protect the kingdom. Gualo, the pope's legate, caused Henry to be crowned without delay. The ceremony took place at Gloucester on the 28th, and in the absence of Stephen Langton, archbishop of Canterbury, of the Archbishop of York, and of the Bishop of London, the crown was placed on the king's head by Peter des Roches, bishop of Winchester, in the presence of a small number of bishops and barons; the crown used was a plain hoop of gold, the crown of the kingdom no doubt being out of reach at the moment (*Ann. Dunst.* p. 48; WYKES, p. 60; WENDOVER, iv. 2). All present did homage to the young king, and he did homage to his suzerain the pope in the person of the legate. A council was summoned to meet at Bristol on 11 Nov., and was largely attended by bishops and barons of the king's party, who swore fealty to him. The lords chose as regent William Marshall, earl of Pembroke, with the title of 'rector regis et regni,' gave him charge of the king's person, and associated with him as his chief counsellors the legate and the Poitevin bishop of Winchester (cf. STUBBS, *Select Charters*, p. 329; *Constitutional History*, i. 21). Henry remained at Bristol until after Christmas, and thence went to Oxford, where a council of his party was held in the middle of January. He received tuition from Philip of Albini, who did his duty faithfully (WENDOVER, iv. 75). On 20 May Louis's army was totally defeated by William Marshall and the Earl of Chester at Lincoln. The probability that Louis would receive reinforcements from France vanished, when towards the end of August William of Albini brought Henry news of the destruction of the French fleet by Hubert de Burgh [q. v. for account of the fight], for which he offered up thanksgiving. He accompanied the regent to the siege of London, and went with him to Kingston, where a peace was arranged which was finally settled at Lambeth on 11 Sept. All on the side of Louis were to swear fealty to Henry, and all places occupied by the French, special mention being made of the Channel islands, were to be surrendered and all hostages were to be restored (*Fœdera*, I. i. 148, the articles were sealed first by Gualo, as representing the pope, then by the king, and thirdly by the regent). A sum of 10,000*l.* was promised to Louis nominally in payment of his expenses, and he almost immediately left England. Progress was made in the work of restoring order. The legate, the regent, and the chief justiciar, Hubert de Burgh [q. v.], were loyal and capable; the legate, although greedy, worked heartily with William Marshall (for a harsher estimate of Gualo see introduction to *Royal Letters*, ed. Shirley). Many lords and Alexander II of Scotland did homage to the king. Henry spent Christmas at Northampton, where the expenses of the court were borne by Falkes de Breauté [q. v.] In the following autumn the council decreed that no charter or grant should be sealed to hold good longer than the king's minority (*Fœdera*, i. 152), and probably at the same time (6 Nov.) the king's seal was first used (*Ann. Wav.* p. 291). Gualo left England on the 23rd, and his place as legate was taken by Pandulf [see under JOHN], a meddlesome and imperious intriguer, who upheld the interests of the foreign party in the kingdom. Henry spent Christmas at Winchester, the bishop, Peter des Roches, bearing the expenses of the court. In May 1219 the regent died, after having secured the king's position, established order, and given permanence to the liberties guaranteed in the Great charter. No one was appointed exactly to fill his place; the care of the king's person being in the hands of Bishop Peter, a bold, clever, and unscrupulous man, while the foremost place in the council was filled by the justiciar. On 20 July the peace between England and France was renewed, and on 3 March 1220 a truce was arranged to last for four years (*Fœdera*, i. 156, 158).

In accordance with the pope's directions Henry was crowned at Westminster by Stephen Langton on Whitsunday, 17 May 1220, in the presence of a large number of prelates and barons, and again repeated the coronation oath (WALTER OF COVENTRY, ii. 244). This second coronation proclaimed that the king's government was fully established. In his French dominions constant quarrels went on between his subjects and the subjects of Philip II, and were apparently fomented by Louis. In the spring his mother Isabella announced to him her marriage with Hugh of Lusignan, count of La Marche, and as the king refused to satisfy a demand which she and her husband made in respect of her dower from her late husband, the count made war on some of Henry's possessions in Poitou (*Royal Letters*, i. 22, 25, 134, 155; *Fœdera*, i. 169; BERNARD OF LIMOGES). A truce was made in the autumn. At home there was a division in the council; Hubert de Burgh endeavoured to put the executive, and especially the custody of castles, in the hands of Englishmen, and was supported by Archbishop Langton, while Peter des Roches and the Poitevins were determined to place all

offices in the hands of foreigners. The royal castles were in the hands of the men who had received them from John, many of them foreigners, and their power endangered the royal authority (*Constitutional Hist.* ii. 32). Honorius commanded that the king's castles and domains should be surrendered (*Royal Letters*, i. 121, 535), and on the day after the coronation their holders swore to obey the command. Henry was taken by his governors to receive the surrenders, and in the course of his progress met Alexander II of Scotland at York on 11 June, and agreed to give him his sister Joan in marriage. At Rockingham William of Aumale refused to give up his castle; its surrender was enforced and another of his castles was taken on the 28th. Henry then went to Canterbury and was present at the translation of St. Thomas on 7 July. He kept the Christmas festival at Oxford in, as it seemed, profound peace. William of Aumale, however, suddenly left the court, and began a revolt by making war on his neighbours from his castle at Biham in Lincolnshire. Several powerful lords secretly sent the earl help. In company with the legate and the Earl of Chester, Henry marched to Biham, and the castle was taken on 2 Feb. 1221. At midsummer he spent four days at York, and married his sister to the Scottish king. Langton obtained a promise from the pope that no more legates should be sent to England during his life, and Pandulf was recalled in July. Soon afterwards Peter des Roches left the kingdom on a pilgrimage. The foreign party which was represented by the bishop had evidently been defeated, and Hubert de Burgh gained the absolute direction of the royal policy. He had many difficulties to face. In Ireland the king's power seems to have been declining, and on the Welsh border there was constant war. After some attempts to persuade Llewelyn ap Iorwerth [q. v.] to keep the peace, Henry was taken to relieve Builth, in the present Brecon, and a castle was built at Montgomery (WENDOVER, iv. 71; *Fœdera*, i. 166). A more serious danger arose from the insubordination of a party among the baronage, and their constant endeavours to thwart the justiciar and set up a state of anarchy. In the course of an insurrection raised in London in 1222 there were signs that a large body of the citizens felt no attachment to the king, and were ready to welcome another French invasion [see under BREAUTÉ, FALKES DE]. Henry held a council at London in the second week of January 1223, at which Langton required him to confirm the Great charter, and a dispute arose between the archbishop and William Brewer [q. v.] on the subject. The king ended the scene by declaring his intention to abide by the charter, and sent letters to all the sheriffs commanding them to hold an inquest as to the liberties enjoyed in the days of his grandfather, and to send the return to London. In April the pope, probably in order to deprive the malcontent barons of all excuse for rebellion, declared that the king, though not of full age, was of an age to assume the government, and charged all who had the custody of the royal castles to deliver them up (*Royal Letters*, i. 430).

The war which was perpetually going on between Llewelyn and the lords of the marches now became of more than usual importance, for the Welsh prince received supplies from the discontented party in England, and acted on their prompting. The success of Llewelyn drew the king to Worcester, where he held a great council. His army met at Gloucester, entered Wales, and Llewelyn was compelled to make peace. At the close of the campaign an attempt was made by Randulph de Blundevill [q. v.], earl of Chester, William of Aumale, and other lords, to surprise the Tower of London, for they were determined to overthrow the justiciar before he could compel them to surrender the royal castles. On hearing that the king was approaching they abandoned their design and retired to Waltham. Some of them appeared before the king and demanded the dismissal of the justiciar. At Christmas 1223 Henry held his court at Northampton, while the malcontents assembled at Leicester; the archbishop interfered, and by threats and persuasions prevailed on them to make peace with the king and place all that they held in charge in his hand (*Ann. Dunst.* pp. 83, 84). In the September of this year John of Brienne, king of Jerusalem, visited Henry and received many rich gifts from the king and the nobles. A general contribution for the crusade was demanded, but it is probable that the money was not paid. In July Philip II of France died, and was succeeded by his son Louis VIII. Henry sent ambassadors to the new king to demand the restoration of Normandy and the other ancient possessions of his house, apparently on the ground that they were covered by the provision for restoration of lands in the treaty of Lambeth. In reply Louis alleged several causes of grievance (WENDOVER, iv. 86); and when the truce ended in May 1224 invaded Poitou and Gascony, and the English lost nearly all the French provinces. On 16 June Henry held a council at Northampton to consider the state of Poitou, but nothing came of it, for Falkes de Breauté revolted, and the king was occupied in besieging his castle at Bedford until 14 Aug. The fall of Falkes

Stamford was joined by William Marshall, the Earl of Chester, and other earls, with a large force. The confederates sent to the king demanding justice, imputing his action to the justiciar, and bidding him with threats restore the forest liberties. A meeting was arranged for 2 Aug. at Northampton, and there the king yielded to their demands, was reconciled to Richard, and gave him large grants (WENDOVER, iv. 141). Henry held his Christmas court this year at York. In August 1228, hearing that Llewelyn was besieging the castle of Montgomery, he marched thither with a small force and relieved it. He burnt the Cistercian abbey of Kerry, which the Welsh used as a place of arms, and began to build a castle there. While the work was in progress the Welsh attacked his men, slew many of them, and took William of Braose a prisoner. Provisions failed, and it is said that many in his army were secretly well-wishers of Llewelyn. At last, after wasting nearly three months, Henry made a disgraceful peace, and left William in the hands of the Welsh. A scutage of two marks was levied for this campaign. On the death of Stephen Langton in July 1228, the king was displeased at the election of Walter Eynsham by the monks of Canterbury, and used his influence with Gregory IX to get it quashed; the pope virtually gave the see to Richard Grant [q. v.], and in 1229 took advantage of Langton's death to demand a tenth of all property (*ib.* p. 201; MATT. PARIS, iii. 128; but *Ann. Theok.* p. 73, and other authorities incorrectly limit the demand to the property of the clergy, see *Const. Hist.* ii. 42). Henry held a council of his tenants in chief at Westminster on 29 April 1229 to consider the demand; the clergy yielded, the lords resisted, the king, to whom all looked to support them in resistance, kept silence, for he had already agreed to the pope's scheme in order to get his way about the archbishopric. The pope's collector, Stephen, raised the money from the clergy; and his exactions excited general indignation.

While Henry was keeping the Christmas of 1228 at Oxford, a message was brought to him from the nobles of Normandy, Poitou, and other parts of the former possessions of the crown in France, inviting him to invade the kingdom; but he deferred action by the advice of the justiciar, who was always in favour of peace. At Michaelmas he gathered his forces at Portsmouth, but on the point of embarking found that he had not enough ships, and fell into a great rage with the justiciar [see under BURGH, HUBERT DE]. Soon after this the Duke of Brittany visited him and advised him to put off his expedition until Easter; he restored to the duke his rights in England, received his homage, and gave him five thousand marks for the defence of Brittany. Christmas (1229) he again spent at York in company with Alexander of Scotland. A scutage of three marks was levied, a tax was laid upon the towns, and the Jews had to pay a third of their goods for the expenses of the forthcoming expedition. Henry embarked at Portsmouth with a large force on 30 April 1230, stayed in Guernsey on 2 May, and on the 3rd landed at St. Malo, where the Duke of Brittany met him (*Royal Letters*, i. 363, 364). On the 8th he proceeded to Dinant and thence to Nantes, where he hoped to meet his mother and the Count of La Marche. Several of the most powerful feudatories in France were hostile to the French crown, and Henry might have done much mischief if he had possessed any ability, military or diplomatic. As it was the French king marched with a large army to Angers in order to shut him out from Poitou, and, while Henry remained at Nantes waiting for reinforcements, to Oudon, a castle about four leagues distant. Many of the Breton nobles did homage to Henry, while some fortified their castles against him. The Poitevin lords generally did him homage, though the Count of La Marche showed some hesitation, and the Viscount of Thouars took the side of Louis. Towards the end of June, the French army being engaged elsewhere, Henry marched by way of Anjou, taking the castle of Mirebeau late in July, into Poitou and thence into Gascony, where he received many homages. He then marched back to Brittany, and after staying for several weeks at Nantes, where he and his lords wasted a vast amount of money in luxurious living, he returned to England, landing at Portsmouth on 27 Oct. 1230, having left a small force under the Duke of Brittany and the Earl of Chester, to act against the French in Normandy and Brittany (WENDOVER, iv. 917; *Fœdera*, i. 197, 198).

The failure of this expedition increased Henry's feeling of alienation from the justiciar (*Royal Letters*, i. 379). After keeping Christmas at Lambeth, where the justiciar entertained the court, Henry held a council of his tenants in chief at Westminster on 27 Jan. 1231, and asked for a scutage of three marks for the expedition of the previous year from all fees lay and clerical. The grant was opposed by Richard of Canterbury and the bishops, who declared that no scutage could be granted without their consent. The difficulty was overcome, and the king issued letters patent affirming the liberties of the clergy (*ib.* p. 394). In the spring Henry

quarrelled with the Archbishop of Canterbury about a fief, and the archbishop went to Rome [see under GRANT, RICHARD]. The king was much grieved at hearing of the death of William Marshall, which took place on 15 April 1231, and exclaimed, 'Woe, woe is me! is not the blood of the blessed martyr Thomas fully avenged yet?' (MATT. PARIS, iii. 201). The death of the earl, who guarded the Welsh border, was followed by a fresh outbreak of the Welsh. Henry marched against them, and they at once retreated; but on his departure Llewelyn invaded the lands of the marchers. Henry summoned his forces to meet him at Oxford in July, and advanced to Hereford, Llewelyn's army being near Montgomery. He met with no success, and was deceived and out-generalled by the Welsh. He rebuilt and garrisoned Maud's Castle in the present Radnorshire, which had been destroyed by the enemy. While there he was visited by the Duke of Brittany and the Earl of Chester, who had been carrying on war with Louis IX, and had finally made a three years' truce between the two kings. With them came Richard Marshall, who claimed his brother's lands. Henry refused, and accused him of treacherous dealings with the French. But when the earl made arrangements to take forcible possession of his inheritance, the king restored him his rights. Henry returned to England in October 1231; he had some thoughts of marrying a daughter of the Scottish king, but was dissuaded by the Earl of Chester, on the ground that the justiciar had already married the elder daughter, and that it would not be seemly for him to take the younger. He spent Christmas at Winchester with Peter des Roches, who, lately come back from the crusade, had quickly regained his influence over him. The breach between the king and the justiciar was widened meanwhile by the rumour that Hubert was concerned in a series of attacks made on the persons and property of the papal agents and other Roman clerks; for Henry was devoted to the papacy, which had been his early protector. At a council at Westminster on 7 March 1232 the barons refused an aid for the Welsh war, on the plea that they had served in person, while the prelates objected, because some of their number were absent. The Welsh renewed their ravages, and Henry complained that he was too poor to stop them. By the advice of Bishop Peter he made a change in his ministers, and on 29 July dismissed Hubert, to whom he attributed all his difficulties, from the justiciarship, and gave it to Stephen Segrave. He brought a series of charges against Hubert, who fled to sanctuary, and was after a time taken and imprisoned [see under BURGH, HUBERT DE]. With the fall of the justiciar 'Henry's own administration of government begins,' and during the next twenty-six years he gave abundant proofs of his 'insincerity and incapacity' (*Const. Hist.* ii. 43).

In September 1232 the king held a council at Lambeth, and obtained the grant of a fortieth on all moveables, except spiritualities, for the payment of his debts to the Duke of Brittany. At Christmas he completed the change in the administration by turning out all his English officers and replacing them by Poitevins. The predominance of the Poitevins offended the nobles at home, and was unacceptable to Rome. It partly explains the renewed papal interference in the election to the see of Canterbury, when, after the death of Richard Grant, three archbishops-elect were set aside by Pope Gregory [see BLUND, JOHN LE]. By the death of the Earl of Chester in October 1232 the baronage lost their leader; his place was taken by Richard Marshall, who, in 1233, told the king that if he chose to have Poitevins as his advisers he and the nobles generally would withdraw from his court. Henry was frightened and answered meekly; but the Bishop of Winchester spoke saucily to the earl, and he and his associates left in anger. Henry summoned his lords to a council at Oxford on 24 June, but they refused to attend. He was violently angry, and took counsel with his courtiers. The lawyers advised that the lords should be summoned three times, and a council was called to meet at Westminster on 5 July. To Henry's dismay the associated nobles refused to come to Westminster. By Bishop Peter's advice he summoned all to attend at a conference on 14 Aug. on pain of being declared traitors. Many came and were won over by bribes. Richard Marshall and a few others who believed that the king designed to seize them stayed away, and nothing was settled. Henry and the bishop had, however, sent for a number of foreign troops, and determined to compel the lords to submission. The king gathered his military tenants at Gloucester on 17 Aug. 1233; was joined at Hereford by the Poitevin mercenaries, and ravaged the lands of the associated lords, obtaining possession of the earl-marshal's castle (at Usk?) by a disgraceful piece of deceit on 2 Oct. (WENDOVER, iv. 268–73; MATT. PARIS, iii. 241–9). He held a council at Westminster on 9 Oct., and there all present besought him to make peace with his lords, the Franciscan and Dominican friars to whom he generally paid deference urging the wrong he was doing in thus wasting the lands of nobles who had not been judged by their peers. Bishop

Peter answered for him with the insolent remark that there were no peers in England as there were in France. On this the bishops threatened to excommunicate the king's evil counsellors by name. Henry now again proceeded to Gloucester on 2 Nov., and invaded the lands of the earl-marshal. Richard retook his castle, and though he would not fight against the king, his allies, Welsh and English, despoiled the royal camp at Grosmont on 11 Nov. Henry returned to Gloucester, and on the 25th the mercenary captain whom he left in command was defeated with great loss before Monmouth Castle. On 22 Dec. the king offered terms to the earl without result. A few days later, while he was still at Gloucester, another body of his troops was defeated by the earl. Thereupon he went to Winchester, and entered into a truce with the earl. At a conference with the magnates which he held at Westminster on 2 Feb. 1234, the bishops, with Edmund Rich, the archbishop-elect of Canterbury, at their head, made a formal complaint to him of Bishop Peter and his other evil counsellors, and of the ill-government of the kingdom, and declared that, if he did not amend matters shortly, they would, when the archbishop was consecrated, proceed to spiritual censures. He answered humbly and asked for time. Then he went by St. Edmund's to Bromholm to pray before the holy cross there, and as he came back through Huntingdon the associated lords fired Alconbury, a town belonging to Stephen Segrave, his chief justiciar, in the immediate neighbourhood. On 9 April the archbishop came to the council at Westminster, attended by his suffragans, and threatened Henry with excommunication. He gave way, sent Bishop Peter to his diocese, and dismissed the bishop's nephew, Peter de Rievaulx, from the treasurership with passionate reproaches. All the Poitevins were driven from the court, and he sent the archbishop to make terms with the earl-marshal. He had no part in the wicked plot which led to the earl's destruction, and was grieved when he heard of his death. He was reconciled to the other lords, and among them to Hubert de Burgh, who had escaped from confinement and joined the earl-marshal, and he called his late ministers to account, imprisoning Peter de Rievaulx for a while in the Tower. From this time he filled the ministerial offices with men of scarcely higher rank than clerks, and became his own minister.

Although he had sent some help to Peter of Brittany in May, when the truce with France ended he refused to go to his succour, and the count therefore withdrew his homage and gave up some places which he held for Henry to Louis. Henry was anxious for peace with France, for Louis was growing more powerful. The Count of La Marche hindered the arrangements for a truce by demanding the Isle of Oléron, which the English nobles would not allow the king to surrender. Finally the matter was settled in July 1235 by the grant of an annuity to the count in lieu of the island (*Royal Letters*, i. 476), and a five years' truce was made in the following February (*Fœdera*, i. 221). In May 1235 the king sent his sister Isabella to be married to the emperor Frederic II, who promised to help him against the French king. A marriage was also arranged between Henry and Joan, daughter of Simon de Dammartin, count of Ponthieu, but though the negotiations were completed, the count was persuaded by the French king to change his mind (*ib.* pp. 216, 218; MATT. PARIS, iii. 328). Before this match was broken off Henry wrote on 22 June to Amadeus IV, count of Savoy, proposing marriage with his niece, Eleanor, daughter of Raymond Berenger IV, count of Provence [see ELEANOR OF PROVENCE]. Her elder sister, Margaret, had lately been married to Louis IX. She was brought over to England by her uncle William, bishop-elect of Valence, and was married to the king at Canterbury by Archbishop Edmund on 14 Jan. 1236. As soon as the marriage festivities in London were over, Henry went to a great council held at Merton on the 28th, at which the celebrated assize of Merton was passed (*Stat. Merton*, 20 Hen. III, c. 9, ap. *Statutes at Large*, i. 31; STUBBS, *Lectures*, p. 351). William of Valence at once gained complete influence over the king, and it was believed that he and eleven others had formed themselves into a kind of secret council, and that the king had sworn to be guided by them (*Ann. Dunst.* p. 146). Indignation waxed so hot that Henry took shelter in the Tower. The nobles refused to attend him there. He therefore returned to Westminster, and consented to appoint a new set of sheriffs sworn to take no bribes. However, he made several changes in his household, apparently by the advice of the foreign clique, and recalled to court two of his late ministers, Stephen Segrave and Robert Passelew. Later in the year Henry went to York, where an attempt was made to settle the claim of the King of Scots on the Northumbrian districts. He was in want of money, and had lately been forced to pay the emperor the portion assigned to Isabella on her marriage. Accordingly at a council of nobles and prelates held at Westminster on 13 Jan. 1237, his clerk, William of Raleigh, requested an aid, offering on his behalf that the money when collected should be paid over to a com-

mittee of magnates, to be spent by them on the necessary expenses of the kingdom. The demand was ill received, and the king promised with an oath that if he obtained a thirtieth he would cease to quarrel with or molest his nobles; offered to authorise the excommunication of all who infringed the charters; and took three lords nominated by the magnates into his council. He obtained the aid, but continued to follow the guidance of William of Valence, and to lavish gifts on him and other foreigners. Further offence was given to the magnates, and specially to Archbishop Edmund, by his inviting the pope to send the legate Otho into England. Edmund rebuked him, but he went to meet Otho on landing, and knelt before him. His brother Richard chided him severely for his subservience to the pope and the legate, and for the favour which he showed to certain unpopular councillors, among whom was Simon de Montfort, earl of Leicester. On 14 Sept. he held a council at York, and there by the mediation of Otho a final agreement was made with Alexander of Scotland, who gave up his claims on the northern districts in consideration of receiving Penrith and other manors, of the value of 200*l.* a year, in Northumberland and Cumberland, to be held of the English king by the service of delivering a goshawk each year at Carlisle Castle. This agreement was carried out in 1242 (*Fœdera*, i. 233).

On 7 Jan. 1238 Henry was present at the secret marriage of Simon, earl of Leicester, to his sister Eleanor, the widowed countess of Pembroke. The wealth and power which this marriage gave an alien, as Simon was, roused the anger of the magnates, and Richard of Cornwall again reproached Henry for his action in the matter, and for giving his ward, Richard of Clare, in marriage to the daughter of John de Lacy, earl of Lincoln, another of his friends, without asking the assent of his lords. The matter was taken up by nobles and people alike, and specially by the citizens of London. Earl Richard took arms, but the king was persuaded to appoint a conference for 2 Feb. He agreed to submit to the requisitions of a body of prudent councillors. A scheme of reform was drawn up, and received the assent of the legate and the rest of the magnates. All, however, ended in nothing, because Earl Richard deserted the cause of reform. While the king was at Abingdon on 12 March the legate came to him complaining of the treatment of his servants by Oxford students. He accordingly sent an armed force to Oxford to protect the legate. On 22 April he allowed the emperor of the East, Baldwin II, who had come to England against his wish, to enter London. He entertained him at Woodstock, and gave him 500*l.* (*ib.* i. 235). He sent some troops to help his brother-in-law, the Emperor Frederic, in his war in Italy, and wrote to the pope on the emperor's behalf. This so angered the pope that for a while he stopped all English business in the curia. On 8 Sept. a crazy clerk, who declared that he was the rightful king, made an attempt to kill Henry in his palace at Woodstock. The man declared that he had been set on by certain persons, naming especially William de Marisco, who had been outlawed by Henry, and was living as a pirate on Lundy Island. He was pulled limb from limb by horses at Coventry.

On the death of Peter des Roches (9 June 1238), Henry made strenuous efforts to procure the election of the bishop-elect of Valence to the vacant see of Winchester. The monks of St. Swithun's resisted; he quashed two elections which they made, and forced an alien prior on the convent. As they remained firm he kept the see vacant, took the revenues into his own hands, and spent his Christmas there. At the festival he grossly insulted Gilbert, the earl-marshal, probably on account of some suspicion relating to the attempt at Woodstock. The earl left the court in anger. In the course of the year Henry dismissed the chancellor bishop, Ralph Neville, and committed the seal to two keepers. In April 1239 he tried to persuade the bishop to accept the seal again, but he refused to do so. His heir Edward [see EDWARD I] was born on 17 July. At the queen's churching in August he had a sudden and violent quarrel with Simon de Montfort, whom he accused of having seduced his sister before marrying her, and of having used his name as the security for the payment of money as bribes to the Roman court to procure a dispensation for his marriage. The earl and countess fled to France. On 15 July Henry received another of the queen's uncles, Thomas of Savoy, count of Flanders, and when he left, gave him five hundred marks; granted him a tax on English wool passing through his territories, and dismissed the keeper who refused to seal the writ. The news of the death of the elect of Valence on 1 Nov. threw him into violent transports of grief.

The years 1240 and 1241 show little beside continued wastefulness and bad government. To pay the expenses of the war against the emperor procurations were levied by the legate, and a fifth of all the goods of the clergy was taken by the pope. Henry, as he plainly declared, had neither the power nor the courage to contradict the pope in anything. Rights of patronage were set at

naught, and in 1240 Gregory, in order to bind the Roman citizens to his side, ordered that three hundred English benefices should be provided for distribution among their sons and nephews. Archbishop Edmund, after vainly remonstrating with the king, left the kingdom in despair, and died abroad. Frederic II was highly displeased at the help which the pope was allowed to receive from the spoils of the English church. On his side Henry used the church for the benefit of his foreign favourites. After the death of the elect of Valence he tried to obtain the see of Winchester for another of his wife's uncles, Boniface of Savoy [q.v.], and shamefully oppressed the convent because the chapter persisted in the election of William of Raleigh. He succeeded in procuring Canterbury for Boniface in 1241, and the see of Hereford for another foreigner, for whom he also tried in vain to procure first Durham and then London. Foreigners, chiefly Provençals, swarmed about the court and lived on the country. Another of the queen's uncles, Peter of Savoy, came over and received the earldom of Richmond, and the citizens of London were compelled to attend the festivities held in his honour. The departure of Richard of Cornwall on a crusade removed the check which he had from time to time put on the king's doings. Large sums of money were squandered, and the Londoners were specially irritated by the new works which were added to the fortifications of the Tower. The Jews were compelled to find money to meet the royal expenses. Meanwhile the king's foreign possessions were neglected, and lay at the mercy of Louis. One success the king had. On Llewelyn's death his son David adopted an independent and hostile attitude. Henry summoned all his military tenants to assemble at Gloucester in the summer of 1241; marched to Shrewsbury on 2 Aug., and so overawed the prince that without a blow having been struck he submitted by the end of the month.

In 1242 Henry received a message from the Count of La Marche urging him to come to his help with a numerous force, and promising him the assistance of the Poitevins, the Gascons, the king of Navarre, and the Count of Toulouse. The king summoned a council of the magnates for 28 Jan., and Richard of Cornwall came back in time to help him. A report of the proceedings, 'the first authorised account of a parliamentary debate,' is preserved (MATT. PARIS, iv. 185; *Const. Hist.* ii. 58). The king sent his message, requesting an aid for the recovery of his French possessions, by the Earl of Cornwall, the Archbishop of York [see under GRAY, JOHN DE], and the provost of Beverley. In reply the lords spoke of the aids, subsidies, and scutages which he had received, of the wealth which he had gained by escheats and wardships, of the revenues of vacant sees, and of the absence of all accounts, which made it probable that the last thirtieth granted in 1237 was still in his hands, and refused to make him a fresh grant while the truce remained unexpired. On the next day he called several of them into his private chamber one after another, talked to them separately, with great craftiness, and so obtained by persuasion no small amount of money, though not nearly so much as a general aid would have yielded. Having appointed the Archbishop of York guardian of the kingdom, he sailed from Portsmouth on 13 May 1242 with thirty casks of money, his queen and his brother, seven other earls, and about three hundred knights, and, after being obliged to put back for a day to wait for a wind, reached Finisterre on Sunday the 18th, and on the following Tuesday landed at Royan at the mouth of the Gironde. After staying there some days he went to Pons in Saintonge, where he held a conference with the Count of La Marche and other lords of his party, and by their advice sent messengers to Louis, and, failing to obtain satisfaction, decided that the truce was at an end. Thence he marched to Saintes, where, on 8 June, he wrote a declaration of war, and so on to Tonnay, and on the 30th took up a position outside Taillebourg, and to the south of the Charente. Meanwhile Louis took Fontenay and many castles in Poitou, and having made himself master of the country north of the Charente, led his army to Taillebourg, which was surrendered to him, though its lord had made Henry believe that he would give up the city to him. On the morning of 20 July the English position was threatened by Louis. Earl Richard obtained a truce until the following day, and as soon as the sun set Henry and his army fled to Saintes. On the 22nd Louis pursued him, and a skirmish between the Count of La Marche and a French foraging party led to an indecisive engagement outside Saintes. Two days later, finding that the king of France was likely to attack him, Henry retreated to Pons, and thence to Barbesieux. There the Count of La Marche, who had made terms with Louis, deserted, after having so nearly delivered the army into the hands of the French king, that the English only saved themselves by a forced march of a day and a night to Blaye. The king neither ate nor slept for nearly forty-eight hours, and a good part of the baggage train was lost. At Blaye he remained some

days to refresh himself and his men (*Royal Letters*, ii. 25). He then retreated to Bordeaux, where, though a truce was made with France in April 1243, he remained wasting his time and his money until 1 Oct. A scutage was paid him by the barons who did not accompany him, and he tried to force those who left him at Bordeaux to pay a fine. He reached Portsmouth on the 9th, and arranged that he should be received at Winchester and London with ridiculous pomp.

The expedition of Henry led to the coming into England of more of his Poitevin relations, and to a visit from his mother-in-law, Beatrice, countess of Provence, and her daughter Sanchia. He spent much money in entertaining the countess, to whom he paid four thousand marks a year for keeping his castles in Provence. The marriage of Sanchia to Richard of Cornwall detached the earl from the baronial interest, and gave Henry a rich and prudent ally (*Const. Hist.* ii. 60). He recommenced his persecution of William of Raleigh, bishop-elect of Winchester, and was sharply reproved by three of the bishops. William fled to France, where the king's conduct was severely condemned; his cause was taken up by Innocent IV; he was recalled, and on 9 Sept. Henry was reconciled to him. The second marriage of Alexander II to Mary, daughter of Enguerrand de Coucy, led to a breach between him and Henry [see under ALEXANDER II]. Henry summoned the Count of Flanders to help him, and marched to Newcastle with a large army, in which was a strong Irish contingent (*Fœdera*, i. 256). At Newcastle a peace was made between the two kings. Henry was specially willing to avoid war with Scotland, because David, the son of Llewelyn, was making war on the Welsh border. In a great council held at Westminster, probably after the march to the north, Henry in person requested an aid, on the ground that he had contracted debts during the expedition to Gascony, which had been undertaken by the advice of the magnates. The magnates appointed to consider his request a committee composed of prelates and lay lords, who complained of abuses, and demanded the appointment of a justiciar and chancellor. After an adjournment they promised that if the king would agree to their request they would recommend a grant, provided that they might direct the expenditure of it for the good of the realm. He tried to influence the prelates by producing a letter of Innocent IV, urging them to grant the king an aid. He used personal influence, entreaty, and artifice in endeavouring to win over the committee. A scheme was drawn up for reform; as the Great charter was so often broken, a new one embodying its provisions was to be granted; four magnates were to be chosen to be of the king's council, with the special office of 'guardians of liberties,' to see that the charter was observed; a justiciar and chancellor were to be chosen by the common council; and certain judges were also to be elected (MATT. PARIS, iv. 366). Finally a scutage was granted for the marriage of the king's eldest daughter, but no aid was granted (*Const. Hist.*) The magnates were angered by the coming of a papal nuncio, Martin, who made enormous demands on the prelates. Even Henry, finding that it was difficult to get money for himself, was irritated at the sums which were taken from the church by Italian ecclesiastics; he encouraged the prelates to resist the papal demands, and for a time checked the levy of money for the pope. About 30 June 1245 Martin came to him complaining that he had received a message from a company of lords bidding him leave the kingdom at once or he would be torn in pieces. 'For the love of God, and the reverence of my lord the pope,' prayed Martin, 'grant me a safe-conduct.' 'May the devil give you a safe-conduct to hell and all through it!' was the answer of the irritated king. The English envoys at the council of Lyons vainly represented the grievances of the kingdom, and threatened that the submission of John should be cancelled; and Henry expressed much indignation when he heard that the bishops had been prevailed on to sign the charter of tribute. In September 1245 the king made an expedition against the Welsh, encamped in the neighbourhood of Snowdon, and fortified Gannoch Castle. No decisive action took place, the Welsh keeping out of the way until they saw an opportunity of taking the enemy at a disadvantage, and Henry's army suffered from cold and shortness of provisions. His Irish allies ravaged Anglesey, whence the Welsh obtained their corn, and he also laid waste much country. When he returned to England he forbade all trade with Wales, and as he had destroyed the crops the Welsh were brought to starvation. The money for this fruitless campaign was supplied by Richard of Cornwall on the security of the crown jewels, and a scutage of three marks was obtained for it the following year. The demands made by Innocent on the clergy in 1246 were exorbitantly large; Henry forbade the prelates to collect the required subsidy, but, as Robert Grosseteste, bishop of Lincoln, showed him, they could not refuse. At a great council held in the spring he, in common with men of every order in the kingdom, sent a remonstrance

to Innocent concerning the oppressions of the church. The answer was received in a great council held at Winchester in July. The pope urged his claim. For a while Henry forbade anything being paid to him, but he grew terrified, listened to the persuasions of Richard of Cornwall, and gave way. In the spring Henry levied a heavy tallage from the Londoners, who indignantly declared that he was the 'lynx with eyes that pierced all things' of Merlin's prophecy.

A fresh protest, in which the king joined, against papal exactions from the clergy was made in the council of 3 Feb. 1247, but at the Easter parliament at Oxford the opposition was withdrawn, and the clergy paid an aid of eleven thousand marks. In the course of the year more foreigners came to the court. Peter of Savoy brought over several young ladies that the king might give them in marriage to his noble wards, which much offended his own people. Henry's half-brothers, Guy of Lusignan, William de Valence, and Aymer de Valence [q. v.], and his half-sister Alicia, came over by his invitation, for their mother had lately died, and in their train came a crowd of greedy Poitevins. For William he at once found a rich heiress; his half-sister he married to the young Earl of Warrenne, and he gave Provençal brides to two young English nobles, his wards, who, it is said, were unwilling to receive them. He enriched all three of his brothers, providing for Aymer out of the revenues of the church. Before long Beatrice, the widowed countess of Provence, his mother-in-law, and Thomas of Savoy, came to replenish their purses at his expense. This influx of foreigners, and his lavish gifts to them, again stirred up opposition to his misrule; the coinage had suffered mutilation; robbery and violence were rife, and the loss of Gascony, from which a large revenue was received, seemed certain. When Henry asked the parliament of 9 Feb. 1249 for an aid, the lords reproved him for his extravagance and exactions, complaining chiefly of the aliens, of the disparagement of his noble wards by marriage, and of his governing without a justiciar, chancellor, or treasurer appointed by the common council of the realm. The king obtained a delay until 8 July, and had the coinage altered to prevent mutilation, effecting the change in such a manner as to cause much distress. Meanwhile Richard of Cornwall pressed his brother for payment of his debts to him, which amounted to 20,000*l.*; Henry satisfied him by farming the mint to him. In July he refused to allow the election of ministers, telling the nobles that they were trying to make a servant of their lord. They accordingly refused an aid, and he sold his plate to the Londoners. He said that the city was an inexhaustible well of riches, exacted large sums from the citizens, and aggrieved them in various ways. He borrowed wherever he could, and oppressed the Jews heavily, taking from Aaron of York between 1243 and 1250 three thousand marks of silver and two hundred marks of 'queen's gold.' In 1250 he made a short-lived effort to reform his ways; on 6 March he took the cross and asked pardon of the Londoners for his oppressions, and ordered that his household expenses should be curtailed, and that less money should be spent on alms and candles for shrines. At the same time he spent much on his half-brothers, and obtained the see of Winchester for Aymer by personal intercession. Gascony had been secured by Simon de Montfort, whom he had appointed his vicegerent in 1248. The earl had hard work to reduce the rebels to obedience, and received most insufficient supplies. He came to Henry in January 1251 and urged him to give him the needful help for carrying on his work. The king swore 'by God's head' that Simon had done him good service, and promised him supplies, though he told him that there were complaints against his government. His effort at economy seems to have ended; his gifts to his foreign relatives and friends went on; and he raised money by loans and extortions, chiefly from churchmen and religious bodies. Christmas he kept at York, where he gave his daughter Margaret in marriage to Alexander III of Scotland. Alexander did homage for 'Lothian,' the estates which he held in England in virtue of the treaty of 1230, the question of homage for Scotland being raised and laid aside.

Although Simon de Montfort was doing great things for him in Gascony, Henry readily listened to complaints against him from the disaffected party there, and in May 1252 held a kind of trial, in which he confronted the earl and his accusers. Hot words passed between the king and the earl; Henry called Simon a 'usurper and a traitor,' and the earl gave him the lie. Richard of Cornwall and other nobles took the earl's part, and he returned to Gascony and remained there a short time longer. In consequence of a letter from Innocent IV Henry showed much, probably sincere, interest in the crusade, and swore publicly that he would go in person in the course of the next three years. On 13 Oct. 1252 he laid before the prelates a papal mandate requiring them to pay him a tenth of the church revenues for three years for the expenses of his crusade. Led by Bishop Grosseteste they refused. Henry changed his

tone, and asked for an aid as a favour. They spoke of the grievances of the church, and their desire to have the Great charter confirmed and a new one granted. When Henry received their answer 'he swore horribly.' As his custom was, he appealed to each personally, but to no purpose. On his asking his barons for money they said that they would be guided by the decision of the prelates, remarking one to another that it was absurd for him to go to the crusade, as he was utterly ignorant of martial exercises. He was determined to lead an army into Gascony, and they told him that the Gascons were rogues and rebels, and that Earl Simon had acted rightly towards them. He again had recourse to exactions from the Londoners, and when the citizens beat some of his servants who interrupted them at a game of quintain with abuse and violence, he laid a heavy fine upon them. In order to win over Richard de Clare [q. v.], earl of Gloucester, to his side, he promised that if the earl's son would marry his niece he should have five hundred marks with her. He had not the money, and tried to borrow it from certain abbeys, and failing in this tried to force the treasurers of the Temple and the Hospital to let him have it. Meanwhile matters were going badly in Gascony, chiefly because he listened to rebels, thwarted his vicegerent Simon, and failed to send him needful supplies. Gaston of Béarn and other lords were offering the land to Alfonso X of Castile, and after the departure of Earl Simon broke into rebellion. After much debate in 1253 the prelates and lay lords yielded in some degree to the king's wishes. The tenths from the church were promised when the crusade actually started, a demand being made at the same time for liberty of election; the tenants in chief granted a scutage. In return Henry confirmed the charters. A solemn ceremony was performed in Westminster Hall on 3 May 1253; the bishops excommunicated all who should transgress the charters, the original charter of John was produced, and as the bells sounded and the bishops ended their sentence by dashing their candles on the ground, the king swore to keep the charters unbroken 'as a man, a Christian, a knight, a king crowned and anointed.' In order to detach Alfonso from the side of the Gascons, ambassadors were sent to arrange a marriage between his sister and the king's elder son Edward, and a marriage was also proposed between Henry's daughter Beatrice and the eldest son of the king of Aragon.

Leaving the kingdom under the care of his queen and Earl Richard, Henry sailed for Gascony with his army from Portsmouth on 6 Aug. with a fleet of three hundred large and many smaller vessels, and landed at Bordeaux on the 15th. His army took Benauges, La Réole, and several other castles and places, but suffered much from want, and made little real progress. The campaign was mismanaged; as usual he was lenient when he should have been stern, and at the same time allowed his troops to inflict much needless hardship on the people, rooting up their vineyards and burning their houses, and so alienating them. Gaston fled to the king of Castile, but Henry neutralised Gaston's efforts by concluding the marriage treaty, and sent for the queen and his son. He persuaded Earl Simon to come to his aid, and the coming of the earl was enough to reduce the province to order. He also sent to England for reinforcements and supplies, and spent Christmas at Bazas, near La Réole. On 28 Jan. 1254 the prelates, while refusing an aid from the clergy unless the tenth for the crusade was remitted or postponed, decided to grant an aid from themselves in case the king of Castile invaded Gascony, and the lay lords declared themselves ready in that event to go to Gascony; but the regents gathered that no general aid could be granted unless a confirmation of the charters was published (*Royal Letters*, ii. 101). They called a council to meet at Westminster on 26 April, which is 'an important landmark in parliamentary history,' for to it were summoned two knights from each shire to grant an aid (*Select Charters*, p. 367; *Const. Hist.* ii. 68). After remaining at Bordeaux until late in the summer, spending vast sums and getting deeply into debt, Henry and his queen performed a pilgrimage to the shrine of St. Edmund, archbishop of Canterbury, at Pontigny (*Ann. Burton.* p. 327). On recovering from a short sickness there, Henry went to Fontevraud, where he had the body of his mother moved into the church, was met at Chartres by Louis IX, and accompanied him to Paris, where he was lodged in the Old Temple. He stayed eight days, was sumptuously entertained, and spent about 1,000*l.* Then he went to Boulogne, whence he crossed to Dover, arriving in the last week of the year (1254). As soon as he landed he began to get money out of the Londoners and the Jews, and when the Jews remonstrated and asked to be allowed to leave the kingdom, he swore 'by God's head' that he might fairly set his debts at 300,000 marks; they were indeed 350,000 marks.

In April 1255 he complained of his debts to parliament, and asked for an aid. As usual he was met by a demand for elected ministers, irremovabl eexcept by the common council. This he again refused, and resorted to

extracting the tenth from the clergy. Matters were now entering on a new stage. While he was in Gascony, Innocent IV, who was engaged in a struggle with Manfred, king of Sicily, the illegitimate son of Emperor Frederick II, offered Henry the crown of Sicily for one of his sons, in order to secure the wealth of England to assist him in his schemes. Henry accepted it for his second son, Edmund, and bound himself to bear the cost of the war. Pope Alexander IV confirmed the agreement on his accession. This business was regarded with great displeasure in England. In October 1255 the lords refused Henry an aid for the war, and the pope's envoy (Rustand) failed to obtain money from the prelates. Nevertheless on the 18th Edmund was invested with the kingdom of Sicily by the envoy, to the great joy of his father, who promised to go in person to Apulia, and was allowed to reckon the war as a satisfaction of his vow of crusade. By the advice of the Savoyard, for whom he had obtained the see of Hereford, he obtained blank forms sealed by some of the bishops, and filled them up, with promises to pay, and sent them to Rome to satisfy some of his Italian creditors. Among his quarrels with his subjects in this year (1255) he had a fierce dispute with the earl-marshal [see BIGOD, ROGER, fourth EARL OF NORFOLK], which ended by his declaring: 'I will send and have your corn threshed out and sold, and so humble your pride.' To which the earl replied: 'And I will send you the heads of the threshers.' In August Henry marched to Scotland to arrange some troubles there [see ALEXANDER III]. On the 25th he put out a proclamation at Newcastle that he would do nothing to prejudice the liberties of the kingdom (*Fœdera*, i. 327). Alexander sent his queen to meet her father, and Henry was at Werk during most of September, for she fell ill while with him. He met Alexander at Roxburgh, and caused him to change his counsellors, and took several Scottish lords under his protection (*ib.* p. 329). In February 1256 Pope Alexander wrote that unless Henry paid what he owed for the war he would renounce the Sicilian arrangement; the amount owed at Rome about this time was 135,501 marks. Henry obtained a respite. Rustand pressed the prelates, who obtained a confirmation of John's charter of freedom of elections, but as pope and king were united in a scheme of plunder it was of no avail. They refused to contribute from their baronies. The king made many efforts to obtain money; he oppressed the Londoners and the Cistercians, fined those who neglected to receive knighthoods, fined all the sheriffs, and begged, borrowed, and extorted supplies from every quarter. Early in 1257 the pope sent the Archbishop of Messina to Henry apparently to get money. The election of Richard of Cornwall as king of the Romans put an end to his brother's chance of borrowing from him; Richard wanted all his money for his own schemes. At Mid-Lent Henry appeared before the parliament with Edmund in Apulian costume, declared that he had accepted the Sicilian crown for him, and incurred a debt of 150,000 marks by the advice of the English church, which the bishops denied; he asked for a tenth of ecclesiastical revenues for two years, and other grants from the church. The bishops unwillingly granted him 52,000 marks, stipulating for the observance of the Great charter. Many troubles came on him in this year (1257); he lost a daughter, Katharine—dumb but very pretty—on 3 May; his Sicilian project looked hopeless, and the Welsh, who had for some months been troublesome, were laying waste the border under their prince, Llewelyn, the son of Griffith. These mortifications threw him into a dangerous fever towards the end of May, and he lay some time sick at London. In September he marched to Chester, and thence to Gannoch, where he stayed about a month, and then, having made a discreditable peace with Llewelyn, returned home on 13 Oct. and levied a heavy scutage for the cost of his expedition. The pope sent several envoys and legates in succession to try to make Henry pay his debts to him, and the king was even threatened with excommunication if he failed.

He met his parliament on 9 April 1258; the nobles were not in a compliant mood, for there had been a terrible famine during the winter, and the Welsh were wasting the border, and had made alliance with the Scottish lords. He told them his difficulties, and asked for a large grant. They answered that his difficulties were the result of his own folly, and refused his request. Some recriminations passed between the king's friends and other lords, and the meeting was adjourned. After trying with only partial success to persuade the abbots of some great houses to become sureties for him, he on the 28th announced in parliament that he must have a third of all property. On the 30th the king was startled by the appearance before him of the barons in armour, their swords, however, being left at the door of Westminster Hall. 'What is it, my lords?' he cried; 'am I your prisoner?' That Roger Bigod denied, but said that the aliens must be banished, and that the king and his son must swear that he would be guided by a council of twenty-four elected magnates which

should enforce reforms. Henry agreed, and on 11 June met the barons at Oxford. They came with their men armed as for war, for they had been summoned for an expedition into Wales. The assembly gained the name of the 'Mad parliament.' A schedule of grievances was drawn up, a council of twenty-four was appointed, half by the king from his party and half by the barons, to effect reforms in church and state, and a body of fifteen was chosen by an intricate process devised to secure fairness to both parties to be the king's permanent council. Parliaments were to meet three times a year, and were to consist of the fifteen and a committee of twelve chosen by the baronage, who were to discuss the proceedings of the council. Another body of twenty-four was chosen by the parliament to arrange an aid (*Const. Hist.* ii. 74–8; *Select Charters*, pp. 367 seq.) The two bodies of twenty-four were temporary institutions; their existence was to end with the performance of their work. As a whole the scheme meant the establishment of a direct control over the executive, and its character was oligarchic; the national council shrunk to a small committee of the chief men of the kingdom. A justiciar, treasurer, and chancellor were chosen; they and the sheriffs were to hold office only for a year, and were then to answer for their acts before the king and his council. One of the first resolutions of the new council was that the king should resume possession of those royal castles which he had alienated, and that he should make them over to the custody of nineteen English barons. Henry's alien relatives declined to obey this order, and many, leaving the court, flung themselves into the castle of Wolvesey, then held by Aymer de Lusignan, bishop of Winchester, who refused to deliver the castle to the barons. Henry accompanied the baronial force to besiege the castle, which was surrendered on 5 July 1258, and on 5 Aug. he declared the council of twenty-four empowered to reform the realm. For the time he was helpless and knew it. One sultry July day he was overtaken on the Thames by a thunderstorm, landed, and sought shelter in the Bishop of Durham's house (where the Adelphi now stands), then occupied by Simon de Montfort. The earl came out to meet him, and seeing him disturbed assured him that the storm was over. 'I fear thunder and lightning exceedingly,' the king answered, 'but by God's head I fear thee more than all the thunder and lightning in the world' (Matt. Paris, v. 706). On 18 Oct. he renewed his assent to the appointment of the twenty-four, in a proclamation published in English as well as in Latin and French (*Select Charters*, p. 387). When Richard, king of the Romans, landed in January 1259, Henry met him and persuaded him to take the oath to the provisions of Oxford. A truce was made with the Welsh, and a peace with Louis IX, which was completed during a visit paid to France by Henry. He crossed, accompanied by the queen, on 14 Nov., spent Christmas at Paris, and gave up the claim to Normandy and the other hereditary possessions of the crown, receiving some territories in Gascony which had been lost (*Fœdera*, i. 383, 389). Although the Sicilian scheme had been quashed by the new government, he wrote to the Archbishop of Messina on 16 Jan. 1260, announcing that he expected that the peace with France would enable him to prosecute it with more energy (*Royal Letters*, ii. 147). He was present at the funeral of Prince Louis, and on the 22nd married his daughter Beatrice to John, duke of Brittany. At Easter he was at St. Omers, and landed in England on 23 April 1260, his return being hastened by the report that his son Edward was plotting with Earl Simon to dethrone him. The baronial party was divided: one, and that the more unselfish section, was headed by Earl Simon, with whom Edward was for the time in alliance; the other section, which had oligarchical aims, was headed by Gloucester, who had been with the king in France, and was supported by him.

Henry took up his lodgings at St. Paul's, caused Gloucester to remain within the city, and had the gates closely watched. He was reconciled to Edward, and brought accusations against Earl Simon, probably before the barons at a meeting at St. Paul's, soon after his return. An arbitration was decided on. During the autumn of 1260 he fortified the Tower, and in the winter received a visit from the king of Scotland and his daughter the queen, who came to be delivered in February 1261 of her child Margaret, afterwards queen of Norway. Meanwhile, stirred up by his queen, he was taking measures to escape from his oath. Reports of his plan were spread abroad, and he thought it advisable to shut himself in the Tower, and on 14 March issued a proclamation against those who spread false rumours. He summoned a parliament to meet in the Tower, but the lords refused to attend, except at Westminster, according to custom (*Ann. Dunst.* p. 217; the date of this incident is uncertain). Then he went to Windsor, and thence to Winchester, where, as it was his birthplace, he had special claims on the loyalty of the citizens, and on 24 April dismissed the barons' justiciar, and appointed Philip Basset [q. v.] in his place. The government of 1258 had

failed, and ever since Henry's departure for France he had been regaining the ground which he had lost. The personal quarrel between him and Earl Simon was referred to the arbitration of Louis IX, and as Louis was unwilling to act, his queen accepted the office of arbitrator, though the points were actually to be settled by two commissioners on either side, with two umpires nominated by the queen. On 18 May 1261 Henry felt strong enough to issue a proclamation against the aliens who were being introduced into the kingdom by Earl Simon. He made Hugh Bigod (*d.* 1266) [q. v.] give up Dover Castle, which had been entrusted to him by the barons, probably to prevent any troops being landed except such as were engaged by himself. All was ready for his great stroke. On 14 June he exhibited bulls obtained from Alexander IV just before his death, absolving him and every one else from their oaths to the Oxford provisions. Having done this he retired to the Tower, appointed new sheriffs, and ordered the surrender of castles. On 16 Aug. he issued a proclamation justifying his conduct, and laying all the blame of the troubles on the barons. Finding that Earl Simon and the Earl of Gloucester, who were again acting together, and other lords had summoned three knights from each shire to meet at St. Albans, he wrote to the sheriffs on 11 Sept., ordering that the knights should come to him at Windsor instead on the 18th, where, he said, he should treat with his nobles for a peace. Nothing seems to have been effected. The council ordered his sheriffs to vacate office, and appointed substitutes called wardens of counties. Henry ordered his sheriffs to continue. On 28 Oct., however, negotiations were opened at Kingston, and on 7 Dec. some kind of reconciliation was arranged. On 1 Jan. 1262 he wrote to the pope for a confirmation of the absolution granted by his predecessor. The question about the sheriffs was referred by the king and the parliament to the king of the Romans, who decided in favour of his brother. In Mid-Lent the absolution was received from Urban IV, was published in London and laid before the parliament. Matters were on the whole going well with the king, and Earl Simon was absent in France. Apparently with the idea of winning over Louis IX to his side, Henry and his queen with their private attendants crossed to France in July. Henry was seized with a fever which endangered his life, and on 30 Sept. wrote to his brother from St. Germains that he could only just walk a little about his room, and had therefore been unable to forward the business for which he came (*Fœdera*, i. 421). He did not return to England until Christmas 1262. He brought back many foreigners with him.

During Henry's absence troubles had broken out on the Welsh border; the Earl of Gloucester had died, and his successor [see CLARE, GILBERT DE] had thrown in his lot with Earl Simon. Henry had made no progress with Louis, and he therefore in January 1263 renewed his assent to the Oxford provisions. He sent urgent letters to Louis and his queen with reference to the establishment of peace between him and Earl Simon, for which he was sincerely anxious, but was informed on 16 Feb. that the earl had told Louis that, though he believed that the king wished well, he was under the influence of counsellors who would not willingly see a reconciliation, and that therefore arbitration was for the present useless (*Royal Letters*, ii. 242). The ravages of the Welsh still continuing, he sent for Edward, then in France, to come and check them. While Edward was carrying on hostilities on the Welsh border against certain of the baronial party who were evidently acting in concert with Llewelyn, Henry remained at Westminster; he was still in weak health, and it was feared that a fire which broke out in the palace and did much mischief would retard his recovery (*Fœdera*, p. 424). In March he required a general oath of allegiance to Edward as his successor (*ib.* p. 425). This brought matters to a crisis; the barons demanded that he should swear to stand by the provisions of Oxford; he shut himself in the Tower and refused, and Earl Simon openly revolted. On 29 June the king of the Romans was engaged in mediating a truce, which was completed on 15 July; the aliens were banished, and the king agreed that the baronial justiciar, Hugh le Despenser, should hold office, gave up the Tower to him, and returned to Westminster. An attempt was made to settle the dispute by reference to the king of France. The barons refused to allow Henry to leave the kingdom until Louis gave security for his speedy return. When this was done the king sailed on 19 Sept.; met Earl Simon in the presence of Louis at Boulogne on the 22nd; and, no arrangement being made, returned to England on 7 Oct., leaving his queen in France. A week later he and the lords of his party had a violent altercation with Earl Simon in parliament. Henry demanded that the appointment of the officers of the household should rest with himself, and that a judicial inquiry should be made as to the damage done by the baronial party. He left Westminster, and occupied Windsor with the earls and barons who adhered to him. On 3 Dec., in company with the king of the Romans, he

made a sudden attempt on Dover Castle, and being refused admittance marched, deeply annoyed, towards London, in the hope of gaining the city, but his friends among the citizens were not as strong as the baronial party, and he found the gates closed against him. On 16 Dec. it was agreed to submit the provisions to the arbitration of Louis, and in the last days of 1263 Henry sailed to Wissant, and met the French king at Amiens, where on 23 Jan. 1264 Louis made his award, by which, in accordance with the papal decree, he declared the provisions null and void; the castles held by wardens appointed by the barons were to be delivered to the king; he was to have the appointment of all officers of state, might employ aliens in the work of government, and was to be restored to full power (*ib.* i. 433). The award was confirmed by Urban IV, who promised to send a legate.

Henry returned to England on 15 Feb. 1264 with a strong force and a good supply of money, and found that the barons rejected the award, and that Llewelyn and Earl Simon were in alliance, and were fighting against Edward on the border. About 18 March 1264 he held a conference at Oxford with the barons who were assembled at Brackley; but the negotiations came to nothing. While he was at Oxford he dismissed the university, in consequence of a riot which had taken place on the first Thursday in Lent. On 20 March he summoned his forces to meet there on the 30th, and marched in person against Northampton, then held by Simon de Montfort the younger, and took it on 5 April. Simon and many others were made prisoners. Thence he marched to Leicester, and on to Nottingham, which was delivered up to him [see BARDOLF, WILLIAM]. Meanwhile the Londoners broke into open revolt, slew many Jews who were on the king's side, and seized the royal treasure. Henry and his son marched south to the relief of Rochester Castle, which was besieged by Earl Simon, found the siege raised, took Tonbridge on 1 May, visited Winchelsea, and tried to compel the Cinque ports to aid him; then finding provisions run short he marched into Sussex, and on the 12th took up his quarters at the priory of Lewes. The baronial army was a few miles distant, and the bishops of London and Worcester, who were with Earl Simon, came to the king to treat about peace, and are said to have offered fifty thousand marks for the confirmation of the provisions. In the battle of Lewes on 14 May [see under EDWARD I] the king fought in person with the royal ensign, the dragon, displayed. His army was more numerous than that of the barons, but the imprudence of Edward left him exposed to the attack of the larger part of the enemy's forces. He displayed great courage, his charger was slain under him, his army was completely routed, and he took shelter in the priory. His son became hostage for him, and the next day an agreement or *mise* was made. Commissioners were appointed as arbitrators; they were to choose counsellors who were to be Englishmen to direct the king in all matters, and see that he did not live expensively; Edward and his cousin Henry were to be hostages, and the final agreement was to be made the following Easter.

The king now ceased to reign except in name; he was virtually the captive of Earl Simon, who took care to keep him always with him, and used him simply to give authority to his own acts. He was treated with personal respect, but was led about at the earl's will, and had to seal letters which were contrary to his interests. On 17 May 1264 he was taken to Battle, and thence by way of Canterbury and Rochester to London, where he arrived on 27 or 28 May, and was lodged with the bishop at St. Paul's; on 4 June he was caused to summons a parliament to meet on the 22nd, to which four knights were to be sent from each shire. At this parliament a scheme of government was settled, by which the king was to act in accordance with the advice of nine counsellors. An invasion was expected from Flanders. Henry's queen had gathered for the relief of her husband an army which had been reinforced by many of his adherents from England, and was ready to embark at Damme. He was made to write repeated letters to Louis to prevent troops being raised, and summoned a force to meet on a down near Canterbury, whither he was taken by Simon in August, and remained during September. The invasion did not take place; the wind was contrary, and Simon was careful to have the coast thoroughly defended. On 2 Oct. the king was at Westminster, and on 18 Nov. at Windsor, where he was made to write to the queen, forbidding her to raise money for his cause by selling or pledging any of his French fiefs (*ib.* p. 448). An attempt of the marchers on behalf of Edward, and their renewal of the war with Llewelyn, caused Earl Simon to direct the king to summon a conference at Oxford on 30 Nov.; he took Henry with him to Gloucester, and on 13 Dec. to Worcester, where certain of the marchers agreed to go into exile. While at Worcester Henry sent out writs for the earl's famous parliament, which met in his presence at Westminster on 20 Jan. 1265, and to which representatives were summoned from the shires, cities, and

boroughs [for the earl's government, see under MONTFORT, SIMON DE]. Henry stayed at Westminster until after the parliament broke up, giving his assent to the new constitution on 14 March. A quarrel having arisen between the Earls of Leicester and Gloucester, he was taken by Earl Simon to Northampton, and thence to Worcester, Gloucester, and Hereford, where he was during the larger parts of May and June 1265. While at Hereford a writ was issued in his name to summon an army against his son, who had escaped from Earl Simon's custody at Hereford. When the earl found himself shut in behind the Severn he took the king to Monmouth on 28 June, and was forced to retire to Hereford again. On 2 Aug. Henry crossed the Severn with the earl, and though Simon was anxious to press on to Kenilworth, obtained his wish to have breakfast before leaving the abbey of Evesham on the 4th. In the battle of that day he was sharply wounded on the shoulder-blade by his son's men, who did not know him, and would have killed him had he not cried out, 'I am Henry of Winchester, your king; do not slay me.' A baron named Roger of Leyburne is said to have saved him. Edward heard his voice, ran towards him, and had him led to a place of safety. He allowed the mutilated remains of Earl Simon and the body of his son Henry to be buried in the abbey church at Evesham.

His son's victory restored him to power, and on 7 Aug. he issued a writ at Worcester, revoking all grants made by the late earl under his seal since the battle of Lewes (*ib.* p. 458). On 8 Sept. he held a great council at Winchester, where the forfeiture of the lands of all the rebel lords was decreed. The Londoners submitted on 6 Oct.; Henry imprisoned some of the leaders of the rebel party for a short time at Windsor, and made the city pay twenty thousand marks for peace. Some discontent was felt at his rapid disposal of the material fruits of his victory; forfeited lands were distributed among his adherents, and large sums were paid to creditors in France on account of debts incurred by the queen on his behalf. At Canterbury he met his queen, who landed on 1 Nov. With her came the legate Ottoboni, who was sent by Clement IV to punish the bishops of the baronial party, excommunicate those who still held out against the king, help to restore order, and put the tenth levied on the clergy in the king's hand. In company with the legate Henry held a council at Northampton at the end of December, and received the submission of the younger Simon de Montfort [for particulars of the reduction of the rebels to submission, see under EDWARD I]; negotiations were also set on foot with Llewelyn. Although the victory at Evesham was not followed by any executions, the sweeping sentence of confiscation drove many of the defeated party to resistance. A strong body of them shut themselves up in Kenilworth, did much mischief to the neighbouring country, and sent back one of the king's messengers with his hand cut off. Accordingly, on 15 March 1266, Henry summoned his military tenants to meet at Oxford in three weeks; on 6 May he was at Northampton, probably to complete his muster, and then advanced to Kenilworth. During the course of the siege he held a parliament, at which on 24 Aug. the 'Ban of Kenilworth' was drawn up [see under EDWARD I]. The terms offered in this settlement were accepted by the garrison on 20 Dec. A dangerous outbreak of rebellion in the isle of Ely forced Henry to hold a council at Bury St. Edmunds on 21 Feb. 1267, to summon his forces, and to march to Cambridge. He made no head against the rebels, and in April was called away by the news that the Earl of Gloucester [see CLARE, GILBERT DE, 1243-1295] had occupied London, and was besieging the legate in the Tower. He marched to Windsor, and thence to London, where he was refused admittance. Alarmed at the height to which matters had grown, he contented himself by delivering the legate from the Tower, and reinforcing the garrison, and then fell back on West Ham in Essex, and took up his quarters in the Cistercian abbey of Stratford Langthorne. Terms were finally arranged on 16 June, through the mediation of the king of the Romans, and three days later the king entered the city. No penalties were exacted, and Henry remained there until 25 July. During his stay the isle of Ely was reduced by Edward, and he dismissed nearly all his foreign mercenaries (WYKES, p. 207). Difficulties having arisen in the negotiations with Llewelyn, he proceeded to Shrewsbury with the legate, and made peace with him at Michaelmas.

The country was at last in a state of order, and on 18 Nov. 1267 Henry held a parliament at Marlborough, to which probably representatives from the counties were summoned, and in which a statute was passed enacting many of the reforms demanded at the beginning of the late troubles, and, save that it left the appointment of ministers and sheriffs to the king, conceding nearly everything asked for in the 'Mad parliament' (*Const. Hist.* ii. 97). He spent Christmas in company with the legate at Winchester, the city to which he was deeply attached. In the spring of 1268 he allowed the legate to hold a national

council at St. Paul's, at which Ottoboni promulgated a number of constitutions, and at midsummer he held a parliament at Northampton, at which Edward and a crowd of nobles took the cross. Ottoboni left England on 1 Aug. Henry held a parliament at Winchester in November, in which he conferred divers honours on his son [see under EDWARD I], and in that and each remaining year of his life spent Christmas there. He gratified his people by assenting to a statute forbidding the Jews to acquire the land of their debtors, at a parliament held in London at Easter 1269 (*ib.*) In August he made a treaty with Magnus of Norway, containing provisions respecting trade and the protection to be accorded to shipwrecked persons of either country (*Fœdera*, i. 480). On 13 Oct. he held a great assembly at Westminster, which was attended by all the prelates and magnates of his kingdom, and by men from all the cities and boroughs. During many years he had been rebuilding the abbey church of Westminster. It was at last in a state to be used for service, and the gorgeous shrine which he set up for the body of the Confessor being complete, he caused the saint to be translated and laid within it. The ceremony was performed with magnificence. He intended to 'wear his crown' as kings did at their solemn festivals in older days, but finding that there was a dispute between the citizens of London and of Winchester as to the right of acting as cupbearers gave up his design (*Ann. Winton.* p. 108; *Liber de Antiquis Legibus*, p. 117). After the ceremonies were over the magnates discussed his request for a twentieth of moveables and granted it. A parliament of magnates, which met on 27 April 1270, and was adjourned until after midsummer, arranged the collection of the twentieth, and set the king's mind at ease with respect to his vow of crusade by forbidding him to fulfil it. While he was still under his vow, on 12 May he addressed a letter to the clergy, asking them to grant a twentieth, as the bishops had done, for the crusade, which he declared he was about to undertake. On 5 Aug. he took leave of Edward at Winchester.

In the winter he was very ill at Westminster, and wrote to Edward on 6 Feb. 1271 to say that his physicians had no hope of his recovery, and that his son would do well to return. By 16 April his health had mended. He was grieved at the death of Edward's son John on 1 Aug. After Christmas he was detained at Winchester by sickness, and was unable to leave until after Epiphany. In May 1272 he wrote to Philip III, the new French king, excusing himself from coming to do homage for the duchy of Aquitaine, on the ground of serious ill-health. In August he was expecting to cross to France for that purpose, and borrowed a large sum for his expenses from certain merchants, to whom he made over the fines and judicial profits of six counties for their repayment. A dangerous riot breaking out at Norwich in the same month, he went thither in person, and severely punished the offenders. On 4 Nov. he ordered preparations to be made for his spending the ensuing Christmas at Winchester, but he died on Wednesday the 16th, the day of St. Edmund of Canterbury, at Westminster (so *Ann. Winton.* p. 112; *Ann. of Worcester*, p. 461; JOHN OF OXENEDES, p. 242, and decisively *Liber de Antiq. Leg.* p. 115; but, by a double confusion between time and place and between the two Sts. Edmund, Rishanger (p. 74) has at Bury St. Edmunds). He was in his sixty-sixth year, and had reigned fifty-six years and twenty days. On the 20th his corpse, richly dressed and wearing a crown, was borne to the grave by his nobles, and was buried in Westminster Abbey church, which he had himself built, being laid in the tomb from which he had translated the body of the Confessor, before the high altar. Edward I prepared a more splendid tomb for his father, and had his body placed in it; this tomb stands on the north side of the altar, and presents an effigy, once gilded, the work of William Torell [see under ELEANOR OF CASTILE]. In 1292 the abbot of Westminster delivered Henry's heart to the abbess of Fontevraud, to whom the king had promised it when he visited her house in 1254 (*Monasticon*, i. 312). His queen survived him [see under ELEANOR OF PROVENCE for his children].

Henry was of middle height, had a well-knit frame, and much muscular strength; one of his eyelids drooped so as partly to hide the eye; the forehead of his effigy is much and deeply lined. He had a refined mind and cultivated tastes; and was liberal and magnificent. The arts and elegance of Southern Europe were brought within his reach by his marriage, and his delight in them had no doubt much to do with his disastrous attachment to his queen's family. He took interest in the work of Matthew Paris, and enjoyed his society. His love of art is exemplified by the orders which he gave for paintings to be executed at Westminster, Windsor, Woodstock, and the Tower, and in a higher degree by the abbey church of Westminster, which he erected at his sole cost. The work of pulling down the church of the Confessor was begun in 1245, and the rebuilding was continued during the rest of the king's life. Other reli-

[illegible] and the most solemn [illegible] him. He had no talent [illegible] in affairs of state he was [illegible] policy, and [illegible] were disgracefully mismanaged. Most of his difficulties were of his [illegible] part of them, however, [illegible] the change which was passing [illegible] the constitution. If he had [illegible] he might have taken [illegible] state of change, and of the [illegible] and struggles which accompanied [illegible] a new despotism. As it [illegible] was a period during which [illegible] on the monarchy in his [illegible] to gather strength, so [illegible] succeeded by such an able [illegible] all danger that they might [illegible] passed away.

[illegible] Hist. v. iii., while dealing [illegible] aspects of Henry's reign, [illegible] account of his life, with which [illegible] the same author's [illegible] For the quarrel with the [illegible] Stubbs's Barons' War, 2nd edit. 1871, [illegible] the war itself, Paul's Simon de Montfort, translated by Goodwin, 1876, and Prothero's Simon de Montfort, which contains a [illegible] the king. Of original authorities, for the first few years of the reign, Ralph of Coggeshall to 1224, and Walter of Coventry, [illegible] Rolls Ser., are useful. Roger of Wendover's Flores, vol. iv. (Engl. Hist. Soc.), ends at 1235, and is as far as Henry is concerned a first-hand authority, carefully written, honest, and outspoken; it should be read with vols. iii. iv. and v. of Dr. Luard's noble edition of Matt. Paris (Rolls Ser.), for Paris in several places interprets Wendover's work, and carries it on to 1259. The grandest of all English, perhaps of all the historians of the middle ages, Paris makes the king and all his other principal characters live in his pages, and tells several incidents which he must have heard from Henry's own lips. Of the Annales Monastici, vols. i–v., also edited by Dr. Luard (Rolls Ser.) the Ann. of Tewkesbury, ending 1263, are chiefly valuable from 1258; like most of the monastic chroniclers, the writer takes the popular side; the Ann. of Burton, ending 1262, contain one or two personal details, e.g. an account of Henry's pilgrimage to Pontigny and visit to Paris in 1254, and many valuable documents; Ann. of Winchester, especially important from 1267, and used in the Ann. of Waverley, which from 1219 to 1266 are a first-hand authority of the most trustworthy kind; the Ann. of Dunstable have a few personal details worth notice; T. Wykes, canon of Osney, having used the Osney Annals as a basis for the first part of his work, gradually becomes independent, and wholly deserts the annals during the period of the quarrel with the barons, taking, unlike the annalist, the side of the crown. As he is trustworthy, his political standpoint

makes his work peculiarly interesting; he does not spare the king. Royal Letters, Henry III, ed. Shirley (Rolls Ser.), 2 vols., contain much not to be found elsewhere, especially as to affairs in Gascony; Rymer's Fœdera, vol. i., Record Office ed. Rishanger's Chronicle (Rolls Ser.) continues Matt. Paris, and appears from 1259 to have borrowed extensively from the Annals of N. Trivet (Engl. Hist. Soc.); Rishanger's Chronicon de Bellis, a History of the Barons' War (Camd. Soc.), by a contemporary; Cont. of Gervase of Cant. founded on the Dover Ann., specially useful from 1260, ap. Gervase II (Rolls Ser.) On this period see also Political Songs, ed. Wright (Camd. Soc.), and Liber de Antiquis Legibus, on all that is connected with London (Camd. Soc.) John of Oxenedes (Rolls Ser.); Cotton (Rolls Ser.) from 1263; Taxster's Chron. or Cont. of Florence of Worcester (Engl. Hist. Soc.); Chron. of Melrose and Chron. of Lanercost, both ed. Stevenson (Bannatyne Club); Walter of Hemingburgh (Engl. Hist. Soc.); Peter Langtoft (Rolls Ser.); Robert of Gloucester, ed. Hearne. For French notices see Bernard of Limoges and Chron. of Tours, Recueil des Historiens xviii. 236, 305, and Nangis, Société de l'Hist.; Dugdale's Monasticon, see index under Henry III; Walpole's Anecd. of Painting, i. 3–15; Stanley's Memorials of Westminster, 4th edit. pp. 117–124.] W. H.

**HENRY IV** (1367–1413), king of England, eldest surviving son of John of Gaunt [q. v.], fourth son of Edward III, by his first wife, Blanche, daughter and heiress of Henry, duke of Lancaster [q. v.], was born on 3 April 1367, the day of the victory won at Najara by his father and his uncle Edward the 'Black Prince' [q. v.] (*Notes and Queries*, 4th ser. xi. 162), at his father's castle of Bolingbroke, near Spilsby, Lincolnshire (CAPGRAVE, *De Illustribus Henricis*, p. 98). He was therefore sometimes called Henry of Bolingbroke (WILLIAMS, note to *Chronique de la Traison*, p. 124). Contemporaries more often styled him Henry of Lancaster. When only ten years old he was, on 23 April 1377, made a knight of the Garter by his grandfather Edward III. Less than three months afterwards he bore the principal sword at the coronation of Richard II (*Fœdera*, vii. 160, original edition). In 1377 he was already styled Earl of Derby.

Henry's mother died in 1369. In 1372 his father married Constance of Castile, and called himself king of Castile and Leon. When, about June 1378, John went beyond sea he appointed Henry 'warden of the regality of the palatine county of Lancaster' (*Deputy-Keeper's Thirty-second Report*, p. 350). About 1380 Henry married Mary Bohun, the younger of the two coheiresses of the Hereford earldom, whose elder sister was already the wife of his uncle Thomas of Woodstock [q. v.], afterwards Duke of Gloucester. Both were mere children. In 1381 Henry was with King Richard in the Tower when threatened by the followers of Wat Tyler (KNIGHTON in TWYSDEN, *Decem Scriptores*, c. 2634). In 1382 his wife was still under the care of her mother, the Countess of Hereford (*Fœdera*, vii. 343). Yet on 4 Nov. 1383 he was associated with his father, already lieutenant in Picardy, on a commission to treat with Flanders and France at Leulinghen (*ib.* vii. 412–413). When he was less than twenty Froissart praised his knightly skill, and in 1386 he distinguished himself in some great jousts at London.

In July 1386 John of Gaunt, when sailing in quest of his throne, was accompanied by Henry to Plymouth (KNIGHTON, c. 2676). Henry was again warden of the Lancaster palatinate, and witnessed charters between 1 Sept. 1386 and December 1388 (*Deputy-Keeper's Thirty-second Report*, App. i. pp. 359–361; FROISSART, xi. 325, ed. Kervyn). He probably continued in office until his father's return in November 1389.

The struggle between Richard II and the baronial opposition began in the parliament of October 1386, when Henry was not of age to receive a summons. Yet when, after Easter 1387, Richard withdrew to Wales to take counsel with Robert de Vere, duke of Ireland [q. v.], Derby was one of the persons obnoxious to the king and his favourites (WALSINGHAM, *Hist. Anglic.* ii. 161). Derby now definitely joined his uncle Gloucester, Richard Fitzalan, earl of Arundel (1346–1397) [q. v.], and Thomas Beauchamp, earl of Warwick [q. v.] Thomas Mowbray [q. v.], earl of Nottingham and earl-marshal, followed his example. On 12 Dec. 1387 the five met at Huntingdon. The hesitation of the two new confederates alone prevented the adoption of Arundel's plan to capture and depose the king (*Rot. Parl.* iii. 376; *Monk of Evesham*, p. 137). Derby was first in the field in the hostilities that ensued. On 20 Dec. he blocked the way of the Duke of Ireland, who was advancing with a wild horde of Welsh and Cheshire men, by occupying Radcot Bridge in Oxfordshire. The duke took flight (KNIGHTON, c. 2703–4). Henry and Warwick led the van of the host of the five lords which marched through Oxford (ADAM OF USK, p. 5), reached London on 26 Dec., and camped in the fields at Clerkenwell. The citizens gladly opened their gates, and Henry was ever afterwards their hero. Richard was forced to give audience in the Tower to the five lords, and to concede their demands against the favourites. Henry could not resist the unworthy triumph of showing the king the vast throng beneath

the Tower walls. He took a leading share in the proceedings of the Merciless parliament. On 3 Feb. 1388 he followed Gloucester in renewing the charge of treason against the favourites (*Rot. Parl.* iii. 229). But alone amidst the appellants he showed some moderation, and quarrelled fiercely with Gloucester for not sparing Sir Simon Burley [q. v.] (WALSINGHAM, ii. 174).

Derby was present in the Hilarytide parliament of 1389 (*Rot. Parl.* iii. 264). On 3 May 1389 Richard threw off the tutelage of the appellants; but on 13 Sept. Derby and the earl-marshal were already restored to the council (NICOLAS, *Ord. Privy Council*, i. 11). Lancaster, now back in England, doubtless urged moderate courses upon his son. For the next few years Derby held aloof from political intrigue. He gradually won back Richard's favour, and sought fame in tournaments and crusades. He attended the great jousts at Saint-Inglevert, between Calais and Boulogne, in March and April 1390. The French agreed that he was the best of the English knights, and his liberality increased his popularity (*Livre des faicts du Mareschal de Boucicault* in MICHAUD et POUJOULAT, *Collect. de Mémoires*, ii. 231; *Religieux de Saint-Denys*, i. 678, *Doc. inédits*; *Les Joûtes de Saint-Inglebert, Poème Contemporain*, Paris, 1864; *Chronique de Berne* in Kervyn's FROISSART, xiv. 419-20). He returned to England early in May.

Devotion to the church had always been hereditary in the Lancastrian house, and Henry prepared to join the crusade of Bourbon, Boucicault, and the Genoese to Barbary, though at the last moment he allowed his brother John Beaufort to go alone. The statement of the Saint-Denys chronicler that Derby actually went on this crusade (*Chroniques*, i. 650) has misled most later writers. (The whole question is discussed by J. DELAVILLE LE ROULX, *La France en Orient, Expéditions du Maréchal de Boucicault*, i. 176 sq. in *Bibliothèque de l'École Française d'Athènes*, fascicule 44, Paris, 1886.) Henry's own treasurer, Richard Kyngeston, speaks in his accounts of the 'viagium ordinatum versus partes Barbarie' (*Deputy-Keeper's Thirtieth Report*, p. 35). Instead of this, however, Henry determined to join the Teutonic knights on an expedition into Lithuania, which still counted as a crusade, although the Lithuanians had just become Christian. John of Gaunt gave him 3,500*l.* for his expenses. Ships from Danzig were hired to transport him and his three hundred followers. On 20 July 1390 the expedition set sail from Boston, and three weeks later landed at Rosenhain in Further Pomerania. The accounts of Henry's treasurer, Kyngeston, give a full itinerary of 'le reys' (*Compotus R. Kyngeston Thesaurarii Dom. Hen. Com. de Derby pro viagio suo versus partes Pruc.* in Records of the Duchy of Lancaster, No. xxviii., first bundle, No. 6, R. O.; see *Deputy-Keeper's Thirtieth Report*, p. 35; and summary by Dr. Pauli in pp. 406-17 of the *Monatsberichte der königliche Preuss. Acad. der Wissenschaften*, Berlin, 1857, reprinted in *Beilage* ix. of vol. ii. of HIRSCH, *Scriptores Rerum Prussicarum*, Leipzig, 1861-74). Derby reached Danzig on 10 and Königsberg on 16 Aug. The ordensmarschall, Engelhard Rabe, started upon his arrival in alliance with Vitovt, the exiled claimant to the duchy, and in co-operation with the master of the knights of the Sword of Livonia. The crusaders gained a complete victory on 28 Aug., and the Prussian historians acknowledge the good service of 'der herczoge von langkastel' and his archers (JOHANN VON POSILGE in *Script. Rer. Pruss.* iii. 164-5; LINDENBLATT, *Jahrbücher*, ed. Voigt, 1823; cf. VOIGT, *Geschichte Preussens*, v. 541; WALSINGHAM, ii. 197-8, gives the best English account of the whole journey). They besieged Vilna, the Lithuanian capital, in September. The English archers won great glory; but sickness caused the siege to be abandoned. On 20 Oct. Derby was back at Königsberg, where he remained till 9 Feb. 1391, keeping up a great feast between Christmas and Twelfth Night 'in the English way.' He returned to Danzig, remained there till after Easter 1392, receiving presents from the new hochmeister, Konrad von Wallenrod, and treating with Poland for the delivery of two captive English knights. The severity of the winter prevented another 'reys.' Henry became involved in acrimonious disputes with the Teutonic knights (*Ann. Thorun.* p. 168, in *Script. Rer. Pruss.*), and his uncle Gloucester was prevented from joining him by bad weather. By redeeming captives and pious offerings he obtained from Boniface IX absolution from his crusading vow, and at the end of March he sailed for England, landing at Hull before 30 April (CAPGRAVE, *De Ill. Henr.* p. 99). On 3 Nov. he was in London attending parliament, and acting as a trier of petitions (*Rot. Parl.* iii. 284).

In July 1392 Henry again embarked at Lynn for a second crusade in Prussia. Landing at Leba in Pomerania, he entered Danzig on 10 Aug. His followers killed a German (J. VON POSILGE in *Script. Rer. Pruss.* iii. 182), and were so disorderly that the Teutonic knights were glad to get rid of him. He then went to Königsberg, but early in September was back in Danzig, having given up his plan of a new 'reys' altogether. He sent most of

his followers home, and on 23 Sept. started for a pilgrimage to the Holy Sepulchre. Richard Kyngeston's expenses roll again preserves his itinerary. He stayed at Prague from 13 to 25 Oct. 1392, passed three days with King Wenzel at his castle of Bettlern; spent the first four days of November at Vienna, meeting Archduke Albrecht III and Sigismund of Hungary; and, crossing the Semmering, reached Venice on 29 Nov., and was splendidly entertained at the expense of the state, which presented him with a fully equipped galley (RIANT, *Archives de l'Orient Latin*, II. ii. 238–40; *Cal. State Papers*, Venet. i. Nos. 107–8). He spent Christmas day at Zara, and also landed at Rhodes, whence he sailed to Jaffa. Thence he made a flying visit to Jerusalem, one donkey carrying his provisions, and returned by Cyprus (STUBBS, *Lectures on Mediæval and Modern History*, p. 198; RAINE, *Papers from the Northern Registers*, p. 198), reaching Venice towards the end of March 1393, where the council voted one hundred ducats 'that he might return home contented with us.' After a month's stay at his old quarters at San Giorgio, he travelled by Milan (13 May) and Pavia and the Mont Cenis to Paris, where he arrived on 22 June (cf. LUCE, *Chronique des Quatre Premiers Valois*, p. 335, Soc. de l'Hist. de France). He reached London on 5 July, having industriously visited churches and other sights throughout his journey (KYNGESTON's accounts in *Lancaster Records*, class xxviii. first bundle No. 7; summarised by Dr. PAULI in *Nachrichten von der königlichen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen*, No. 8, pp. 329–40, 1880, and No. 14, pp. 345–357, 1881; cf. CAPGRAVE, *De Illustribus Henricis*, pp. 99–101). Froissart's statement that he visited Cairo and St. Catherine's (xvi. 107, ed. Kervyn) is wrong.

For the next few years Henry remained quietly at home, taking an active but not a very conspicuous part in politics, and generally working with his father on the side of the king. In 1393 father and son quarrelled with Arundel, whom they accused of lukewarmness in putting down the Cheshire revolt. Henry was present in the Hilarytide parliament of 1394. His stepmother, Constance, and his wife, Mary Bohun, died and were buried with great pomp at the end of June at Leicester (KNIGHTON, c. 2741; WALS. ii. 214). In 1395 Derby acted as one of the council which ruled England while Richard II was in Ireland (*Ord. P. C.* i. 57). He tried petitions at the Westminster parliament which met in January and February (*Rot. Parl.* iii. 329). The conclusion of a private treaty of alliance by his father and himself with the Duke of Brittany, without reservation of homage to Richard, on 25 Nov., is sometimes regarded as an attempt to establish a separate interest from that of the king (WILLIAMS, Preface, pp. xix–xx, of *Chronique de la Traïson*, Engl. Hist. Soc.) But the treaty was mainly concerned with a projected marriage of Derby's eldest son, Henry (afterwards Henry V), to Mary, eldest daughter of John IV, duke of Brittany (LOBINEAU, *Hist. de Bretagne*, Preuves, ii. 791–3). In October 1396 Derby took a prominent part at the meeting of Richard II and Charles VI of France, previous to the English king's marriage with Isabella, Charles's daughter, and in February 1397 Richard proposed a marriage between Derby and a lady of the lineage of the king of France (*Fœdera*, vii. 850).

Early in 1396 Henry was anxious to join the expedition of William of Bavaria, count of Oostervant, eldest son of Count Albert of Hainault and Holland, against Friesland, but was forbidden to go by his father (FROISSART, xv. 269–70, ed. Kervyn). The story that he then went to Hungary and fought with King Sigismund against the Turks at Nicopolis (25 Sept.) rests solely upon the statement of the Italian chronicler Minerbetti (TARTINI, *Rer. Ital. Script.* ii. c. 364), that a son of Lancaster (possibly John Beaufort) was present at the battle (see DELAVILLE LE ROULX, i. 216).

In the January parliament of 1397 Derby was a trier of petitions (*Rot. Parl.* iii. 337), and witnessed a grant to his brother, John Beaufort, now Earl of Somerset (*ib.* iii. 343). Henry had long ceased to have any dealings with Gloucester and his friends, and was friendly to Richard throughout the great struggle that the king had made to win absolute power and revenge himself on his old enemies. The French authorities maintain (very improbably) that he was present at the conference of conspirators which met, according to them, at Arundel, in July (*Chronique de la Traïson*, p. 5; *Religieux de Saint-Denys*, ii. 478). When Gloucester, Arundel, and Warwick were arrested, Henry took a decided part against his old associates; but he avoided the violence of Nottingham, earl-marshal. He was not a party to the marshal's new appeal, and had no share in the getting rid of Gloucester. But he joined his father and the Duke of York after 28 Aug. in gathering troops to protect the king (*Fœdera*, viii. 14). When the new parliament met on 17 Sept. 1397, Henry was again a trier of petitions (*Rot. Parl.* iii. 348). He attacked Arundel, now his personal enemy, who hotly gave him the lie (*Monk of Evesham*, p. 137; USK, p. 14). On the rehearsal of the commons that Derby and

Nottingham had been 'innocent of malice' in their former appeal, the king vouched for their loyalty (*Rot. Parl.* iii. 353). On 29 Sept. Henry was made Duke of Hereford, the king himself girding him with his sword and putting on his head the cap of honour (*ib.* iii. 355).

The triumph of Richard was so complete that Nottingham, now Duke of Norfolk, became uneasy. He confided to Hereford his fears that Richard's vengeance would still extend to them, and, according to Hereford (*ib.* iii. 360), declared that the king was not to be trusted even if he 'had sworn on God's body.' Hereford reported this to his father; and afterwards, at the king's command, drew up a statement (*ib.* iii. 360). On 30 Jan. 1398 Hereford repeated the charge before the parliament reassembled at Shrewsbury, and appealed Norfolk of treason. Richard referred the whole business to the committee of parliament, and again pardoned Hereford (*ib.* iii. 367). On 4 Feb. a peremptory summons was issued to Norfolk to appear before the king within fifteen days (*Fœdera*, viii. 32).

On 23 Feb. Hereford and Norfolk both came before Richard at Oswestry, and Norfolk denounced Hereford as a liar and traitor. Both were put under arrest, though Hereford was released under sureties after a time, and the matter was finally referred to a court of chivalry at Windsor (*Rot. Parl.* iii. 383), which ordered (29 April) that the dispute should be decided by combat on 16 Sept. at Coventry. Before this court Norfolk partially admitted his indiscretion (*ib.* iii. 383).

Great preparations were made for the duel. Hereford obtained from Gian Galeazzo Visconti some of the famous Milan armourers, while Norfolk sought his harness from the smiths of Germany (Froissart, xvi. 95–6). The king of France sent in vain a special messenger to prevent the combat (Wallon, *Richard II*, ii. 465; his instructions are printed in Froissart, ed. Kervyn, xvi. 302–5). Popular feeling rose high. The Londoners hated Norfolk as the murderer of Gloucester, and rallied round their old favourite. So strong was the feeling that Richard's best friends urged him not to risk the battle. When 16 Sept. came, a vast crowd was assembled at Coventry in the 'very strong and large theatre' (*Monk of Evesham*, p. 145), prepared for the duel. When, after a stately ceremonial, the combatants were on the point of meeting, Richard stopped the combat, and decided that, to prevent the chance of dishonour to the king's kin and to secure the peace, Hereford should be banished for ten years and Norfolk for life, pledges being required that they would not hold intercourse with each other or with the exiled Archbishop Arundel (*Rot. Parl.* iii. 383). The committee of parliament confirmed this judgment. Hereford was now the idol of the mob and treated respectfully by the king, who almost apologised for his condemnation, and, perhaps, reduced the ten years to six (Froissart, xvi. 110). An enthusiastic crowd blocked the streets of London to see the popular favourite depart, and the mayor with many leading citizens attended him as far as Dartford. On 3 Oct. Richard granted him permission to remain for six weeks at Sandgate Castle and a month at Calais (*Fœdera*, viii. 48, 49). On 8 Oct. letters of attorney were issued on his behalf (*ib.* viii. 49, 50), especially providing that his attorneys should have power to receive his heritage in the event of his father's death (*Rot. Parl.* iii. 372). Two thousand a year was allowed to him of the king's gift (Tyler, *Henry V*, i. 35, from *Pell Records*). He seems to have left England by 13 Oct. 1398 (Froissart, xvi. 305, ed. Kervyn; Wylie, *Hist. of Henry IV*, p. 7). His children remained in England.

Henry proceeded direct to Paris in spite of a fresh invitation to join the expedition to Friesland. He was received with great honour, and the Hôtel Clisson was assigned for his residence. When it became known that the honours shown were displeasing to King Richard, more caution was displayed. Delays were thrown in the way of a proposed match with the daughter of the Duke of Berri, his special confidant, and the French nobles whispered that a daughter of France must never become the bride of a traitor (Froissart, xvi. 141–51, ed. Kervyn).

Hereford contemplated new adventures to which his father refused assent. He therefore stayed at Paris till the death of his father (3 Feb. 1399). Richard now threw off the mask, revoked on 18 March the patents which had authorised Henry's attorneys to receive his inheritance (*Rot. Parl.* iii. 372), banished him for ever, and confiscated the Lancaster estates. On 23 April Henry's attorney, Henry Bowet [q. v.], was condemned as a traitor (*ib.* iii. 385). Richard no doubt thought that his cousin was now ruined, and on 29 May sailed for Ireland, leaving his incompetent uncle, Edmund, duke of York [see Langley, Edmund of], regent in England.

With Berri's advice, Henry affected gaiety, and with characteristic English cunning kept quite silent about revenge ('Anglicana usus astucia,' *Religieux de Saint-Denys*, ii. 674), yet he considered himself now free from his oath. He was joined at Paris by Archbishop Thomas Arundel [q. v.], Thomas Fitzalan, earl of Arundel [q. v.], son of the murdered earl, who perhaps brought the news of the

undiminished goodwill of the Londoners. On 17 June Henry made at Paris a formal treaty of alliance with Louis of Orleans, but he still carefully concealed his plans, and among the long list of those against whom the alliance was not to prevail was Richard of England (printed in DOUËT-D'ARCQ, *Pièces inédites sur le règne de Charles VI*, i. 157–60, Soc. de l'Histoire de France). Very soon afterwards he privately withdrew from Paris in order to make a descent on England.

Henry observed the closest secrecy, so that very different stories got abroad as to his subsequent movements. Froissart's erroneous opinion that he sailed from Vannes ('m'est advis que ce fut à Vannes,' xvi. 167–71) is regarded as a fact even by Dr. Pauli (*Geschichte von England*, iv. 625). He gave out he was going to Spain, but quietly travelled northwards through Saint-Denys, where he promised the abbot to procure the restoration of Deerhurst, then in lay hands, to the convent, and soon crossed at Boulogne with the help of some English merchants whom he found there (*Religieux de Saint-Denys*, ii. 704; *Ann. Ric.* p. 242; OTTERBOURNE, p. 201). He was accompanied by the two Arundels, Thomas Erpingham, John Northbury, and only fifteen 'lances' (*Ann. Ric.* p. 242).

William le Scrope, the new earl of Wiltshire, was ready for him at Dover. Henry made various feints. A popular song (WRIGHT, *Pol. Songs*, i. 366–8) shows with what anxiety he was expected. Even the soldiers gathered by the regent York at St. Albans boasted almost openly that they would do him no harm (*Ann. Ric.* p. 244). He at last landed in a deserted place not far south of Bridlington, near where the village of Ravenspur had once stood (*ib.* p. 244), not before 4 July 1399 (*ib.* p. 244), perhaps on the 15th (*Monk of Evesham*, p. 182). The whole country-side flocked to his banner. He occupied his own castle of Pickering without resistance. He next took Knaresborough, and promised that the church should pay no more tenths, and the people no more taxes (MAIDSTONE in *Anglia Sacra*, ii. 369). At Doncaster he was joined by the Earls of Northumberland and Westmorland, Henry Percy, and many other nobles of the north. Here he held a council, and is said by his enemies to have solemnly disavowed designs on the crown. He then marched to Leicester at the head of a vast army. Richard's ministers had fled to Bristol. Henry therefore moved to Berkeley, where, on 27 July, York himself joined him. Uncle and nephew now hurried towards Bristol, followed, it was believed, by one hundred thousand troops. The gates of Bristol Castle were thrown open, and on 29 July the Earl of Wiltshire, Bushy, and Green were beheaded. Henry now pressed northwards through the Welsh marches, and after passing through Gloucester, Ross, Hereford, Ludlow, and Shrewsbury, reached Chester on 9 Aug. No formidable resistance was made anywhere.

Meanwhile Richard had arrived in Wales and had been deserted by his army. On 18 Aug. he offered to resign the crown, and advanced to Flint to make his submission to the conqueror. On 19 Aug. Henry marched from Chester to Flint, and had an interview with the captive king. Henry saluted Richard with all due reverence, and said that he had come to claim his inheritance (*Monk of Evesham*, p. 155), which Richard professed himself ready to restore. After drinking together both rode off to Chester. On the same day writs were issued from Chester in Richard's name summoning a parliament for 30 Sept. at London. Henry now started for London, taking Richard with him. On Monday, 2 Sept., he arrived at London (*Ann. Ric.* p. 251). The English chroniclers speak of the chivalrous deference paid by Henry to the captive king, but the French writers opposed to Lancaster are furious at the indignities to which they allege Richard was subjected. The Londoners could not have shown more joy, says Creton, 'if our Lord had come among them.' Henry visited his father's tomb at St. Paul's, and then awaited the meeting of the parliament at St. John's Priory, Clerkenwell (CRETON, p. 181).

On 29 Sept. the king, after conferring with Lancaster and Archbishop Arundel, publicly renounced the crown, adding that if it rested with him he desired Henry as his successor (*Ann. Ric.* pp. 253–6). The good sense of Chief-justice Thirning dissuaded Henry from his design of claiming the throne by conquest (*Ann. Henr.* p. 282), and the experience of Arundel suggested wiser methods of procedure. Next day parliament assembled in the great hall at Westminster (*Rot. Parl.* iii. 416, 423). Lancaster was in his place, and the throne was left empty. Richard's resignation was accepted, and his deposition voted. The duke then read an English declaration, claiming the crown on the grounds of his being in the right line of descent from Henry III, and of the misgovernment of Richard (*ib.* iii. 422–3). The estates thereon chose him to fill the vacant throne. The two archbishops led him to the empty royal seat. After an harangue from Arundel, and a speech from Henry disclaiming any right of conquest, parliament was dissolved, to meet again under the new king's name on 6 Oct.

On 1 Oct. the renunciation of the homages of the estates to Richard completed the revolution, which established constitutional monarchy, and restored ecclesiastical orthodoxy. Men saw that the new king ruled, as his biographer says, 'not so much by title of blood as by popular election' (CAPGRAVE, *De Ill. Henr.* p. 98). Yet a delusive title by conquest, and a mendacious insinuation that Edmund of Lancaster was the elder brother of Edward I, were thought desirable to give Henry a threefold hold on popular allegiance (CHAUCER, *Compleynte to his Purse*, v. 22; cf. Gower in WRIGHT, *Polit. Songs*, i. 449).

On 6 Oct. 1399 Henry met his first parliament in Westminster Hall. It was then adjourned until after the coronation. Henry spent the evening of 11 Oct. in the Tower, where, in the presence of Richard, he made more than forty new knights, including his four sons and the young Earl of Arundel (ADAM OF USK, p. 33). From this ceremony the heralds date the foundation of the order of the Bath (cf. FROISSART, xvi. 205). Next morning Henry rode through London in great state to Westminster. On 13 Oct. he was crowned with extraordinary splendour by Arundel. First among English kings he was anointed with the oil which the Blessed Virgin had miraculously given to St. Thomas in his exile, and which his grandfather had brought to England (*Ann. Henr.* pp. 297–300, tells the whole history of this miracle). Prophecies of his coming good deeds were ascribed to our Lady and to Merlin.

On 14 Oct. parliament reassembled, and remained sitting until 19 Nov. After stormy scenes the chief supporters of King Richard were deprived of the honours gained in 1397. The deposed king was condemned to perpetual imprisonment, the acts of 1397 were repealed, the king's friends were rewarded, and a fairly liberal grant was made (*Rot. Parl.* iii. 424–53). The leniency of the king provoked much murmuring among his partisans.

Henry, his eldest son, and many of his household were now smitten with a malady generally attributed to poison. He had not recovered by Christmas. Meanwhile the degraded lords were conspiring to dethrone him. On 4 Jan. 1400 they assembled troops at Kingston, hoping to cut him off from London; while, on pretence of attending a tournament ('ludum nuncupatum Anglice Mummynge,' *Chron. Giles*, p. 7), 6 Jan., they proposed to get possession of Windsor and Henry himself. Rutland betrayed their plans (*Chron. Giles*, p. 7, says that the mayor of London discovered the conspiracy, and rode at night to Windsor to warn Henry). Henry at once hurried, almost alone, to London, arrived there late at night, and by the next afternoon had a large force on Hounslow Heath. The leading conspirators fled westwards, but Kent, Salisbury, and Despenser were slain by the mob, and Huntingdon was put to death by Henry's mother-in-law, the Countess of Hereford. Henry proceeded no further west than Oxford, where he ordered more formal execution for the lesser traitors. On 15 Jan. he was back in London, singing 'Te Deum' for his victory. This failure was quickly followed by the death of the deposed king at Pontefract, either, as Henry's friends maintained, of self-starvation, or, as his enemies believed, starved or murdered by his gaolers. Henry himself attended the solemn service held over his rival's body at St. Paul's, and ordered a thousand masses for the repose of his soul. To avoid future dangers a night watch was set about the king and his household provided with arms (*Ord. P. C.* i. 110–111).

Henry's great trouble was now from abroad. He had already sent on 29 Nov. 1399 to treat for the marriage of his eldest son with a French princess, probably Isabella, Richard II's widow. But the French court looked upon him as a usurper, and pressed for the immediate restoration of Isabella and her dower. Charles VI refused Henry the title of king of England. At his instigation the Scots, whose truce had expired at Michaelmas, threw every obstacle in the way of its renewal. But the defection of George Dunbar, earl of March, from the Scottish king strengthened Henry's position in the north. On 9 June 1400 Henry summoned his tenants to assemble at York to proceed against Scotland (*Fœdera*, viii. 146). His march was delayed by want of money and Scottish offers of negotiation. On 6 Aug. he summoned King Robert to perform the homage 'due ever since the days of Locrine, son of Brut.' Declining Rothesay's chivalrous challenge, he crossed the border on 14 Aug., and, meeting no opposition, reached Leith on 22 Aug. (*ib.* viii. 158). He obtained a vague promise that his demands should be considered, but was too weak and poor to keep the field. On 29 Aug. he was back over the border. Some months later a short truce was concluded. He now heard of the Welsh rising caused by Owain ab Gruffydd's [see GLENDOWER, OWEN] feud with Reginald, lord Grey of Ruthin [q. v.] He hurried to Leicester, and on 19 Sept. summoned the levies of ten shires to join him in an expedition against Owain. Owain evaded his attack, and his Welsh expedition ended ingloriously within a month after he had penetrated to the shores of the Menai. On 19 Oct. he passed through

Evesham (*Monk of Evesham*, p. 173). On 8 Nov. he was at Westminster granting Owain's estates to his brother Somerset, and on 12 Nov. propounded the knotty problems involved in the restitution of Queen Isabella (*Fœdera*, viii. 164).

On 21 Dec. 1400 Henry met on Blackheath the Greek emperor, Manuel Palaiologos, who stayed two months, spending Christmas with the king at Eltham. Henry entertained him splendidly, and gave him three thousand marks at his departure, but could not give him military help against the Turks. On 20 Jan. 1401 parliament reassembled, and, led by its pertinacious speaker, Arnold Savage, sought to make what it could out of the king's poverty. Henry could still reject as unprecedented the demand that the redress of grievances should precede supply. In this session was passed the act against the lollards. Henry's orthodoxy led him to approve the policy of which his wife's uncle, Archbishop Arundel, was the chief mover. The repressive legislation now sanctioned by Henry against the rebellious Welsh was in accordance with the earnest petitions of the commons. Henry himself showed a more conciliatory spirit by an almost general pardon, issued on 10 May, the last day of the session.

At the end of May Henry again started upon an expedition to Wales, the fall of Conway Castle having excited fears of a Welsh invasion of England. He reached Evesham on 1 June, already attended by a large army. On 3 June he departed thence for Worcester (*Monk of Evesham*, p. 174). Here he received letters from the council urging his return to London, as the danger had been exaggerated (*Ord. P. C.* i. 134). After resting a few days at Worcester he returned to London on 25 June (*ib.* i. 143).

Henry attended a council the very day of his arrival. On 27 June he saw the infant Queen Isabella before her departure for France. But her surrender did Henry no good, and left the French a freer hand. On 15 Aug. Henry met a great council at Westminster, strengthened by more knights from the shires than generally attended parliament. The council accepted war with both France and Scotland, and attempted to supply funds. An effort was also made to put down the chronic anarchy of Ireland by sending Thomas, the king's second son, as lord-lieutenant, and the Prince of Wales was ordered to advance against Owain. But Henry had now become violently unpopular. The people murmured against his officers, who seized supplies without paying for them (*Ann. Henr.* p. 337). His best friends complained that his remissness had brought about almost a state of anarchy, and his confessor, Philip Repingdon, addressed to him an earnest and plain-spoken letter of remonstrance (Beckington, *Correspondence*, i. 151–4, Rolls Ser.) About 8 Sept. Henry found hidden in his bed an 'iron with three branches so sharp that wherever the king had turned him it should slay him' (Capgrave, *Chron.* p. 278; *Ann. Henr.* p. 337; *Monk of Evesham*, p. 175; *Chron. Giles*, p. 25).

On 18 Sept. Henry issued from Westminster military summonses for 2 Oct. at latest to meet at Worcester for a fresh attack upon Wales (*Fœdera*, viii. 225; *Chron. Giles*, p. 26; the *Monk of Evesham*, p. 176, transposes the two expeditions of this year). On 1 Oct. he reached Worcester, and at once hurried off into Wales. The accounts of this expedition are confused and contradictory. On 8 Oct. Henry reached Bangor and Carnarvon (Wylie, p. 243, from *Rot. Viag.* 28). He is said to have made a raid into Cardiganshire, for which, however, there was hardly time, as he was at Mochdre on 13 Oct. and on 15 Oct. back at Shrewsbury (*ib.* p. 244). His northern foray in a hostile country at a wet time of year is of itself a remarkable proof of his energy. He was back at Westminster early in November (*Fœdera*, viii. 230–1).

Early in 1402 Henry met great councils or parliaments at London and Coventry, and obtained more supplies. The foreign outlook was as threatening as ever, and Henry had negotiated a series of marriages to improve his position. On 21 June 1402 his elder daughter Blanche set sail for Germany to marry Louis, eldest son of Rupert, the count palatine, newly chosen king of the Romans (see for marriage negotiations and her subsequent history Beckington, *Corresp.*) In May he began negotiations to wed the Prince of Wales to Catharine, grandniece of Margaret, the powerful ruler of a newly united Scandinavia, and his second daughter, Philippa, to King Eric, Margaret's grandnephew and heir (Geijer, *Geschichte Schwedens*, i. 197). The former proposal came to nothing; the latter marriage was effected in 1406. Henry was simultaneously arranging a marriage between himself and Joan, widow of John IV, duke of Brittany, and daughter of Charles the Bad of Navarre, who since November 1399 had been acting as regent for her son, Duke John V, and on 3 April 1402 a proxy marriage was celebrated at Eltham. But Henry failed in his political hopes of the marriage. In October the Duke of Burgundy compelled Joan to resign the regency and the custody of her sons, and Brittany was henceforth among Henry's active enemies.

Riots and outrages now broke out all over

the country. A pretended Richard appeared in Scotland. In May 1402 a bastard son of the Black Prince was hanged for conspiracy. Franciscan friars were the chief emissaries of sedition. In the early summer of 1402 several of these were executed, along with some secular priests. The friars boldly avowed their resolve to fight for Richard, and reduce the king to his duchy of Lancaster (*Cont. Eul. Hist.* iii. 389–94 gives a curious conversation between Henry and the captive friars). Meanwhile Owain of Wales captured Reginald, lord Grey of Ruthin [q. v.], in Lent and Edmund Mortimer in June. While Burgundy secured Brittany, Orleans attacked Aquitaine, both he and the Count of St. Pol solemnly defying Henry, and professing to carry on a private war against him.

In the summer Henry at last made a really great effort to put down the Welsh. On 27 Aug. three great armies were summoned to assemble at Chester, Shrewsbury, and Hereford (*Fœdera*, viii. 272), and Henry in person commanded the host that marched from Shrewsbury. One hundred thousand men, it was believed, were poured into the revolted districts (Usk, p. 76). But the expedition failed from the usual evasions of the Welsh and persistent bad weather, ascribed at the time to the magic spells of the Franciscans. On 8 Sept. the winds blew down Henry's own tent, and the king would have been slain by his own lance falling on him if he had not gone to rest in armour. Within three weeks Henry was back in England (*Ann. Henr.* pp. 343–4; *Chron. Giles*, p. 28). The brilliant success of the Percies against the Scots at Humbledon (14 Sept.) relieved Henry from danger in the north, but contrasted sharply with his own misfortunes.

On 30 Sept. 1402 Henry met his parliament at Westminster (*Rot. Parl.* iii. 485–521). On 20 Oct. Northumberland paraded the chief Scottish prisoners before king and parliament in the White Hall. Henry complimented Murdoch Stewart for his gallantry, and graciously entertained all the captives at his own table in the Painted Chamber. On 25 Nov. the estates separated, after making Henry a fairly liberal but grudgingly given grant. Henry kept Christmas at Windsor. His promised bride at last arrived, and on 7 Feb. 1403 Henry was married to her at Winchester by his half-brother, Henry Beaufort [q.v.], now bishop of Lincoln. On 26 Feb. Joan was crowned at Westminster (*Ann. Henr.* p. 350). The marriage brought Henry no strength abroad, and provided a new grievance at home in the queen's foreign attendants.

On 2 March 1403 Henry granted Northumberland Douglas's estates in Scotland, which he professed to annex to England (*Fœdera*, viii. 289). But the Percies were profoundly discontented, both at the opposition of the courtiers to their schemes of pacification (*Chron. Giles*, p. 31) and at having to bear the whole burden of the Scottish war. Henry now insisted on Hotspur giving up the captive Earl of Douglas to his keeping. Hotspur complained that the king had abandoned Mortimer, who was thus forced to join with the Welsh rebels. In a stormy interview Henry called Hotspur a traitor, and drew his dagger upon him; while Hotspur withdrew, crying, 'Not here, but in the field' (*Cont. Eulog. Hist.* iii. 295–6; cf. Waurin, pp. 56–8). External friendship was soon restored; but as Henry was again marching to Scotland he heard at Lichfield, on 11 July (Wylie, p. 350), that Hotspur had raised a revolt among King Richard's turbulent partisans in Cheshire, and was hurrying south to join Owain. Henry, with the advice of the Earl of Dunbar, resolved to crush the rebellion before the rebels united their forces (*Ann. Henr.* p. 364). In a few days he joined his son Henry at Shrewsbury, surprising Hotspur, who was encamped outside its walls. On 21 July a decisive battle followed at Berwick, a little to the north of the town. Henry showed great personal prowess, slew, it is said, thirty men with his own hands, and was thrice hurled to the ground. Before nightfall Hotspur was slain, Worcester and Douglas captured, and the rebellion at an end. Henry established a chapel on the battle-field for the souls of the slain. He then hurried northwards to meet Northumberland, reaching Pontefract on 4 Aug. On his approach the earl disbanded his troops, and on 11 Aug. submitted in person at York. Henry coldly promised him his life, but ordered him into custody (*ib.* p. 372; Otterbourne, p. 244). On 14 Aug. Henry was back at Pontefract, where Northumberland agreed to give up his castles. On 3 Sept. Henry was at Worcester, preparing for a Welsh campaign. Arundel prudently supplied him with money, his council having suggested plunder of the church. After an unresisted expedition to Carmarthen, where he was on 24 Sept. (Wylie, p. 375, from *Rot. Viag.* 27), Henry returned to Hereford, having strengthened the castles. The cordial greeting of the Londoners on his return in the winter showed that successes had revived his old popularity.

Despite the nominal truce, the French were plundering the coast. It was believed in Essex that Queen Isabella would land at Orwell. Orleans was invading Guienne, and Burgundy threatening Calais. Discontent came to a head in the Westminster parlia-

ment (14 Jan. to 20 March 1404). The estates were more disposed to debate than do business ('plura locuta sunt, pauca fuere statuta,' *Ann. Henr.* p. 378). But they petitioned that Northumberland should be pardoned outright, though he had not yet given up his castles. They insisted on the expulsion of aliens and schismatics. The royal expenses were limited, and Henry was forced to publish the names of the council in parliament. The failure of the attempt to rouse Essex, and the ignominious defeat of the French invaders at Dartmouth, followed close on the dismissal of parliament, and strengthened the king's position. Henry returned thanks for this signal victory at the shrine of the Confessor (*Ann. Henr.* p. 385). The Dartmouth prisoners were examined before Henry (*Fœdera*, viii. 358), and he boasted that he knew all the secrets of the French court (JUVÉNAL DES URSINS, p. 420, in *Panthéon Littéraire*). Although on 14 June a formal treaty was made between Owain and the French, the accession of John the Fearless to the duchy of Burgundy gave Orleans employment at home. Henry's energy declined. He suffered during this year from serious ill-health, and was long in getting quite well again (BECKINGTON, *Correspondence*, ii. 373–4). This seems the first of a long series of illnesses. He visited Pontefract in June, where, on the 24th, Northumberland (*Ann. Henr.* p. 390) at last surrendered his castles. Henry also arranged a continuation of the truce with the Scots, and the execution of Serle, the reputed murderer of Thomas of Gloucester, put a stop to the reports that Richard was still alive. On 22 Aug. he arrived at Lichfield, where he held a great council, which decided that he could not that year go to Wales. On 6 Oct. Henry opened at Coventry the 'Unlearned parliament,' from which all lawyers had been excluded by proclamation. The resumption of royal grants since 1367 and the appropriation for the year of the whole of the temporalities of the church were discussed and rejected, and a very liberal supply was granted. The king kept his Christmas at Eltham (*ib.* p. 397), where a plot for his murder came to nothing.

In February 1405 Edmund Mortimer, the young earl of March, was stolen from Windsor, but was soon brought back. On 17 Feb., at a great council at Westminster, Lady Despenser accused her brother (now Duke of York by Edmund of Langley's death) of complicity in his abduction and in the Eltham plot. Archbishop Arundel himself was suspected, but, to Henry's great delight, purged himself. As the lords showed no disposition to comply with the king's requests the council was moved to St. Albans, where Lord Bardolf headed a virulent opposition.

Henry prepared for another expedition to Wales, and on 8 May was at Worcester. He heard there that Bardolf had joined Northumberland in an open revolt, and was supposed to have suggested a treaty between Northumberland, Owain, and Mortimer for the division of England into three parts (*Chron. Giles*, pp. 39–42). Archbishop Scrope of York (brother of the late Earl of Wiltshire) had joined with Thomas Mowbray, earl of Nottingham, styled the earl-marshal, in raising the Yorkshiremen, and had published articles against Henry. The king hurried northwards, and on 3 June was at Pontefract. But the rebellion had collapsed with the surrender of the archbishop and Mowbray to Westmoreland on 29 May at Shipton Moor. Henry advanced upon York, where the citizens implored his pardon. Henry sternly bade them return. On 6 June the king lodged at Bishopsthorpe, where Scrope was now a captive in his own palace. The courtiers, headed by the Earl of Arundel and Thomas Beaufort, urged Henry to make a terrible example of the treacherous prelate (RAYNALDI, *Ann. Eccl.* viii. 143, ed. Mansi). Archbishop Arundel hurried to Bishopsthorpe to persuade Henry to refer the case of Scrope to pope or parliament. While Archbishop Arundel was at breakfast with Henry, after his journey, the Earl of Arundel and Thomas Beaufort held a hasty and irregular trial of the archbishop and Mowbray, and executed them on the spot (*Ann. Henr.* pp. 408–9; RAYNALDI, *Ann. Eccl.* viii. 143, but cf. the different accounts in GASCOIGNE, *Liber Veritatum*, pp. 225–9, ed. Rogers; CLEMENT MAIDSTONE, *Hist. de Martyrio R. Scrope* in *Anglia Sacra*, ii. 369–72; and *Chron. Giles*, p. 45).

Every one was horrified at the deed, and miracles at once attested the sanctity of the martyred archbishop. (The poem in WRIGHT, *Polit. Poems*, ii. 114–18, well expresses clerical opinion.) Conscious perhaps of his blunder, Henry at once hurried northward against Northumberland and Bardolf. He took Northumberland's last castles, Warkworth and Alnwick, and drove his foes into Scotland. At the end of August he again invaded Wales. His most glorious exploit was the relief of the long-beleaguered castle of Coyty in Glamorgan. He lost his baggage, wagons, and treasure from floods, and early in October was back at Worcester, leaving Carmarthen to fall into the hands of Owain and his French allies. He sought a further supply of money from the archbishop and bishops. Arundel resisted what he regarded

as a spoliation of the church, but promised to treat with the clergy for additional grants. Henry now returned to his capital. The year had witnessed the culmination of his troubles, but the worst crisis was now over. Henry, however, came out of his difficulties a broken-down man. It was believed that he had been smitten with leprosy on the very day of Scrope's execution (*Chron. Giles*, p. 47; *Cont. Eul. Hist.* iii. 405). His health and vigour steadily declined.

Conspiracy at home was no longer formidable. The Welshmen were confined to their own hills, the French were beaten at sea, and were otherwise occupied. Before Easter 1405 an English ship had captured the heir to the Scottish throne, who, on the death of Robert III in April 1406, became James I. Northumberland and Bardolf took refuge in Wales. Yet Henry was more than ever in want of money.

Nearly all 1406 was taken up with the debates of the longest parliament that had hitherto sat (STUBBS, *Const. Hist.* iii. 52; *Rot. Parl.* iii. 567–607). The estates met on 1 March at Westminster, and demanded an acceptance of their policy and the expulsion of the Bretons, including two daughters of the queen (OTTERBOURNE, p. 259). Henry on 22 May was forced to nominate a council, which included the chief parliamentary leaders (*Rot. Parl.* iii. 572; cf., however, *Ord. P. C.* i. 295 for the changes before the end of the year). The council, led by Arundel, refused to serve without fuller powers. The wastefulness of the king and courtiers was fiercely denounced. The commons next urged an audit of accounts, but in a personal argument Henry, in spite of a haughty refusal, had to give way. He passed Easter at Windsor, and was detained there for a long time by an attack, probably, of sciatica. He returned to Westminster before long, but was out of health all the summer. He attended a tournament between English and Scottish knights at London, and secured the appointment of his favourite, Bishop Bowet [q. v.], to York, in spite of the pope's preference for Robert Hallam [q. v.] At an autumn session (13 Oct. to 22 Dec.) Henry granted all that was asked of him, including a scheme of reform which pledged him to govern by the advice of his new councillors. On the last day of the session Henry, 'of his own will and motion,' commanded the councillors to swear to the new articles. The council at once busied itself with the reform of the household. Henry kept Christmas at Eltham (OTTERBOURNE, p. 260), but soon after was requested to remove to some place where the reform of the household might best be effected (*Ord. P. C.* i. 296). His frank acceptance of his position as a constitutional king diminished his troubles at home; a civil war raged in Scotland, and an invasion of Guienne towards the end of 1406 by Louis of Orleans signally failed.

Henry's influence declined with his health. He seldom left the neighbourhood of London, and very few personal references to his action remain. He had little to do with the disputes between the two great parties in the council. But in the great struggle between the courtiers, headed by the Beauforts and the constitutional party, led by Archbishop Arundel, Henry seems on the whole to have taken Arundel's side (STUBBS, *Const. Hist.* iii. 57–9). It was Henry's policy to concentrate the great offices of state in his own family (FORTESCUE, *Governance of England*, ed. Plummer, p. 326). The real business of government fell chiefly into the hands of the Prince of Wales, who now had less distractions from the decline of the Welsh revolt.

In 1407 a severe blow was dealt to the Beauforts by Henry's confirmation of their charter of legitimation, with a clause excluding them from the succession. Henry held a parliament at Gloucester from 20 Oct. to 2 Dec. It made a liberal grant, and busied itself with the pacification of Wales. It also expressly vindicated the right of the commons to originate all money grants (*Rot. Parl.* iii. 608–21; STUBBS, *Const. Hist.* iii. 60–2).

Northumberland and Bardolf had sought to raise Yorkshire during the early months of 1408. Their defeat and death on Bramham Moor (19 Feb.) put an end to overt rebellion for the rest of the reign. Henry in the summer went to York, condemned many rebels, confiscated much land, and, regardless of benefit of clergy, hanged the abbot of Hales for taking a part in the rebellion. The exertion was too much for his health. After his return he was seized with a fit at Mortlake, and was for some time thought dead (OTTERBOURNE, p. 263). On his recovery he devoted his reviving energies to the service of the church and the suppression of heresy. He took a special interest in Arundel's efforts to heal the schism in the papacy. He was present at at least one of the councils which the archbishop convoked (*Cont. Eul. Hist.* iii. 412), supported the proposal to convoke a general council at Pisa, was indignant at Gregory XI's breach of faith, and wrote him a letter, quoted with admiration by Walsingham (*Hist. Angl.* ii. 279–80). Yet he received with cordiality the nuncio sent by Gregory to excuse his conduct. But when the council of Pisa repudiated both rivals, and elected Alexander V, he transferred his

allegiance to the new pope. In all this he acted in conjunction with France, with whom in 1408 he had concluded a three years' truce (WAURIN, p. 115).

Early in 1410 Sir Thomas Beaufort became chancellor in succession to Archbishop Arundel. In January of that year a new parliament assembled, which ventured to suggest the complete confiscation of the temporalities of the church (WALSINGHAM, ii. 282); but the king and the prince combined with the church party in strenuous opposition to so revolutionary a scheme, which failed so completely that it has left no record in the rolls of parliament. Henry sought to obtain from this parliament a revenue for life, but his proposal was not entertained (*ib.* ii. 283). At the end of the session his councillors were, as was now usual, nominated in parliament (*Rot. Parl.* iii. 641).

In 1411 Burgundy appealed to Henry for help against the Armagnacs. The king's reluctance was overpowered by the prince's eagerness (GREGORY, *Chron.* p. 106). Negotiations were begun for the latter's marriage with a daughter of Burgundy (*Ord. P. C.* ii. 19–24), and the Earl of Arundel [see FITZALAN, THOMAS] was sent with a large force to France. But the tension between the Beauforts and Archbishop Arundel had now become very great, and Henry, not unnaturally jealous of his son, and still clinging to power, despite his failing health, made a vigorous attempt to shake off the Beauforts in the parliament which met on 3 Nov. at Westminster. The Beauforts retorted by a plot to force him to resign the crown, or at least to give up the regency, to the Prince of Wales. It is not easy to reconcile formal documents (e.g. *Rolls of Parliament*, iv. 298 *b*) with the more outspoken evidence of the chroniclers. But it seems clear that Henry indignantly declined to give up power, that after some sort of demonstration of the number of his partisans the prince shrank from an open conflict with his father, and retired for a time from public life (OTTERBOURNE, p. 271; *Chron. Giles*, p. 63; *Chron. London*, p. 94; *Cont. Eul. Hist.* iii. 421; STUBBS, *Const. Hist.* iii. 69 *n.*) Thomas Beaufort was now replaced by Arundel as chancellor (5 Jan.) Henry paid his son his arrears of salary as a councillor (18 Feb.), and discharged him from further attendance. Thomas, the king's second son, who had adhered to his father's side, was made Duke of Clarence. The king broke off from the alliance with Burgundy, and on 18 May concluded one with the Armagnacs, his old foes, who promised him all Aquitaine (*Fœdera*, viii. 738–42). Anxious to show that he was still fit to be king, Henry undertook a progress (*Cont. Eul. Hist.* iii. 421), and even proposed to command the troops, now summoned to sail to Aquitaine (*Ord. P. C.* ii. 29; OTTERBOURNE, p. 270). But he was by this time unable to walk, and could hardly even ride, and his council persuaded him to send Clarence instead. The Prince of Wales was now accused of embezzling sums intended for the Calais garrison. He sought out his father, and some sort of reconciliation was apparently effected. The charges were disproved (*Ord. P. C.* ii. 34–5).

The king's exertions in the summer brought about a fresh relapse. He was able to transact business so late as 21 Oct. (*ib.* ii. 37–40), and in November was feebly contemplating a crusade. But soon afterwards he had a severe attack, and sometimes seemed actually dead. He was able to celebrate Christmas at his favourite palace at Eltham (OTTERBOURNE, p. 272). He summoned a parliament to meet on 3 Feb., but was then unable to transact business. While praying before St. Edward's shrine in Westminster Abbey (FABYAN, p. 576), he had a fit, was removed in great agony to the abbot's house, rallied for a short time, but could never be moved, and died in the Jerusalem Chamber on 20 March 1413 ('Bethlehem Chamber,' in *Polit. Songs*, ii. 122). A dying speech to his son is reported, full of wise and pious counsel. The story of the Prince of Wales taking the crown when he was lying in one of his death-like trances is first found in Monstrelet (*Chroniques*, ii. 338–9, ed. Douët-d'Arcq). His body was conveyed by water to Gravesend, and thence to Canterbury, where it was buried on Trinity Sunday in the extreme east of the cathedral, to the north of the shrine of St. Thomas, and over against the tomb of the Black Prince. Queen Joan, who died in 1437, was ultimately buried by his side. In 1832 his tomb was opened, and the condition of the face refuted the exaggerated stories of the chroniclers as to the ravages which leprosy had made in him (*Archæologia*, xxvi. 440–445). The exact nature of his diseases has been much discussed. The chroniclers speak of leprosy, and he had fits which were plainly not of an epileptic nature, as some say. It is thought by Dr. Norman Moore (who has kindly supplied the writer with full notes on this subject) that he suffered from valvular disease of the heart, accompanied by syncope, and that his 'leprosy' was 'herpes labialis,' with perhaps other aggravations.

By his first wife, Mary Bohun, Henry had four sons and two daughters: first, Henry, prince of Wales, who became Henry V; secondly, Thomas, duke of Clarence [see THOMAS]; thirdly, John, made in 1414 Duke of

Bedford [see JOHN]; and fourthly, Humphrey, made Duke of Gloucester in 1414 [see HUMPHREY]. His daughters were, first, Blanche (*b.* 1392), married in 1402 to Louis, count palatine of the Rhine; and secondly, Philippa (*b.* 1393 or 1394), married in 1406 to Eric, king of Sweden.

Henry was 'of a mean stature,' but 'well proportioned and compact' (HALL, p. 45). He was strong and handsome, proud of his good looks ('beau chevalier,' FROISSART, xi. 325; HARDYNG, p. 370; ELMHAM, in *Polit. Poems*, ii. 121), with regular teeth which lasted till death, and wearing a thick matted beard of a deep russet colour. All through his life he was brave, active, orthodox, devout, and pure. Though a keen partisan from early youth, he remained long amenable to the influence of more experienced advisers. He seems to have been naturally merciful and trustful of his friends, but hot-tempered. Bitter experience taught him to be reserved, suspicious, and upon occasion cruel. His courtiers resented his clemency, and urged him to bad acts. His conscience does not seem to have been quite easy in his later years, and perhaps stimulated the curious interest he showed in discussing doubtful points of casuistry, which Capgrave notes as his most distinguishing characteristic (*De Illustr. Henr.* p. 109). He had a retentive memory, was able to follow a Latin sermon, and delighted in the conversation of men of letters. He more than doubled Chaucer's pension, patronised Gower, and invited Christine de Pisan to England because he was so pleased with her poetry. Scholars who had enjoyed his bounty spoke strongly to Capgrave of his knowledge and ability. He kept to the end his power of saying sharp things. His activity in affairs of state is seen by his answering petitions himself, and by the endorsements in his own hand on state papers (PAULI, v. 75).

Besides the fine effigy on his tomb at Canterbury, there is a well-known portrait of Henry at Windsor Castle. A portrait in MS. Harl. No. 1319 is figured in Doyle's 'Official Baronage,' ii. 316.

[The only old biography of Henry, Capgrave's De Illustribus Henricis, pp. 98–111, is both meagre and inaccurate. The chief chroniclers for his early history are: Knighton, in Twysden's Decem Scriptores (to 1395); Annales Ricardi Regis, ed. Riley, published with Trokelowe, &c. (Rolls Ser.); Walsingham's Hist. Anglicana, vol. ii., and Ypodigma Neustriæ, both in Rolls Ser.; the Monk of Evesham's Life of Richard II, ed. Hearne (to 1402); Adam of Usk's Chronicle, ed. Thompson (to 1404); Capgrave's Chronicle of England (Rolls Ser.); Continuator of the Eulogium Historiarum, vol. iii (Rolls Ser.) The French authorities, bitterly hostile and not trustworthy, include the Chronique de la Traison et Mort de Richart (Engl. Hist. Soc.); Creton's Metrical Chronicle in Archæologia, vol. xx.; Chronique du Religieux de Saint-Denys, in Documents inédits sur l'Histoire de France, and Juvénal des Ursins in Panthéon Littéraire. Copious, but quite untrustworthy, is Froissart (up to 1400), ed. Buchon, or ed. Kervyn de Lettenhove, with M. Kervyn's copious, though not always accurate, notes. The chief authorities for Henry's crusades and early adventures abroad are cited above. Dr. Pauli's labours are here of special value. Kyngeston's Expenses Rolls, already referred to, are about to be published for the Camden Society by Miss L. Toulmin Smith. For the early years of Henry's reign the chief chronicle is the Annales Henrici IV, ed. Riley (with Trokelowe), Rolls Ser., rightly described by its editor as the 'most valuable memorial of the period that we now possess.' Unfortunately it ends in 1406, before which period Usk, the Monk of Evesham, Froissart, and the French chroniclers of Richard's fall have all stopped. For the last few years of the reign we have to fall back on the comparatively meagre chronicles of Walsingham, the Continuator of the Eulogium, Capgrave, Otterbourne (ed. Hearne), and the Incerti Scriptoris Chronicon Angliæ regnante Henr. IV, edited by Dr. Giles in 1848 among his Scriptores Monastici. The foreign writers, such as Monstrelet, ed. Douët-d'Arcq (Soc. de l'Histoire de France), Waurin, Chroniques, 1399–1422, Rolls Ser. (who now begins to be of some independent value), and the Monk of Saint-Denys are, so far as they go, of much more service than for the earlier years of the reign. A little can be gleaned from the London Chronicles, such as Gregory's Chronicle, ed. Gairdner (Camden Soc.), and the Chronicle, 1089–1483, published by Sir H. Nicolas in 1827. Something also can be got from Wright's Political Poems and Songs (Rolls Ser.), especially from Gower's Tripartite Chronicle in vol. i., and the many important indications of popular feeling in vol. ii. The later writers, such as Hall and Fabyan, can only be used with caution, but Hardyng is sometimes useful from his connection with the Percies. The chief collections of documents are to be found in Rymer's Fœdera, vols. vii. and viii., original edition; the Rolls of Parliament, vol. iii.; the Statutes of the Realm, vol. i.; Ellis's Original Letters, vol. i.; Beckington's Correspondence (Rolls Ser.); and, above all, Nicolas's Proceedings and Ordinances of the Privy Council, vols. i. and ii. The Royal and Historical Letters during the Reign of Henry IV, 1399–1404, ed. Hingeston (Rolls Ser.), are also of primary importance. Of modern books, Pauli's Geschichte von England, vol. v., is the fullest working-up of the whole reign. Dr. Stubbs's Constitutional History, iii. 1–72, besides a complete survey of the parliamentary history, explains satisfactorily for the first time the political relations and the struggles of parties. Mr. J. H. Wylie's History

of Henry IV, vol. i., 1399–1404, is a work of great industry and merit, which investigates the earlier years of the reign with much minuteness. It suffers, however, from a somewhat defective arrangement, and the few pages devoted to Henry's early career are full of errors.] T. F. T.

**HENRY V** (1387–1422), king of England, eldest son of Henry IV, by his first wife, Mary, second daughter and coheiress of Humphrey de Bohun (*d.* 1372), last earl of Hereford, was born at Monmouth, according to the most commonly accepted date, on 9 Aug. 1387 (PAOLO GIOVIO, *Angl. Reg. Chron.* p. 70, in *Vitæ Illustrium Virorum*, Basle, 1578; WILLIAM OF WORCESTER [753]). This is supported by the statements that he was in his twenty-sixth year when he came to the throne, and was born in August (ELMHAM, p. 17; *Versus Rhythmici*, 35–7, 59–61, in COLE's *Memorials of Henry V*). There is, indeed, no exact contemporary record of Henry's birth, but mention is made both of the young prince and of the birth of his brother Thomas in the wardrobe expenses of their father and mother between 30 Sept. 1387 and 1 Oct. 1388 (TYLER, i. 13). According to a local tradition Henry was nursed at Courtfield, near Monmouth, where a cradle alleged to be his was long preserved. His nurse was Johanna Waring, to whom, after he became king, he granted an annuity of 20*l.* (*ib.* i. 11–14). The records of the duchy of Lancaster mention that he was ill in 1395, and during the next two years there are notices of payments made for a harp, sword, and books purchased on his behalf. In 1395 there was talk of a marriage between him and Mary, daughter of John IV, duke of Brittany (LOBINEAU, *Histoire de Bretagne*, Preuves, ii. 791–3). The tradition that he was educated at Queen's College, Oxford, under the care of his uncle Henry Beaufort, 'then chancellor of Oxford,' first appears in the 'Chronicle of John Rous' (ed. Hearne, p. 207). Beaufort was chancellor in 1398, and, if the statement be correct, the prince's residence at Oxford must have fallen in this year. There is, however, no record relating to Henry at Queen's College, although a chamber over the gateway facing St. Edmund's Hall, now destroyed, was said to have been occupied by him (HUTTEN, *Antiq. Oxford* in *Elizabethan Reprints*, p. 64, Oxf. Hist. Soc.) That Beaufort was in some way charged with his nephew's education is not improbable, and to this connection Beaufort's subsequent influence over him may be due. Henry's mother died in June 1394. When his father was banished in 1398 the young prince remained in England, and King Richard, who treated him kindly, took him under his own charge. On 5 March 1399 a payment of 10*l.* was made to the prince, as part of 500*l.* yearly which the king granted him for his maintenance (DEVON, *Issues of the Exchequer*, p. 269). Two months later Richard took Henry with him to Ireland, and knighted him there (CRETON, *Histoire du Roy Richard* in *Archæologia*, xx. 299). When (in August) the news that Henry of Lancaster had landed in Yorkshire recalled Richard to England, young Henry and his cousin, Humphrey of Gloucester, were sent for safe custody to the castle of Trim. Otterbourne (i. 205) relates that the king complained to the prince of his father's treachery, but accepted the boy's assurance of his own innocence. Probably Henry joined his father at Chester towards the end of September (ADAM OF USK, p. 28; TYLER, i. 48). On 11 Oct. he was made one of the knights of the new order of the Bath, on the 13th he bore the sword 'Curtana' at his father's coronation, and two days later was created Earl of Chester, Duke of Cornwall, and Prince of Wales. He was afterwards declared Duke of Aquitaine, 23 Oct., and of Lancaster, 10 Nov. (*Rot. Parl.* iii. 426–8). On 3 Nov. the commons petitioned that 'the prince may not pass forth from the realm,' and in the same month proposals were made to the French court for a marriage between him and Isabella, the child-wife of Richard II. Together with his father and others of the royal household Henry suffered from an illness which was attributed to poison, and they were still ailing when, early in January 1400, a conspiracy to dethrone the new king was discovered. The king committed his sons to the keeping of the mayor and citizens of London (GOWER in WRIGHT's *Pol. Songs*, i. 452, Rolls Ser.), but the danger was soon over. Elmham (*Vita*, p. 6) makes the prince take part in the Scottish war in June, but this is unlikely, and he more probably remained at home as his father's representative (cf. WYLIE, p. 145; and ELLIS, *Letters*, 2nd ser. i. 1–5, where a letter from Lord Grey of Ruthin is addressed to him).

Henry accompanied his father in September on a rapid raid into Wales to repress the rebellion. The king left the marches in October, and the prince remained at Chester, apparently in a position of authority, for on 30 Nov. all Welsh rebels were summoned to present themselves to him there (*Fœdera*, viii. 167). On 10 March 1401 pardon was granted to various rebels at his request (*ib.* viii. 181), and on 21 March the council authorised him to discharge any constables of castles who had not performed their duty. The leading member of the prince's council was Henry Percy, the famous 'Hotspur,' with whom he advanced into Wales in April, and after recovering Conway Castle on 28 May, secured

the submission of the counties of Merioneth and Carnarvon. But Percy shortly afterwards resigned, and his departure was the signal for a fresh outbreak. On 30 Aug. the prince was ordered to advance again against the rebels (WYLIE, p. 242), and in October the king joined him in person (USK, p. 68). After harrying the country the king (15 Oct.) was back at Shrewsbury, where he arranged for the administration of Wales. The prince was to have Anglesey with 1,000*l.* yearly out of the estates of the Earl of March, and Thomas Percy, earl of Worcester, was appointed as his tutor (*Ann. Hen. IV*, p. 361). On 8 May 1402 Henry gave his assent in London to a proposed marriage between himself and Catherine, sister of the young King Eric of Denmark. On the 14th he was at Berkhampstead, and on the 26th at Tutbury. Meantime Owen Glendower [q. v.] had been gathering strength in Wales, and a fresh invasion became necessary in September. Henry commanded one of the three divisions of the English army, but the expedition proved a failure (USK, p. 76; *Ann. Hen. IV*, pp. 343–4). On 7 March 1403 the prince was appointed by the council to represent his father in Wales and the marches (*Fœdera*, viii. 291). He fixed his headquarters at Shrewsbury, and early in May again invaded Wales. The Welsh retired before him, but he burned Glendower's residences at Sycarth and Glyndyvrdwy, and devastated the whole cymmwd of Edeyrnion and part of Powys (*Proc. Privy Council*, ii. 61–2; a letter from Henry, dated Shrewsbury, 15 May, clearly belonging to 1403, see WYLIE, p. 342). On 30 May he wrote to the council that his troops were eager for pay, that the rebels were taking advantage of his difficulties, and that he had been forced to sell his own jewels to meet the most pressing needs (*Proc. Privy Council*, ii. 62–3). On 16 June the sheriffs of the border counties were ordered to send troops to his assistance (*Fœdera*, viii. 304), and on 10 July the king ordered 1,000*l.* to be sent him with all speed, in order that he might keep his troops together (*Proc. Privy Council*, i. 206–7). Meantime Glendower was very active, but the prince could offer no resistance.

News of the conspiracy of the Percies reached the king at Lichfield on 11 July 1403, and he at once joined his son at Shrewsbury. Hotspur was close at hand, and on the 21st the decisive battle was fought at Berwick, two miles north of the town. The prince fought bravely; although wounded in the face with an arrow, he charged and broke the opposing line (*Ann. Hen. IV*, pp. 367–8). Shakespeare's story that he slew Hotspur with his own hand is unauthenticated. On the king's departure to meet Northumberland the prince was left at Shrewsbury with full powers to deal with the rebels in Cheshire, Denbigh, and Flint (*Fœdera*, viii. 320; cf. *Rot. Viag.* 27 ap. WYLIE, p. 365, where it is stated that 'the prince is not able to move'). Henry seems to have been absent from the border during part of the winter. In the council held at Lichfield on 29 and 30 Aug. the gentlemen of Hereford requested that the prince might be thanked for the good protection of the county, and at the same time money was granted to pay his troops (*Proc. Privy Council*, i. 235). During October Henry was able to act with vigour, and in November, accompanied by his brother Thomas, attempted to relieve Coyty Castle. On 11 March 1405 he wrote from Hereford that the rebels having burned Grosmont Castle in Monmouthshire, he had sent Lord Talbot against them, who had defeated the Welsh with heavy loss, but he does not seem to have been present in person (*ib.* i. 248–50; *Cont. Eul. Hist.* iii. 402). An intended invasion of Wales by the king was delayed, in consequence of Scrope's conspiracy, till September, when Coyty Castle was at length relieved, but the expedition was otherwise unsuccessful. On 22 Sept. the king wrote from York that he had left his 'first-born son in Wales for the chastisement of the rebels.'

Early in 1406 negotiations were opened without result for a marriage between the prince and one of the French king's daughters. On 3 April the commons prayed the king to thank the prince for his services in chastening the rebels, and begged that the command on the Welsh marches should be entrusted to him (*Rot. Parl.* iii. 569); his appointment as lieutenant in Wales was renewed two days later. On 7 June the commons once more petitioned that the prince might be sent into Wales with all haste (*ib.* iii. 576), and he accordingly went there shortly after. But in December he was back in London. He took part in the presentation of the great petition against the lollards (*ib.* iii. 583–4; STUBBS, *Const. Hist.* iii. 359), and was present in the council on 8 Dec., and again on 23 Jan. 1407. In the summer he was again in Wales, and captured Aberystwith. Glendower recovered it by a stratagem soon after, but on 1 Nov. the town once more surrendered to the English (WALSINGHAM, *Hist. Angl.* ii. 277; *Fœdera*, viii. 419—497–9 wrong date). In November Henry led an expedition into Scotland, in such force that the Scots yielded without fighting, and a truce was made for a year (MONSTRELET, liv. i. c. 35). He attended the parliament at Gloucester, where he was

thanked for his services, and bore witness in favour of his cousin Edward, duke of York, who was still under suspicion (*Rot. Parl.* iii. 611–12).

Glendower's power was now waning, and Henry took little or no part in such warfare as still went on. Early in 1409 he was made warden of the Cinque ports and constable of Dover. On 31 Jan. 1410 Thomas Beaufort [q. v.] became chancellor, and held the office for nearly two years. During this time it is probable that the prince governed in his father's name. The king was almost entirely disabled by illness, and in the council, which frequently met in his absence, the prince's name appears in the first place; a petition of Thomas of Lancaster in June 1410 was addressed to the prince and council (*Proc. Privy Council*, i. 339), and a petition granted by the king is endorsed 'respectuatur per dominum principem et consilium' (*Rot. Parl.* iii. 643). In the parliament which met in January 1410 Henry vigorously opposed a proposal to confiscate the temporalities of the church. His strong religious temper at this time is further illustrated by his conduct at the burning of the lollard, John Badby [q. v.], on 1 March. On 18 March Henry was made captain of Calais. At home, besides the religious question, there were difficulties as to the university of Oxford. Arundel claimed the right of visitation, and was opposed by the chancellor, Richard Courtenay [q. v.], who had previously secured the good services of the prince (WILKINS, *Concilia*, iii. 323; *Chr. Giles*, p. 58; *Munimenta Academica*, i. 251). Courtenay had to give way, but the affair led to a breach between Henry and the archbishop, who henceforth absented himself from the council. Thomas of Lancaster about the same time quarrelled with the Beauforts, and as a result with his elder brother also (*Chr. Giles*, p. 62; *Calendar Rot. Pat.* p. 259). In 1411 the Duke of Burgundy, being hard pressed by the Armagnacs, applied for help from England; the 'Brut' expressly says that the application was made to the prince (*Harl. MS.* 2248, f. 278 *b*; cf. also GREGORY'S *Chron.* p. 106). Henry overcame his father's reluctance (*ib.*), and in September an expedition was despatched to the duke's assistance under Gilbert Umfraville, earl of Kyme, who defeated the Orleanists at St. Cloud on 11 Nov. About the same time proposals which came to nothing were made for the prince's marriage with a daughter of Burgundy (*Proc. Privy Council*, ii. 19–24).

Meantime parliament met at Westminster on 3 Nov. 1410, and the king under Arundel's influence determined to get rid of the Beauforts. On the other hand a proposal was almost certainly made, probably on the first day of the session, to induce the king to resign his crown in the prince's favour. It is significant that when in 1426 Henry Beaufort was charged with having conspired against the prince, and incited him to assume the crown in his father's lifetime, he preserved a discreet silence on the latter point (*Rot. Parl.* iv. 298; HALL, p. 133; *Chr. Giles*, p. 63; *Cont. Eul. Hist.* iii. 421). The king indignantly refused to abdicate, and on 5 Jan. 1412 Thomas Beaufort gave way to Arundel. At the same time the prince withdrew from the council, and on 18 Feb. received payment for his services. His place was taken by his brother Thomas, who became Duke of Clarence; the negotiations with Burgundy were dropped, and a treaty was concluded with Orleans in May, as a result of which an expedition was sent to Guienne under Clarence in August. The Monk of St.-Denys alleges that Henry endeavoured to delay his brother's departure, and only yielded to his father's representations (*Rel. St.-Denys*, xxxii. 32). Henry's loss of power did not satisfy his enemies, who charged him with having devoted money which was intended for the payment of the garrison of Calais to his own use. The accusation was, however, almost at once disproved (*Proc. Privy Council*, ii. 34; see TYLER, i. 279–81). In 1412 the prince is hardly mentioned, except as receiving payment for expenses incurred at Calais and in Wales. He was in London in July, and again in September (*Chron. London*, pp. 94–5). In the spring of 1413 the king was unable, owing to failing health, to transact any business. It is to this time that, if true, the well-known story of the prince coming into the king's chamber and taking away the crown as he lay in a trance belongs; it first appears in Monstrelet (ii. 338–9).

On 20 March 1413 Henry IV died, and his son succeeded as king. On Passion Sunday (9 April) he was crowned at Westminster, in the midst of a violent snowstorm. Some regarded this as an omen that the new king had put off the winter of his riotous youth (WALSINGHAM, *Hist. Angl.* ii. 290), and the incident is made the occasion by numerous writers for introducing a reference to a marked change in Henry's character on his accession to the throne. Elmham states that on the night of his father's death the new king visited a recluse at Westminster, and to him made confession of his former life, and promised amendment; but the most specific charges which he brings against him are that 'he was in his youth a diligent follower of idle practices, much given to instruments of

music, and fired with the torches of Venus herself' (*Vita*, pp. 12, 15). Another fifteenth-century account says: 'In his youth he had been wild and reckless, and spared nothing of his lusts or desires, but as soon as he was crowned suddenly he was changed into a new man, and all his intent was to live virtuously' (*Cotton. MS.* Claud. A. viii. f. 11; see also WALSINGHAM, u. s.; LIVIUS, p. 4; CAPGRAVE, *Chr.* p. 303; HARDYNG, p. 372; FABYAN, p. 577). It is clear that Henry's conduct as prince was marked by some youthful follies; 'they were, however, the frolics of a high-spirited young man, indulged in the open air of the town and camp; not the deliberate pursuit of vicious excitement in the fetid atmosphere of a court' (STUBBS, *Const. Hist.* iii. 77). His youth was spent in the battle-field and council chamber, and the popular tradition (immortalised by Shakespeare) of his riotous and dissolute conduct is not supported by any contemporary authority. The most striking incident in the tradition, his defiance of Gascoigne and his committal by the judge to prison, first appears in Sir Thomas Elyot's 'Governour,' 1531, whence it was borrowed in its main outlines by Hall (*Chronicle*, p. 46; HOLINSHED, p. 543, where it is made the occasion of the prince's dismissal from the council). Shakespeare obtained his knowledge of it from Hall. It is impossible that such a story should have escaped notice for over a century, and the addition supplied by Shakespeare (*Second Part of Henry IV*, act v. sc. 2), that the prince on becoming king bade the chief justice 'still bear the balance and the sword,' is contrary to fact, for shortly after Henry's accession to the throne on 29 March Sir William Hankford [q. v.] was appointed to succeed Gascoigne, who naturally vacated his office on the accession of a new king [see under GASCOIGNE, SIR WILLIAM].

So far at least as regards his public life, Henry's career was consistent throughout. In the administration of state affairs he had always identified himself with the policy of the Beauforts, as opposed to his father's favourite adviser, Archbishop Arundel. On the day after his accession (21 March) he made Henry Beaufort chancellor; the Earl of Arundel was at the same time appointed treasurer, no doubt with the intention of conciliating his powerful family.

The parliament which had been summoned previous to the death of Henry IV became the first parliament of his successor, but did not meet till 15 May. Supplies were promised to meet the expenses of government, and complaint was made of the weakness of the late reign (*Rot. Parl.* iv. 3–14). Henry on his part granted a general pardon; negotiations were opened for ransoming the young heir of the Percies from the Scots; the Earl of March was given his liberty, and taken into the royal confidence; while the remains of Richard II, Henry's earliest benefactor, were given honourable burial at Westminster in December. These judicious acts showed that the enmities of the past reign were to be forgotten. The first year of the new reign was chiefly remarkable for the movement among the lollards. The lollard leader, Sir John Oldcastle, on refusing to accept Archbishop Arundel's citation, was arrested by the king, and brought before the archbishop on 23 Sept. His condemnation, after a long discussion, and a fruitless interview with the king himself, was almost immediately followed by his escape from the Tower (WALSINGHAM, *Hist. Angl.* ii. 291–7; see PAULI, *Geschichte von England*, v. 81–7). All efforts to recapture him were unavailing, the threatened lollard rising began to take a practical shape, and a conspiracy was formed to seize Henry and his brothers while spending Christmas at Eltham. This was frustrated by the king's hasty removal to Westminster. The lollards then called a great meeting, to be held in St. Giles's Fields on 7 Jan. 1414, but Henry averted the danger by his resolute vigour. The gates of London were closed to prevent any disaffected citizens passing out, while the king in person occupied the fields with a strong force. Some minor actors in the movement were arrested and punished. Oldcastle himself escaped for the time, but was captured and executed during the king's absence in France in 1418 [see under JOHN, DUKE OF BEDFORD, and OLDCASTLE, SIR JOHN].

The parliament of 1414 met at Leicester on 30 April; its chief measures were a new statute against the lollards, and the confiscation of the alien priories. According to one account, Chichele, who had succeeded Arundel as archbishop in February, advocated a war with France as a means of foiling the lollards in their attacks on the church (HALL, *Chron.* p. 49; a similar statement appears in *Cott. MS.* Claud. A. viii. f. 11 *b*, where, however, no date is given, and Chichele's name is not mentioned, but the bishops are alleged to have urged the war as a means of diverting Henry from an intended reform of the church). Hall's statement is undoubtedly inaccurate [see under CHICHELE, HENRY], but it is probable that the king's claims on France were broached, for on 31 May the bishops of Durham and Norwich, with Richard, lord Grey of Codnor, were accredited as ambassadors to negotiate for a peace with France (*Fœdera*, ix. 131). Negotiations had

been opened in the previous year, and proposals had been made for a marriage between Henry and Catherine, daughter of Charles VI (*ib.* ix. 36–9, 56, 68–9, 91, 103–5), but this embassy was the first definite step taken towards asserting the English king's right to the French throne. The claim to the crown was almost at once waived without prejudice to Henry's rights, but the English still demanded Normandy, Touraine, Anjou, Maine, and Ponthieu, together with all the lands ceded by the treaty of Bretigny in full sovereignty, Catherine's hand in marriage, and a large dower. These demands were too extravagant for the French to accept, even in the then distracted condition of their country, with its mad king and its intestine feuds. Despite the various embassies which went to and fro, no agreement was come to, and the imminence of war was the occasion for summoning the second parliament of the year in November. The estates granted liberal supplies, but urged the king to pursue his endeavours for peace, and the negotiations were accordingly continued during the spring of 1415. The French were anxious to avert the war, and in April a truce was concluded, which was afterwards prolonged till 15 July (on these negotiations see especially *Rel. St.-Denys*, xxxiv. 45, xxxv. 22, 31, xxxvi. 1–5). Henry clearly expected the war to break out in the summer; on 2 Feb. 1415 measures were taken for the safe-guarding of the seas and the marches of Wales and Scotland during the king's absence (*Proc. Privy Council*, ii. 146–7); and during the next few months commissions were issued to make all necessary preparations for the intended expedition (*Fœdera*, ix. 200, 215, 224, 235–8, 248, 250–3, 261). At a council held on 16 and 17 April Beaufort announced the king's intention to make an expedition for the recovery of his inheritance (*ib.* ix. 222; *Proc. Privy Council*, ii. 155), and the Duke of Bedford was made regent in his absence. In June Henry left London for Winchester, where at the end of the month he received a final ineffectual embassy from the French king; the well-known story of the dauphin sending him a barrel of tennis balls appears in contemporary authorities (*Liber Metricus*, c. xii.; Lydgate ap. *Chron. London*, pp. 216–217), but the occasion to which it should be referred, if true, is uncertain. Save for a short visit to London, Henry spent July on the coast superintending the preparations, and devoting special attention to the fleet. About the middle of the month a dangerous conspiracy was discovered; Richard, earl of Cambridge, Henry, lord le Scrope, and Sir Thomas Grey of Heton had formed a plot to proclaim the Earl of March king immediately on Henry's departure; their intention was revealed, it is said, by the young earl himself (Waurin, ii. 178). The three principal conspirators were executed early in August, but Henry showed no resentment for his cousin March, who at the same time received a general pardon (*Fœdera*, ix. 303).

Henry embarked at Porchester in a small vessel on 7 Aug. 1415; on the 10th he went on board his ship, the Trinity, and next day the expedition sailed from Portsmouth (*Gesta*, p. 13; on these dates see Nicolas, *Agincourt*, p. 183). The army consisted of 2,500 men-at-arms, with their attendants, and eight thousand archers; there may have been thirty thousand men all told; the fleet numbered about fifteen hundred sail (*ib.* pp. 47, 49, 184, 333–90). On the 13th the expedition reached the Seine, and next morning the army disembarked without opposition. Henry's first care was to issue a proclamation forbidding all violence on pain of death. After three days spent in reconnoitring, siege was laid to Harfleur on the 17th, Henry taking up his position at Graville; the town surrendered, after an obstinate defence, on 22 Sept (*Gesta*, pp. 19–31; Waurin, ii. 180–4). On the 26th a herald was sent to the dauphin challenging him to appear within eight days and decide the dispute by single combat with the king (*Fœdera*, ix. 313, where it is dated 16 Sept.; but see Nicolas, *Agincourt*, pp. 71–2). When the time expired without any answer, a council of war was held on 5 Oct. The English had suffered heavily during the siege, chiefly from disease; the majority therefore urged that the army should at once return home by sea. Henry, however, decided on the bold step of marching to Calais by land. Clarence was sent back to England in charge of the fleet and the sick, a garrison was left in Harfleur, and the remainder, numbering perhaps fifteen thousand men in all (Pauli, v. 111; Nicolas, *Agincourt*, pp. 75–8), started on their adventurous march on 8 Oct.

After some skirmishing at Montivilliers and Fécamp, Arques was reached on the 11th; next day there was an encounter with the garrison of Eu. Henry had intended to cross the Somme at Blanche-tache, as his great-grandfather had done before Creçy, but being falsely informed that the French held that passage in force, decided to march higher up the river (St.-Remy, i. 232). On the 13th the English reached Abbeville, but the bridges were all broken down, and a strong force was assembled on the opposite bank (*Gesta*, p. 39). Henry accordingly marched on by Amiens and Boves to Corbie, outside which town there was a smart skirmish on the 17th; on

On 14th he reached Nesle, and there learnt that there was a ford at Bethencourt. The French had broken up the approaches, but they were repaired without difficulty, and on the 15th the army safely crossed the Somme and encamped for the night near Athies and Boves. There they came heralds announcing the coming of the French to fight, and inquiring of Henry by what route he would march. 'Straight to Calais,' was the king's reply. On the 21st the march was resumed as the English army advanced. On the 22nd Henry lodged at Forcheville, and on the next at Fromentières l'Escaillon, and the advanced guard, under the Duke of York, being at Fréchin, on the Canche. On the 24th Henry crossed the Canche and marched to Blangy on the Ternoise, which river was no sooner passed than scouts came in to report that the French were advancing in large numbers (*ib.* i. 244-2). Henry halted his troops and calmly prepared for battle, rebuking Sir Walter Hungerford, who regretted that they had not here 'but one ten thousand of those men in England that do no work to-day' (*Henry V*, act iv. sc. 3; *Gesta*, p. 47). But as soon as the French withdrew without fighting to Agincourt, where they passed the night feasting and playing at dice for the prisoners whom they confidently expected to take on the morrow (LYDGATE ap. NICOLAS, *Agincourt*, p. 318; *Cott. MS.* Claud. A. viii. f. 3 *b*). The English bivouacked in the open air at Maisoncelles, and occupied themselves with prayer and preparation for the battle, Henry being careful to send out scouts to examine the ground.

The next morning at daybreak the French drew up in three divisions, numbering at the lowest estimate fifty thousand men (see NICOLAS, *Agincourt*, p. 109). They were massed in dense columns one behind the other, in a space too narrow for the evolutions of so large an army, while their difficulties were increased by the excessive weight of their armour and the softness of the ground, which was sodden with rain (JUVÉNAL DES URSINS, pp. 519-20; ST.-REMY, i. 252). On the other side, Henry, mounted on a small grey horse, and wearing a magnificent crown in his helmet, saw to the ordering of his troops in person (*ib.* i. 244). The English army could occupy the whole width of the field with advantage; in the centre was the king, on the right the Duke of York, on the left Lord Camoys; the archers, provided with stakes to form a palisade, were placed on the wings, while the flanks were protected by woods. When all was ready Henry made a speech to his soldiers; according to one account he declared that 'for me this day shall England never ransom pay' (*Pol. Songs*, ii. 124). For some time neither army made any movement, and several hours were spent to no purpose in negotiations. At length, towards eleven o'clock, Henry gave the order, 'Banners advance!' When the English came within twenty paces, the French van rushed forward to meet them; the archers halted, and planting their stakes met the French cavalry with a volley of arrows. For a time the sheer weight of their column gave the French the advantage, but presently their horses became unmanageable through the pain of their wounds, and the confusion was completed by the dense mass which, pressing on from behind, made all attempts to rally impossible. Then as the French line wavered the archers threw aside their bows, and the English, striking right and left with their swords, pierced to the second battle (ST.-REMY, i. 254-256). The Duke of Alençon, who commanded this division, endeavoured to restore the day by a furious charge, in which he broke the English line and struck down Humphrey of Gloucester with his own hand. Henry rushed forward to protect his brother, and himself received a blow which brought him to his knees. Alençon was, however, forced to yield, and was slain before Henry could save him. The third division of the French yet remained unbroken, and the English were preparing to renew the battle when a message was brought that a fresh force had attacked the rear; in reality it was only a small body of peasantry who were plundering the English camp, but the danger seemed imminent, and Henry ordered all the prisoners to be slain. Only a few of the more illustrious escaped from the massacre, which was completed before the discovery of the mistake. The French made no attempt to take advantage of this opportunity, and their third line was put to flight after a desultory and disorganised resistance. The victory was complete; the battle had only lasted three hours, but the slaughter was very great. The total French loss may have reached ten thousand, in which were included many persons of eminence; the prisoners were also numerous. On the English side the loss is put by some writers as low as fourteen, by St.-Remy and Monstrelet as high as sixteen hundred; the Duke of York and the Earl of Suffolk were among the slain (see NICOLAS, *Agincourt*, pp. 133-6).

Henry remained on the field till evening; he inquired the name of the neighbouring castle of Agincourt, and ordered the battle to be called after it. The English were too

exhausted to attempt a pursuit, and at dusk withdrew again to Maisoncelles. Next morning they resumed their march to Calais, which was reached on 29 Oct.; there Henry remained till 16 Nov., when he crossed to Dover. On the 23rd he entered London, and was received by the citizens with a gorgeous pageant; he himself rode in simple attire to give thanks at St. Paul's and Westminster, and would not let the dented helmet which he had worn at Agincourt be exhibited to the people. Parliament had already met under the regent Bedford on 4 Nov., and marked its gratitude by granting the king the custom on wool, and tunnage and poundage for life, together with a tenth and fifteenth (*Rot. Parl.* iv. 62).

Except for a few weeks Henry remained in England till July 1417. Various matters both of home and foreign policy required settlement; old enmities were healed by the final restitution of the heirs of Mortimer, Percy, and Holland to their estates and favour; an attempt to pacify the Welsh border was made by appointing Sir Gilbert Talbot to treat with the last of Glendower's supporters (*Fœdera*, ix. 330); Scotland was to be secured by arranging for the release of her young king James (*ib.* ix. 417); while negotiations were opened with most of the continental powers and a number of treaties concluded (*ib.* ix. 364, 410–15). But the chief event of the year (1416) was the visit of Sigismund, king of the Romans. Sigismund's main purpose was to concert means for terminating the schism in the church. With this object Henry was in the fullest sympathy, and Robert Hallam [q. v.], the bishop of Salisbury, who had been sent as the chief English representative to the council of Constance in 1414, had been instructed to conclude a treaty with Sigismund (*ib.* ix. 167–8), and had acted in unison with him during the earlier sessions of the council in 1414 and 1415. But Agincourt had made Henry the arbiter of western Europe, and the conclusion of peace between France and England seemed essential to a termination of the schism. To promote peace Sigismund had visited Paris in March 1416, and when he came to England in the following month he brought with him an embassy from the French king. On 27 April he landed at Dover, after expressly declaring that he claimed no rights as emperor in England. Negotiations were at once commenced, but there was no actual cessation of hostilities. Dorset, the English commander at Harfleur, made a raid in March, and in May the French retaliated by plundering the southern coast of England, and by laying siege to Harfleur. Henry had proposed to command the expedition which under Bedford relieved Harfleur and defeated the French fleet in July, but was dissuaded by Sigismund. All this time, however, negotiations had been going on; William of Holland came over in May to assist Sigismund, and an envoy of the Duke of Burgundy was also present. Henry was willing to accept the mediation of Sigismund and a truce for three years on condition of retaining Harfleur, but the negotiations proved ineffectual owing to the influence of the Count of Armagnac (*Rel. St.-Denys*, xxxviii. 3–4). Des Ursins (p. 532) says that the French hoped to reap more advantage from war. Sigismund resented their action and determined on an English alliance, which Henry readily agreed to. A treaty was accordingly concluded at Canterbury on 15 Aug., Sigismund pledging himself to support the just claims of his new ally (*Fœdera*, ix. 377). The most important result of this agreement was that it led directly to the termination of the schism by the election of Martin V; for Henry it was a further triumph, because it separated Sigismund from his ancient alliance, and secured his influence in inducing the Genoese to withdraw the aid of their fleet from the French (*Rel. St.-Denys*, xxxvii. 10; cf. *Proc. Privy Council*, ii. 236). At the end of August Sigismund went over to Calais, where Henry rejoined him on 4 Sept. The negotiations were once more renewed, and ambassadors were despatched by the French king, who concluded a truce to last till 2 Feb. 1417 (*Fœdera*, ix. 386–7, 397). Burgundy had also sent ambassadors, and on 4 Oct. arrived in person and held a secret conference with Henry and Sigismund. As a result some form of treaty was agreed to on 8 Oct. It was asserted that Burgundy recognised Henry's claims to the French throne, and this was no doubt what Henry tried to obtain (*ib.* ix. 394); but, though Burgundy's action was regarded with suspicion in France (*Bourgeois du Paris*, p. 648), it does not appear that the duke consented to anything more than a truce for Flanders and Artois (Barante, iii. 190).

On 16 Oct. Henry returned to England, and three days later met the second parliament of the year at London. The chancellor in his opening speech announced the failure of all attempts for peace and the necessity of a decisive appeal to the sword. The commons in reply granted two aids and authorised the raising of a loan on their security. During the winter Henry was busy superintending the preparations for his second expedition, men were collected and trained, and provision was made for the

victualling of the army and for the equipment of a regular medical service (*Fœdera*, ix. 436–7). Special attention was directed to the navy; ships were built by Henry's direction at Southampton and on the Thames, so that in February 1417 the king had six great ships, eight barges, and ten balingers (NICOLAS, *Agincourt*, App. p. 212; see 'Libel of English Policye' in *Pol. Songs*, Rolls Ser. ii. 199–201; a longer list drawn up in August 1417 is given in ELLIS, *Letters*, 3rd ser. i. 73; cf. also *ib.* 2nd ser. i. 67–72). These were royal vessels in addition to those supplied by the ports, and it is from this time that the foundation of the navy as a national force most probably dates (NICOLAS, *History of the Navy*, vol. ii. chap. vi.) Furthermore, ordinances were issued for the fleets and armies which entitle Henry to be considered the founder of our military, international, and maritime law (*ib.* ii. 405–6; *Agincourt*, App. p. 31; STUBBS, *Const. Hist.* iii. 77). On 25 April 1417 Henry rode through London to St. Paul's and took his leave of the citizens (*Cott. MS.* Claud. A. viii. f. 5); he then went to Southampton and busied himself with the final preparations for departure.

On 23 July 1417 Henry's second expedition set sail with an army of nearly fifty thousand men in a fleet of sixteen hundred ships (PUISEUX, *Siège de Caen*, p. 31). On 1 Aug. it disembarked on the south bank of the Seine near Touques. Master of Harfleur and the north of the Seine, a less skilful general might have been tempted to march straight on Rouen as the capital of northern France. Henry, however, displayed his generalship by a very different plan. The first campaign was devoted to securing the towns and castles of central Normandy, by which means the province was cut in half, Brittany and Anjou forced into neutrality (*Fœdera*, ix. 511–13), and the communications of Rouen with central France severed. The castles of Touques and D'Auvillars surrendered early in August; by a skilful march Henry cut off Caen from Harfleur, Rouen, and Paris, and by the 18th was able to invest the town, which promised to supply suitable winter quarters, and was too important to be left uncaptured in his rear (PUISEUX, *Siège de Caen*, p. 33; *Rel. de St.-Denys*, xxxviii. 12; LIVIUS, p. 35). On 4 Sept. the town was carried by assault, Henry directing the attack in person; the castle held out till the 19th. The work of conquest proceeded with startling rapidity. Bayeux, Alençon, Argentan, and many smaller places were surrendered after little or no resistance, so that by the middle of October the whole province up to Le Mans was secured. This success was no doubt assisted by the dissensions among the French, the Armagnacs having recalled their men-at-arms to employ them against the Burgundians (BARANTE, iii. 212; ST.-REMY, i. 341). In October Henry went to direct the siege of Alençon, and at the end of the month held a conference there with the Duke of Brittany, who according to one account offered to hold Brittany as his vassal (WALSINGHAM, *Hist. Angl.* ii. 326–7; *Fœdera*, ix. 505–6, 511). Towards the end of November he laid siege to Falaise; the town surrendered on 2 Jan. 1418 and the castle a month later. Except for a short visit to Caen in February, Henry remained in the neighbourhood of Falaise till the beginning of March 1418, when he went to Bayeux and spent Easter there; from 21 April till the end of May he was at Caen. During this time he took no active part in the war, which was, however, vigorously prosecuted by his lieutenants. Gloucester was despatched to the Cotentin and besieged Cherbourg in April, Huntingdon captured Coutances and Avranches, Warwick besieged Domfront, and Exeter Evreux, while Clarence was employed in preparing for the advance on Rouen, which was to be the main feature of the year's campaign. Henry, no doubt, gave a general superintendence while occupied at Caen with civil organisation and preparation for the siege of Rouen.

At the end of May Henry went to Bernay and joined Clarence, who had by this time captured Lisieux and most of the small towns of the Lieuvin. The capture of Louviers, 22 June, was followed on 20 July by that of Pont de l'Arche, which made the English masters of the Seine above Rouen (cf. *Rel. St.-Denys*, xxxix. 10). After waiting for Warwick and Salisbury to join him, Henry left Pont de l'Arche on 29 July, and marching by the right bank of the Seine appeared before Rouen on the same day. His first task was to provide for the safety of his army by the construction of regular fortified lines. He himself took up his station at the Chartreuse de Notre Dame de la Rose, on the north of the Seine. The next work was to cut off Rouen from the sea, and to secure his own communications with Harfleur. In blockading the mouth of the Seine he was assisted by a fleet sent by his kinsman and ally the king of Portugal. Above the town he constructed a firmly built wooden bridge, a remarkable work, which was completed with great rapidity despite frequent attacks from the enemy. Henry thus secured the position of his own army, which was encamped on both sides of the Seine, while to further obstruct the navigation heavy chains were stretched across the stream. Rouen

was still protected by the fortresses of Caudebec below and of St. Catherine above the town; both were captured early in September, and the English fleet was then able to come freely up the river. But on the upper Seine the English had still no ships; to remedy this defect Henry had several vessels brought overland from Moulineaux to Orival, a distance of above three miles. The hostile fleet was then defeated, and to save it from capture was destroyed by the besieged, who at the same time burnt their arsenal of Clos-aux-Galées, on the left bank of the Seine. Thus Rouen was completely invested, while supplies came freely to the besiegers' camp from England (cf. TYLER, ii. 224–7). Early in October Gloucester arrived from Cherbourg, and other reinforcements came over from England and Ireland. The besieged still defended themselves with heroic obstinacy in the vain hope of succour, but Burgundians and Armagnacs alike were intent on their private feuds, which had culminated in the murder of the Count of Armagnac and the Parisian massacres in June and August. This internecine warfare had greatly facilitated the English advance early in the year, and it now deprived Rouen of all assistance from outside.

Towards the end of October an old priest escaped from Rouen, and went to plead the cause of his townsmen in Paris. Burgundy promised to send an army with all speed, but in its stead despatched an embassy to treat with the English king. A similar appeal to the dauphin had met with a like response. Henry made it his policy to negotiate with both parties, while Rouen was being slowly reduced by famine. The dauphin's envoys came to Alençon, Burgundy's to Pont de l'Arche; among the latter was the Cardinal des Ursins, whom the pope had sent to France to endeavour to conclude a general peace (DES URSINS, p. 540; *Rel. St.-Denys*, xxxix. 1; *Fœdera*, ix. 558, 578). The negotiations were ineffectual; probably Henry only intended to use them as a means for preventing that union of the two parties against himself which the Duke of Brittany had almost succeeded in securing (*Rel. St.-Denys*, xxxix. 16). In both cases the conferences were ended by the English envoys declaring that they could not recognise the authority of the other parties to treat (ST.-REMY, i. 348; for the instructions to the ambassadors to the dauphin, see *Proc. Privy Council*, ii. 350–8).

The negotiations lasted till December, by which time the condition of Rouen had become desperate. As a last resource, twelve thousand useless mouths—probably refugees who had fled to Rouen on the English approach—were expelled from the city. Henry refused them a passage through his lines; the besieged refused them re-entry to the city; and the poor creatures, with only such shelter or food as they obtained from the mercy of the English soldiers, were left to endure all the hardships of winter and famine beneath the walls of Rouen. After an unsuccessful attempt to break through the English lines, the besieged applied once more to Burgundy, who promised to come to their aid by 29 Dec. (ST.-REMY, i. 352). The day passed with the promise unfulfilled, and at length the defenders of Rouen offered to treat for a capitulation. Henry would have nothing but unconditional surrender, and the conference was broken off. The besieged, in despair, determined to cut their way out or perish arms in hand. The king, apprised of their intention, allowed the negotiations to be reopened, and a capitulation was agreed to on 13 Jan. 1419. Henry marked the character of his conquest by stipulating for a site on which to build a palace, and by promising security of property and person to all who accepted him as their liege lord. Nine persons were excepted from the capitulation.

Henry entered Rouen in triumph on 19 Jan. 1419; his first care was to provide food for the starving inhabitants, and he then devoted himself to the organisation of the conquered duchy. The nobles of the province were summoned to assemble at Rouen, regulations were made for the government, officers were appointed, an exchequer was established at Caen, and money was struck with the legend, 'Henricus, Rex Francie' (cf. *Rel. St.-Denys*, xl. 9). The conduct of the war was entrusted by Henry to his lieutenants, who prosecuted it with such vigour that by the end of March only five places still held out in Normandy, while the English arms had penetrated beyond its borders to Mantes.

Meantime Henry had once more been busy with negotiations. The fall of Rouen induced both Burgundy and the dauphin to renew their proposals for peace. On 12 Feb. a truce was agreed upon and a meeting arranged to take place between Henry and the dauphin near Evreux on 26 March (*Fœdera*, ix. 686). For this purpose, Henry left Rouen for Evreux on 25 March, but the dauphin failed to put in an appearance (ELLIS, *Letters*, 2nd ser. i. 76–8). Burgundy had also sent envoys to Rouen without effect, and the Duke of Brittany had come there early in March to conclude a truce on his own behalf and to endeavour to mediate for a general peace. From Evreux Henry proceeded to

Vernon-sur-Seine, where he kept Easter; while there negotiations were reopened with Burgundy which eventually led to a truce and a conference, which was arranged to take place between Mantes and Pontoise at the end of May (*Fœdera*, ix. 717, 734–5, 747–53). Henry accordingly left Vernon for Mantes on the 28th, and next day met Burgundy, the queen of France, and her daughter Catherine. The first meeting was almost purely formal, and seven other conferences were held in June without effect. Henry demanded Catherine's hand in marriage, together with the territory secured by the treaty of Bretigny, Normandy, and his other conquests in full sovereignty; he was ready to renounce his claim on the throne of France (*ib.* ix. 762–3; Des Ursins, pp. 549–51). Isabella endeavoured to work on his feelings by refusing him a second interview with her daughter. Henry, however, proved inflexible; probably he was aware of the insincerity of the French. Burgundy had all the time been intriguing with the dauphin, and on 3 July, when a ninth conference was to have been held, both queen and duke failed to appear. Eight days later Burgundy met the dauphin near Melun, and agreed upon a peace, which was publicly proclaimed on the 29th (*Rel. St.-Denys*, xl. 45). Henry remained at Mantes throughout July, and, as soon as the truce expired, planned a skilful surprise on Pontoise, which was successfully executed 30 July. The fall of this town opened the way to Paris. The king wrote that it was his most important capture since the beginning of the war. From Mantes Henry went back to Rouen, and thence to direct the final operations before Gisors, which surrendered, after a six months' siege, on 22 Sept.

Meanwhile the fall of Pontoise, which some, without justice, ascribed to treachery on the part of Burgundy, had struck a severe blow at the agreement between the two French parties (*ib.* xl. 5 and 11; St.-Remy, i. 368). The dauphin's supporters determined to rid themselves of their rival, and the duke was treacherously murdered during a conference at Montereau on 11 Sept. The union of Henry's opponents was thus shattered, and Philip, the new duke of Burgundy, at once began to treat for an English alliance. It was not, however, till 2 Dec. that an agreement was made, under which Philip recognised Henry as heir of France, and promised to use his influence in procuring for him the hand of the Princess Catherine (*Fœdera*, ix. 816). Burgundy's adhesion did not go alone, for the city of Paris, after the murder of Duke John, had sent envoys to treat with Henry (*ib.* ix. 797), and Isabella, who controlled her mad husband, felt no sympathy for her son the dauphin. A general truce, from which the dauphin was excepted, was concluded on 24 Dec., and was renewed from time to time (*ib.* ix. 818, 857, 874). The negotiations were very prolonged, and the preliminaries for the treaty of peace were not signed till 9 April 1420 (*ib.* ix. 877). Meantime, however, the war was prosecuted with activity and success by the English and Burgundians acting in unison against the dauphin. On the other hand, an English fleet was defeated off La Rochelle by the combined forces of the Spaniards and French (Des Ursins, p. 556). Henry himself remained at Rouen from the beginning of December 1419 till 18 April 1420, when he left for Mantes on his way to the final conference at Troyes. At the beginning of May he was at Pontoise; thence he marched, by way of Brie, Charenton, Provins, and Nogent, to Troyes, where he arrived on 20 May with his brothers Clarence and Gloucester and a force of seven thousand men. The betrothal of Henry and Catherine took place forthwith, and next day the treaty of Troyes was formally ratified; by its terms Henry was recognised as heir to the French kingdom on the death of Charles VI and as regent during the king's life; he was to govern with the aid of a council of natives and to preserve all ancient customs; he undertook to recover for Charles all the territory then held by the dauphin; Normandy was to be his in full sovereignty, but on his accession to the French throne was to be rejoined to France; during the life of Charles his title was to be 'Henricus rex Angliæ et hæres Franciæ.' On the same day Burgundy renewed his alliance with the English king (see treaties in *Fœdera*, ix. 895; *Rel. St.-Denys*, xli. 1–3).

Henry and Catherine were married in the church of St. John at Troyes on Trinity Sunday, 2 June (*Journal d'un Bourgeois*, p. 664; *Chron. Lond.* p. 108; *Fœdera*, ix. 910). Only two days later Henry was on his way with Burgundy to lay siege to Sens, which was captured after a short resistance; thence the allies went to Montereau, which surrendered 23 June, though the castle held out a little longer. Bedford now came to join his brother with reinforcements, and Gloucester was sent back to act as regent in England. Early in July siege was laid to Melun; the town was stoutly defended, and Henry not only directed the operations himself, but took a practical part in them, meeting the governor, the Sire de Barbazan, in single combat. Melun resisted till 18 Nov.; those of its defenders who had been concerned in the murder of John of Burgundy were excepted from the

surrender, together with a number of Scots, whom Henry had executed as traitors to their young king, then present in his own camp. On leaving Melun, Henry joined the French court at Corbeil, and on 1 Dec., accompanied by Charles and Burgundy, entered Paris in triumph (*Journal d'un Bourgeois*, pp. 665). The French estates had been summoned to meet there, and the treaty of Troyes was publicly ratified before them, and Henry was acknowledged as heir. Christmas was kept by the English king at the Louvre in great state, and on 27 Dec. (*ib.* p. 666) he left with his queen for England, in answer to an urgent request from the commons (*Rot. Parl.* iv. 125). After a sojourn of some days at Rouen, where ordinances were made for the government of Normandy and to prevent undue oppression of the conquered people (*Fœdera*, x. 35–56), Henry and Catherine crossed over from Calais to Dover on 3 Feb. (MONSTRELET, liv. i. cc. 134–5). During Henry's long absence the country had been quietly and efficiently governed, and little of importance had occurred save some trouble with Scotland and the obscure intrigues of his stepmother, who was accused in 1419 of using sorcery against the king [see under JOANNA OF NAVARRE].

On 24 Feb. Catherine was crowned at Westminster, and a great feast and pageant was held in honour of the event (*Chron. Lond.* p. 108; cf. *Fœdera*, x. 63). The court now made a progress through England, visiting Coventry, Kenilworth, and Leicester, where they kept Easter. From Leicester they went to York, but before reaching the northern capital the festivities were cut short by the news of the defeat and death of Clarence at Beaugé. After a pilgrimage to Beverley and Bridlington, Henry came south towards the end of April to meet his parliament and prepare for his third expedition to France. Parliament assembled 2 May 1421; the commons were in a generous mood, and besides granting a fifteenth, showed their confidence in the king by empowering the council to give him security for all debts contracted on account of the intended expedition. In the midst of his preparations Henry found time to direct a reform of the Benedictine monasteries (WALSINGHAM, *Hist. Angl.* ii. 337–8). He also endeavoured to secure peace with Scotland by sending back the young King James with an English bride.

On 10 June Henry left England for the last time, and landed at Calais with a large force. Twelve hundred men were hastily despatched to relieve Exeter, who was hard pressed at Paris, while Henry himself followed at greater leisure, and reached the capital on 4 July (DOUËT-D'ARCQ, *Choix de pièces inédites*, &c., i. 410). Thence he marched on the 8th to relieve Chartres, which was besieged by the dauphin. The French fell back across the Loire, whither Henry, after capturing Dreux (20 Aug.), Vendôme, and Beaugency, followed them; but the king felt that Bourges was too strong for an immediate attack, and contented himself with ravaging the country, after which he withdrew to Senlis, and prepared to besiege Meaux. This town was invested on 6 Oct., but was stoutly defended by its skilful though cruel commander, the Bastard of Vaurus. The pressure of the war was beginning to tell on English resources, and Henry had to apply to his allies in Germany and Portugal for assistance in men-at-arms and archers (*Fœdera*, x. 168; cf. *Rot. Parl.* iv. 151, 154–5; GREGORY, *Chron.* p. 142). During the winter Henry was constantly at Paris, busy with civil matters and with negotiations (*Fœdera*, x. 185–94). Meaux capitulated after a fierce assault on 11 May 1422, and the Bastard of Vaurus was hanged. At the end of the month Henry was joined at Paris by his queen with her infant son, born at Windsor on 6 Dec. 1421. After a short stay in the capital the court went to Senlis on 22 June, and thence to Compiègne. News of a conspiracy to surrender Paris to the dauphin soon recalled Henry to the capital, but after a short visit he went back to Senlis. Cosne-sur-Loire was at this time besieged by the dauphin, and Burgundy appealed to Henry for assistance. The king promised to come to his aid in person, although his health was manifestly failing; still, despite great weakness, he rode as far as Melun, but there had to take to a litter, and at last was compelled to abandon the command to Bedford. He was carried to Bois de Vincennes, where it soon became evident that his illness would prove fatal. The disease was probably dysentery, aggravated no doubt by the hardships of war. Basset, his chamberlain, calls it a pleurisy (HALL, p. 113; see GOODWIN, p. 337). Henry's last days were spent in arranging for the government after his death, and for the education of his infant son. As the end drew nigh the physicians warned him that he had but two hours to live, and Henry, devout to the last, after receiving the sacrament, bade his confessors read the penitential psalms. When they came to the words 'Build thou the walls of Jerusalem,' the king interrupted them saying, 'Good Lord, Thou knowest that mine intent hath been, and yet is, if I might live, to re-edify the walls of Jerusalem' (*Cott. MS.* Claud. A. viii. f. 10*b*). Then as the priests continued their prayers

he breathed his last about two o'clock on the morning of 31 Aug. 1422. The body was embalmed, and after a solemn service at Paris was removed to England. The funeral procession was very magnificent, and passed slowly through France, only reaching London on 11 Nov. Henry was buried in the chapel of the Confessor at Westminster Abbey. A chantry was endowed in his honour, and on his tomb was placed a recumbent effigy carved in oak, and covered with silver-gilt, the head being of solid silver. The precious metal was stolen in 1545, and the figure now remains bare and headless (Stow, *Annals*, p. 362, ed. 1615; *Acts of the Privy Council*, new ser. i. 328). Above it hang the shield, helmet, and saddle, which were part of the original funeral equipment.

Henry was deservedly more loved by his subjects than any English king before or since. All writers, whether French or English, are singularly united in his praise. In private life he was temperate, chaste, and frugal; sincere and consistent in his devotions, generous and courteous in his dealings with others, making it a point of honour to be affable to all men. He spoke little, but when he did straightforwardly and to the point, never giving any answer but 'It is impossible,' or 'It shall be done.' Despite his early entry into public life, his education had not been neglected. He was fond of music and reading. In notices of books lent to the king occur the 'Romance of Guyron le Courtois,' 'The Chronicles of Jerusalem,' 'Voyage of Godfrey of Bouillon,' and St. Gregory's 'Works' (*Fœdera*, ix. 742, x. 317). He is said to have been the friend at Oxford and patron in later life of John Carpenter [q. v.], bishop of Worcester, and Thomas Rudborn [q. v.], warden of Merton College, and is credited with the wish to found a great college at Oxford (Rous, p. 208). This intention was frustrated by his death, and his only foundations were the three religious houses erected at Sheen early in his reign. Lydgate translated the 'Siege of Troy' at his request, and Hoccleve dedicated his 'De Regimine Principum' to him. Henry's own letters are good specimens of the English of the time; an autograph written in a fine clear hand is in Cotton. MS. Vesp. F. iii. f. 5.

As a ruler he chiefly impressed his contemporaries with his inflexible justice. No king had a higher conception of his rights, or was more stern in their enforcement, but he showed at the same time scrupulous regard for those of all classes among his subjects. His treatment of the lollards and of such Frenchmen as offered him a stubborn resistance may seem to have erred on the side of harshness. But the defence of the catholic religion and the maintenance of his claims on the French throne were to Henry matters of sacred duty; he was never needlessly cruel, nor did he act out of a mere wish for revenge. In war he was full of consideration for his soldiers, and was merciful towards defenceless opponents; all plundering and violence to women were strictly forbidden, and as sternly punished (see, for some remarkable instances, Livius, p. 13, and Monstrelet, i. c. 226). As a general he far surpassed all of his own time; his plans were laid with care and forethought, and executed with patient strategy or brilliant daring as the occasion required; no detail was too slight for his personal superintendence (cf. Livius, pp. 10, 63; Elmham, pp. 46, 103, 136, 160; *Proc. Privy Council*, ii. 290). He shared all the hardships of his soldiers, and encouraged them by the example of conspicuous valour. As a diplomatist he was able, firm, but conciliatory, and even in the midst of his busy warfare found time to form and maintain a system of alliances which included almost all the states of Western Europe, and of which he was himself the centre. In the work of civil administration he was less engaged, yet in England he healed the animosities which had distracted the two previous reigns, and even when abroad gave constant attention to the affairs of the realm, frequently corresponding with his representatives at home; while in France he went far to reconcile the people to his rule by the contrast between the justice and firmness of his government and the turbulent violence which had gone before (Fenin, pp. 182, 187; Des Ursins, p. 567).

Of Henry's plans it is not altogether easy to speak. His great war, although unprovoked and unjustifiable, was undertaken from a firm conviction of his own rights. It was not a war of idle conquest. Henry's first aim may indeed have been to provide an outlet for the turbulent spirits which had vexed his father's reign, or to secure in Normandy a refuge for his own family. Some colour is given to the latter theory by his special attention to Normandy; but more probably this was due to the fact that it was the only conquest which he had attempted to organise thoroughly. The inducements held out to Englishmen who would settle at Harfleur, Caen, Honfleur, and Cherbourg (Puiseux, *L'Emigration Normande*, &c.; *Cott. MS.* Claud. A. viii. ff. 2 *b*, 3; Leland, *Coll.* ii. 487) only aimed at securing these points of entry, and there were no further attempts at anything like an English settlement. At the same time it is clear that Henry would at first have been content with very much less

than the throne of France (*Fœdera*, vol. ix. 762–3). The reality of Henry's intention, after restoring peace in France, to undertake a new crusade, is beyond doubt. A short time before his death he despatched Gilbert de Lannoy, a Burgundian knight, to inquire into the state of the East and the practicability of a war for the recovery of the Holy Land (Lannoy's report is printed in *Archæologia*, xxi. 221–444; cf. *Cott. MS.* Claud. A. viii. f. 11). Such a crusade could only have been attempted by Henry as the head of the united west, and to effect such a union seems to have been the object of his system of alliances. The termination of the schism formed an essential feature in such a policy (cf. his letter ap. *Rel. de St.-Denys*, xxxvi. 2). Later on in 1418 he writes of his wars with France, Spain, and Scotland, the three powers which had supported the schism, as undertaken in the interest of the pope (Goodwin, pp. 209–10). With the other states of Western Europe Henry established friendly relations, and when he died it appeared as if these three also were on the point of passing under his influence. But whatever Henry's ultimate designs may have been, the conception and the power of execution alike perished with him.

Henry's personal appearance was comely; his face was oval, with a long straight nose, ruddy complexion, dark smooth hair, and bright eyes, mild as a dove's when unprovoked, but lionlike in wrath. His frame was slender, but his limbs well proportioned and stoutly knit, so that he was very active, and took a keen pleasure in all manly sports (*Versus Rhythmici*, pp. 69–88; Elmham, *Vita*, p. 12). There are portraits of Henry V in the hall at Queen's College, Oxford, in the National Portrait Gallery, at Eton College, and at Windsor. The last is engraved as a frontispiece to the first volume of Tyler's 'Memorials of Henry V.' A portrait contained in a contemporary missal, now at Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, is described in 'Archæologia,' ii. 194. Another portrait, which dates from 1430, is in Cotton. MS. Julius E. iv. f. 8 *b*.

[Of the early lives of Henry V, by far the most important is the Gesta Henrici Quinti (Engl. Hist. Soc.), written by a French chaplain—probably Jean de Bordin—who accompanied Henry in his first campaign; it only extends to 1416, but so far as it goes is perhaps the most valuable authority; the Life which passes under the name of Thomas Elmham (ed. Hearne) is full, but grandiloquent, and sometimes ambiguous; it is, however, strictly contemporary; a metrical form exists in the Liber Metricus (Cole, Memorials of Henry V, Rolls Ser.); the Life by Titus Livius Forojuliensis, an Italian in the service of Humphrey of Gloucester, is largely derived from the same sources as Elmham's, but is much more concise; Capgrave's Life in the De Illustribus Henricis (Rolls Ser.) is of no great value; Redman's (Cole, Memorials, &c.) has some interest as giving the view held a century later. None of these lives treat more than very briefly on Henry's early years, for the authorities on which period see under Henry IV. Of other English authorities we have Walsingham's Historia Anglicana, and Ypodigma Neustriæ in the Rolls Ser.—meagre; John Hardyng's Chronicle, with the English Chronicle edited by the Rev. J. S. Davies for the Camd. Soc., which is a form of the 'Brut' (extant in many manuscripts, e.g. Harl. 753, 2248, 2256), should be joined the interesting History of Henry V in Cott. MS. Claud. A. viii.; the Chronicle of London (ed. Nicolas, 1827); Page's poem, The Siege of Rouen, and Gregory's Chronicle in Collections of a London Citizen (Camden Soc.); and Wright's Political Songs (Rolls Ser.) Of French authorities the chief are Monstrelet (ed. Douët-d'Arcq, Soc. de l'Hist. de France); Waurin's Chroniques (Rolls Ser.); the Chroniques des Religieux de St. Denys (Documents inédits sur l'histoire de France, vols. v. vi.); the account of Jean le Fevre de St.-Remy (Soc. de l'Hist. de France), which avowedly owes much to Monstrelet, but is very valuable for the campaign of Agincourt, in which the writer accompanied the English army; Pierre de Fenin, *ib.*, and Juvénal des Ursins (Michaud et Poujoulat's Collection des Mémoires, 1st ser. vol. ii.) Most of these will also be found in the Panthéon Littéraire. The Journal d'un Bourgeois de Paris, (Michaud et Poujoulat, u.s.), and the Cronique de Normandie (printed at the end of the Gesta) are occasionally useful. The later writers, Fabyan, Hall, and Holinshed, are of some value, as occasionally preserving popular tradition. In documentary evidence the period is especially rich; see Rymer's Fœdera, vols. viii–x. orig. ed.; Nicolas's Proceedings and Ordinances of the Privy Council, vols. i. and ii.; Ellis's Original Letters; Delpit's Collection des Documents Français en Angleterre; Rolls of Parliament, vols. iii. and iv.; Calendar of Patent Rolls; Rolls of France and Normandy in the Deputy-Keeper's 41st, 42nd, and 44th Reports. Of the modern authorities Goodwin's Hist. of the Reign of Henry V (a very valuable compilation) and Tyler's Memorials of Henry V (most useful for the earlier years) deserve the first place; but the best brief accounts will be found in Pauli's Geschichte von England, vol. v., and Stubbs's Constitutional History, iii. 1–94. For the Welsh campaigns down to 1404 see Wylie's Hist. of Henry IV, vol. i., and for the French war Nicolas's Battle of Agincourt, and M. Léon Puiseux's valuable Siège et Prise de Caen, Siège et Prise de Rouen, and L'Emigration Normande et la Colonisation Anglaise; Barante's Hist. des Ducs de Bourgogne, 6th edit. vols. iii. and iv. may also be consulted. The negotiations with Sigismund are treated by Lenz in König

Sigismund und Heinrich der Funfte. Henry's character is discussed in Luders's Character of Henry V when Prince of Wales, F. Solly Flood's Henry of Monmouth and Chief Justice Gascoigne (in which much useful information on Henry's early life is collected; but the conclusion as to Henry's religious views seems unacceptable), and in Sanford's Estimates of the English Kings.]

C. L. K.

**HENRY VI** (1421–1471), king of England, the only son of Henry V and Catherine of France, was born at Windsor on St. Nicholas day, 6 Dec. 1421. He was baptised by Archbishop Chichele, his godparents being his uncle John, duke of Bedford; his great-uncle Henry Beaufort [q. v.], bishop of Winchester; and Jacqueline, countess of Holland (WALSINGHAM, *Hist. Anglicana*, ii. 342). His father's death on 31 Aug. 1422 made him king of England when only nine months old. His reign was reckoned as beginning on 1 Sept. (*Ordinances of P. C.* iii. 3; NICOLAS, *Chronology of History*, pp. 284, 323). On 21 Oct. his grandfather, Charles VI, died, and he was at once proclaimed king of France.

Henry V's last directions were ignored, and parliament granted the protectorship of the little king to his eldest uncle, John, duke of Bedford, and, during John's absence in France, to his younger brother, Humphrey, duke of Gloucester (*Rot. Parl.* iv. 174). But the real government rested with the council, and all writs and proceedings were issued in Henry's name. Sir Walter Hungerford [q.v.], who had been appointed by Henry V to attend on his son, was on 18 Feb. 1423 excused from his office (*Ord. P. C.* iii. 37), and Henry remained under his mother's care. On 18 Nov. 1423 he was brought from Windsor and shown to the assembled parliament at Westminster. On 16 Jan. 1424 Joan, wife of Thomas Astley, was appointed his nurse, with a salary of 40*l.* a year, as large as that of a privy councillor (*ib.* iii. 131). On 21 Feb. Dame Alice Butler was selected to attend his person, with license 'to chastise us reasonably from time to time' (*ib.* iii. 143), and with the same salary as Joan Astley (*ib.* iii. 191), afterwards increased by forty marks. In June 1425 the council ordered that the heirs of all baronies and higher dignities then in the crown's wardship should be brought up at court about the king's person, each one being provided with a master at the state's charge (*ib.* iii. 170), so that the palace henceforth became an 'academy for the young nobility' (cf. FORTESCUE, *De Laudibus Legum Angliæ*, in *Works*, i. 373, ed. Lord Clermont).

The council forced the king to take a personal part in public functions before he was four years old. In April 1425 he appeared at St. Paul's, 'led upon his feet between the lord protector and the Duke of Exeter unto the choir, whence he was borne to the high altar.' Afterwards he was 'set upon a fair courser and so conveyed through Chepe and the other streets of the city' (FABYAN, *Concordance of Histories*, p. 594, ed. 1811). During the parliament that then assembled Henry was 'sundry times conveyed to Westminster, and within the parliament chamber kept his royal state' (*ib.* p. 594; WAURIN, *Chroniques*, 1422–31, p. 198; *Rot. Parl.* iv. 261). He kept his Christmas and New-year's court in 1426–7 at Eltham, receiving among his presents some coral beads that had once belonged to King Edward, and was amused by the games and interludes of Jack Travaill and his companions and by 'portable organs' (*Fœdera*, x. 387–8). In February 1428 he opened the 'parliament of bats' at Leicester, where Bedford sought to appease the fierce dissensions between Gloucester and Bishop Beaufort. On Whitsunday Bedford dubbed his nephew a knight, a large number of young nobles afterwards receiving knighthood from the 'gracious hands' of the little king (*Ord. P. C.* iii. 225; GREGORY, p. 160).

In May 1428 Richard Beauchamp, earl of Warwick [q. v.], is described as the king's 'master' (*Ord. P. C.* iii. 294), a post for which he had perhaps been nominated by Henry V himself (STUBBS, *Const. Hist.* iii. 92, adopts this view from WAURIN, *Chroniques*, 1399–1422, p. 423; and MONSTRELET, *Chroniques*, iv. 110; *Gesta Hen. Quinti*, p. 159, joins Warwick with the two Beauforts; but cf. for a different view ELMHAM, p. 333, ed. Hearne; and HARDYNG, pp. 387, 394, who says that Exeter acted first and Warwick after his death in 1427, see BEAUFORT, THOMAS). A body of knights and squires was appointed to reside about the king, and the castles of Wallingford and Hertford were fixed for his summer habitation, and Windsor and Berkhampstead for his residence in winter (*Ord. P. C.* iii. 295). On 1 June Warwick was ordered 'to be about the king's person,' and directed to 'teach him to love, worship, and dread God, draw him to virtue by ways and means convenable, lying before him examples of God's grace to virtuous kings and the contrary fortune of kings of the contrary disposition, teach him nurture, literature, language, and other manner of cunning, to chastise him when he doth amiss, and to remove persons not behovefull nor expedient from his presence' (*ib.* iii. 296–300; cf. *Fœdera*, x. 399).

The exploits of the Maid of Orleans now prepared the downfall of the Anglo-Burgundian power in France. The French council pressed for the coronation of Henry as a counter-move

to the coronation of Charles VII at Rheims on 17 July 1429. The English council was glad to have an opportunity to diminish Duke Humphrey's power, and on 6 Nov. 1429, 'a clear and bright day,' Henry was crowned at Westminster in the presence of parliament. Warwick led him to the 'high scaffold set up in the Abbey,' where he sat 'beholding the people all about sadly and wisely,' and showing great 'humility and devotion.' The function ended with 'an honourable feast in the great hall, where the king, sitting in his state, was served with three courses' (FABYAN, p. 599; GREGORY, *Chronicle*, pp. 165–170; WRIGHT, *Political Songs*, ii. 140–8). Parliament at once resolved that Gloucester's protectorship was at an end (*Rot. Parl.* iv. 337), and proclamation was made that the king would forthwith visit his French dominions (*Ord. P. C.* iv. 10–11).

On 24 Feb. 1430 the king, after service at St. Paul's, removed from London to Kennington. Thence on Palm Sunday he went to Canterbury, where he remained for Easter (16 April). On St. George's day, 23 April, he crossed from Dover to Calais, accompanied, it was believed, by ten thousand soldiers (*Ann. S. Alban.* i. 48–51; cf. *Ord. P. C.* iv. x.), and conducted by Cardinal Beaufort. He landed at Calais at about ten in the morning, and rode at once on horseback to high mass at St. Nicholas's Church (MONSTRELET, iv. 389; WAURIN, p. 360). On 17 July he proceeded to Rouen (*Ann. S. Alban.* i. 52), the capture of the Maid of Orleans on 23 May probably making the journey less dangerous. But the English cause had now sunk so low that Henry was kept many months at Rouen, while vigorous, though unsuccessful, efforts were made to clear the way to Rheims for his coronation. He was at Rouen during the trial and martyrdom of the Maid of Orleans, sometimes present during the proceedings (QUICHERAT, *Procès de Jeanne d'Arc*, ii. 325, Soc. de l'Histoire de France), though Bedford, as a rule, kept him discreetly in the background.

Despairing of approaching Rheims, Bedford had to content himself with crowning his nephew at Paris. On Advent Sunday, 2 Dec., Henry made his triumphant entry into Paris by the Porte Saint-Denis. The city was gaily adorned, and municipality, university, and populace heartily welcomed him (*Journal d'un Bourgeois de Paris*, pp. 430–3, ed. Buchon, BASIN, *Chronique*, i. 90, Soc. de l'Histoire de France; JEAN CHARTIER, i. 130, 131, ed. Vallet de Viriville; MONSTRELET, v. 1–6, ed. Douët-d'Arcq). Henry visited his grandmother at the Hôtel Saint-Pôl. He was lodged at Vincennes till two days before the coronation. He was crowned on 16 Dec. (not 17th, as Stubbs and Pauli say) at Notre-Dame by Cardinal Beaufort. The arrangements were badly managed. The English made themselves too prominent, and the withholding of the customary largesses and pardons disgusted the Parisians (*Bourgeois de Paris*, pp. 434–6). On 21 Dec. Henry presided at a great council. On 26 Dec. he left Paris for Rouen. Landing at Dover on 29 Jan. (GREGORY, p. 173) he entered London on 14 Feb. (*ib.* p. 173; other authorities make the dates 9 Feb., 19 Feb., and 21 Feb., see PAULI, v. 228). Lydgate celebrated his return by a poem, and the Londoners welcomed him with great state. A change of ministers followed. On 12 May 1432 Henry opened parliament in person, sitting through the fiery debates arising from Henry Beaufort's challenge of his accusers, and finally declaring in favour of his great-uncle's loyalty.

Warwick meanwhile found that Henry was 'grown in years, in stature of his person, and also in conceit and knowledge of his royal estate, the which cause him to grudge with chastising,' while in private speech 'he hath been stirred by some from his learning, and spoken to of divers matters not behovefull.' He therefore obtained from the council fuller powers for the regulation of the household, the prohibition of unauthorised persons from access to the king, and authority to remove the king into sundry places 'for the health of his body and the surety of his person.' On the king's next visit to London the council appeared before him and admonished him to obey Warwick's precepts (*Paston Letters*, i. 31–5, ed. Gairdner). Next year the return of Bedford gave some prospect of stronger government.

Henry celebrated the Christmas of 1433 at Bury St. Edmunds, remaining there or at Elmswell until after Easter (28 March) (*Archæologia*, xv. 66–71, gives a long account of this visit, reprinted in *Monasticon*, iii. 113–114, ed. Ellis, &c., where is a picture of Henry praying before St. Edmund's shrine, from the *Life of St. Edmund*, the very beautiful Harl. MS. 2278, which Lydgate, the author, presented to Henry). On this occasion Henry was admitted to the fraternity of the abbey, which henceforth became a favourite resort with him. On 26 April 1434 Henry presided at a great council, where peace between Gloucester and Bedford was only secured through his personal mediation (STUBBS, *Const. Hist.* iii. 120; *Ord. P. C.* iv. 210 sq.) Soon after Bedford left England for the last time. Henry's success as a peace-maker led him to further action in state affairs, in which he showed a precocious and unhealthy interest.

Gloucester encouraged his interference, while Beaufort and Warwick were for keeping him under restraint. Their influence probably led the council on 12 Nov. 1434 to solemnly warn Henry that he was not yet endowed with so great knowledge and discretion as to be able to choose in matters of difficulty, or change the governance that had been appointed for his tender age. Even if we reject as mere flattery the assurance of the council that 'God had endowed his grace with as great understanding and feeling as any prince or person of his age' (*Ord. P. C.* iv. 267), such premature struggling for power refutes Hardyng's story that Henry grew up almost an idiot, unable to distinguish between right and wrong. Nor was his education confined to affairs of state. Warwick taught him the use of arms. An extant inventory mentions the swords, 'some greater and some smaller, for to learn the king to play in his tender age,' and the 'little harness that the Earl of Warwick made for the king ere he went over the sea, garnished with gold' (PAULI, *Geschichte von England*, v. 263). Gloucester watched over his literary education.

In 1435 Bedford died and Burgundy deserted the English alliance. Henry wept bitterly at Burgundy's treachery. In January 1437 Henry lost his mother, though her secret alliance with Owain Tudor had long deprived her of any influence with the council or control over her son's education. In July 1437 Henry lost a good friend by Warwick's removal from his preceptorship to undertake the regency of France (*Fœdera*, x. 674). This marks a stage in the king's emancipation, since no successor seems to have been appointed. Henry had now for some time regularly attended the meetings of the council (e.g. *Ord. P. C.* v. 1–16). A great council was held in November at Clerkenwell Priory, where in Henry's presence a new privy council was appointed, including all the old and some new members, with the same powers which parliament had conferred on the council of Henry IV (*ib.* v. 71). But Henry was now admitted into a share of the government, charters of pardon, the collation of benefices and offices and 'other things that stand in grace' being reserved to him 'for to do and dispose as him good seemeth.' In matters of great weight the council was directed not to conclude without the king's advice, and if there arose difference of opinion, as 'peradventure half against half or two parties against the third,' the king had power 'to conclude and to dispose after his good pleasure' (*ib.* vi. 312–15). But the king exercised his powers so recklessly, that less than three months afterwards the council warned him that he was granting power 'to his great disavail,' and that his grant of the stewardship of Chirk involved a loss of a thousand marks to his sorely distressed revenues (*ib.* pp. 88–90). In 1439 Henry began his foundations at Eton and Cambridge.

The defection of Burgundy and the loss of Paris (1436) made the English cause in France hopeless. The death of Bedford brought Cardinal Beaufort into greater prominence. Beaufort, resolved on the restoration of peace, thought to strengthen England's foreign relations by arranging a marriage for the king. But his first efforts were utter failures. Already in 1434 the council had suggested that peace could best be effected with Scotland 'by way of the marriage of the king with one of the daughters of the king of Scots,' but, fearing to incur responsibility, they referred the matter to a great council, and nothing further came of it (*ib.* iv. 191; cf. Pref. pp. lx, lxii). Again, in 1435, during the negotiations at Arras, it had been suggested that Henry should marry the eldest daughter of Charles VII (*Fœdera*, x. 643–4), but the French laid the proposal so lightly by that the English were offended (*Ord. P. C.* v. 361), and the rupture of the whole negotiations followed. Unable to establish new ties, the council, with similar want of success, sought in 1438 to strengthen old ones, by marrying Henry to a daughter of the new emperor Albert II, 'if the emperor will condescend to marriage' (*ib.* v. 86, 96, 97; cf. Pref. pp. xxix–xxx).

As Henry grew nearer manhood he heartily seconded Beaufort's plans. In 1439 the cardinal and the Duchess of Burgundy, his niece, held, between Gravelines and Calais, long conferences to procure a truce. The negotiations with France failed, and the English refused to entertain any plan for marrying Henry to a daughter of his 'adversary of France' until a sure peace had been established (*ib.* v. 361). But a truce was agreed on with Burgundy, and commercial relations renewed with the Low Countries.

Better prospects for England now arose from a fresh combination of the feudal princes of France in a new *praguerie* against the increasing power of Charles VII (G. DE BEAUCOURT, *Hist. de Charles VII*, vol. iii. chaps. vi. and viii.) If England would renounce the vain claim to the French throne, Burgundy and Brittany would have welcomed her aid, and left Normandy and Guienne in English hands. Beaufort fell in with the plan, and procured in 1440 the release of Charles, duke of Orleans (a prisoner since Agincourt), who vigorously supported the feudalists. Glou-

cester violently protested against Orleans' release, and was answered by the council that it was the special desire of the king and the best way of securing peace. About 1441 Brittany, Orleans, and Alençon proposed a marriage between Henry VI and a daughter of John IV, count of Armagnac, who since 1437 had been on good terms with the English, through his fear of Charles VII (BECKINGTON, *Correspondence*, ii. 206; *Ord. P. C.* v. 45). On 28 June 1441 ambassadors from Armagnac received their safe-conduct for England to propose the match (DE BEAUCOURT, iii. 234, from Brequigny's collection; *Fœdera*, xi. 6, dates a safe-conduct 13 May 1442, which is plainly too late). On 28 May 1442 Sir Robert Roos and Beckington, the king's secretary, were empowered to proceed to Guienne to treat for the marriage with one of Armagnac's three daughters (*Fœdera*, xi. 7). Henry, who showed the keenest interest in the business, sent after them a letter 'signed of our own hand, the which, as ye wot well, we be not much accustomed for to do in other case,' and directing them to make choice of the most suitable of the ladies (BECKINGTON, ii. 181). A painter named Hans was also sent out to 'portray the three daughters in their kirtles simple and their visages' (*ib.* ii. 184). But on arriving at Bordeaux the ambassadors found that Charles VII's invasion of Guienne had frightened Armagnac, and his mind was changed. They waited from July 1442 to January 1443, but could not even get the pictures of the ladies, because the severe frost had frozen the artist's colours, and went home empty-handed. The prospect of the Armagnac alliance was finally destroyed a year later by the dauphin Louis' invasion and conquest of Armagnac (BECKINGTON, *Journal*, printed accurately in the Appendix to vol. ii. of the BECKINGTON, *Correspondence*, and less accurately in Sir H. Nicolas's English version published in 1828, and partly translated into French by G. Brunet in the *Actes de l'Académie Royale de Bordeaux*, with valuable notes by the editor; other letters of Beckington are in *Letters of Margaret of Anjou*, Camd. Soc.; DE BEAUCOURT, *Hist. de Charles VII*, vol. iii. chap. ix.; and RIBADIEU, *Hist. de la Conquête de Guyenne par les Anglais*, are the best modern accounts).

On 6 Dec. 1442 Henry reached his legal majority. Beaufort's influence was undiminished, and he made a new effort to procure peace. Through the good offices of Francis, the new duke of Brittany, negotiations began about the end of 1443. In February 1444 a strong embassy, headed by William de la Pole, earl of Suffolk, was sent to France. A partial truce was signed on 8 April at Le Mans, whence Suffolk went to Tours, where the king and the chief nobility of France were assembled. A definite peace was still out of the question, and Charles VII rejected all proposals to marry Henry to one of his daughters (BASIN, i. 154–6). Yet on 22 May 1443 the English concluded a treaty with Charles VII's brother-in-law, René of Anjou, titular king of Sicily and actual duke of Lorraine and count of Provence, for the marriage of Henry to René's daughter Margaret. On 24 May the solemn betrothal was celebrated before the papal legate (DE BEAUCOURT, iii. 276–7; LECOY DE LA MARCHE, *Le Roi René*, ii. 254–257; and VALLET DE VIRIVILLE, *Charles VII*, ii. 453–4). On 28 May the treaty of Tours was signed, which secured a truce for nearly two years (*Fœdera*, xi. 59–67, gives a Latin text, and COSNEAU, *Les Grands Traités de la Guerre de Cent Ans*, pp. 154–71, a more accurate French version from the Archives Nationales; M. D'ESCOUCHY, vol. iii. *Pièces Justificatives*, Soc. de l'Hist. de France). This was the great triumph of the Beaufort policy, with which the young king had identified himself.

Suffolk, made a marquis in September 1444, was sent to Lorraine to fetch Margaret. King René held great feasts at Nancy, in the presence of the king and queen of France, to celebrate the marriage, which was performed by proxy by the bishop of Toul in February 1445 (DE BEAUCOURT, iv. 93; BERRY, Roy d'Armes, p. 426, in GODEFROY, *Charles VII*). On 1 April Margaret landed at Porchester or Portsmouth (GREGORY, p. 184), escorted by Suffolk, but an attack of small-pox postponed her wedding. At last Henry and Margaret were married by Bishop Ayscough at Titchfield Abbey, near Fareham, on 22 April (10 April GREGORY, p. 186). Henry set in the wedding-ring a ruby given him by Beaufort the day he was crowned at Paris (*Fœdera*, xi. 76). On 28 May the royal pair entered London in triumph, and on 30 May Margaret was crowned by Archbishop Stafford. Magnificent tournaments concluded the wedding festivities (WYRCESTER, p. 764). Lydgate celebrated the event by a bombastic poem.

Gloucester's influence was now at an end. Henry suspected his uncle of treasonable designs, and hardly admitted him to his presence or treated him with civility (*Chron. Giles*, p. 33; WHETHAMSTEDE, i. 179; STEVENSON, *Wars of English in France*, i. 111). Beaufort's great age thus threw the direction of affairs into the hands of Suffolk, who was warmly supported by king and queen alike. In July 1445 the Archbishop of Rheims and the Count of Vendôme arrived in London on a solemn embassy from France. On 15 July Henry

gave them audience. The French lords were much impressed by his friendliness and honest desire for peace; but a short prolongation of the truce was all that resulted. A proposal that Henry should visit France and hold an interview with Charles VII was mooted, and was much discussed during the next few years, but came to nothing (for a full account of their embassy, which illustrates Henry's capacity for politics, see STEVENSON, *Wars of the English in France*, i. 89–148).

Early in 1447 parliament was summoned to provide funds for the proposed 'personal convention' of Henry and Charles. It met on 10 Feb. at Bury St. Edmunds, a place personally acceptable to Henry, and politically safer than London because of Suffolk's influence. Henry was escorted by a great number of armed men on his journey through Royston, Cambridge, and Newmarket, to protect him from Duke Humphrey (*Three Fifteenth-century Chronicles*, p. 149). He ordered his uncle's arrest as soon as the duke arrived on 18 Feb. On 28 Feb. Gloucester was dead, probably by a natural death, for Suffolk, though freely accused of the murder, was never formally charged with it, and Henry may be safely acquitted of complicity in such a deed. The parliament was dismissed without a grant being even asked for, and in March Henry left Bury for Canterbury. On 11 April the death of Cardinal Beaufort removed the other chief statesman of Henry's minority. His executors offered Henry 2,000*l.* from the bishop's great wealth, which he declined with affectionate expressions of regard for his uncle's memory (BLAKMAN, 'De Virtutibus et Miraculis Hen. VI,' in OTTERBOURNE, ed. Hearne, p. 294).

The following years were perhaps the happiest of Henry's life. He was happy in his domestic life, and his educational foundations at Eton and Cambridge were completed. The old factions seemed ended. The peace negotiations went on, and in March 1448 Maine was surrendered in return for a two years' prolongation of the truce. But the French were less earnest than Henry and Suffolk, and there seemed little prospect of the definitive treaty for which Edmund Beaufort (Duke of Somerset in March 1448) and Bishop Moleyns were now negotiating. In June Henry made Suffolk a duke. On him the whole welfare of the state now rested. During these years Henry was constantly on progress. In the summer of 1446 he made a tour of various monasteries, visiting among other places the Austin friary at Lynn (CAPGRAVE, *De Illustr. Hen.* p. 133; cf. *Cont. Croyland Chron.* p. 525). In the summer of 1448 he went north as far as Durham, where his appearance was followed by a breach of the truce with Scotland, which turned out badly for the English (*Chron. Giles*, p. 35).

Suffolk's ascendency over Henry was neither unchallenged nor of long duration. Even in the council his position grew doubtful. He had aroused the jealousy of the Beauforts, and quarrelled with Cardinal Kemp [q. v.], whose nephew, Thomas Kemp, he sought to deprive of the bishopric of London, conferred by papal provision at Henry's special request (21 Aug. 1448). The weak king was forced to declare to the pope that the letters of request for Kemp were forged, and to beg for the translation of Bishop Lumley of Carlisle to the vacant see. Henry received a well-merited rebuke from Eugenius IV (BECKINGTON, *Correspondence*, i. 155–9).

Early in 1449 Francis l'Arragonois broke the truce with France by the wanton capture of Fougères. The French, who were eagerly waiting for the pretext, at once renewed the war. Normandy was rapidly conquered; Edmund Beaufort, duke of Somerset [q. v.], showed extreme remissness, which was naturally set down to treachery. A parliament was summoned in February to Westminster, which made liberal grants. But plague drove king and estates to hold their summer session at Winchester. In October Henry visited the Welsh marches (*Paston Letters*, iii. 474. The year is Mr. Gairdner's conjecture). He was back in London before 6 Nov. 1449, on which date a new parliament assembled. It was prorogued over Christmas, which Henry and Margaret celebrated at Windsor (WYRCESTER, p. 766). At Epiphany-tide the sailors at Portsmouth murdered Bishop Moleyns, keeper of the privy seal. On 16 Jan. 1450 Henry returned to Westminster, where parliament reassembled on 22 Jan. The outcry against Suffolk was now at its height. The commons at once drew up elaborate articles of impeachment, and the lords sent the duke to the Tower. The secret support of king and courtiers was of no avail, and an ingenious method was devised of satisfying clamour without condemning the favourite. On 17 March Suffolk was brought before the king and all the lords then in town. The duke submitted himself to the king, and Henry, through the chancellor, declared the charges 'neither declared nor charged,' and, 'not reporting him to the advice of his lords, nor by way of judgment, ordered him into five years' exile.' On his way to the continent Suffolk was murdered.

Archbishop Kemp, the faithful follower of Beaufort, was now Henry's chief support. In April parliament reassembled at Leicester because London was unhealthy, and dis-

cussed plans for an income tax and the resumption of the royal domain. At Whitsuntide 1450 Kent rose under Jack Cade. On 6 June Henry went to London to meet the danger, lodging at Clerkenwell (*ib.* p. 767). On 11 June he marched through London, 'armed at all pieces,' and at the head of a large force to Blackheath (GREGORY, p. 191). At his bidding the rebels retired. That night he slept at Greenwich; but the rebels came back to Blackheath after their victory at Sevenoaks (18 May). Panic and mutiny spread among Henry's troops, and he hurried back to London by water. He vainly sought to propitiate public opinion by sending Lord Say to the Tower. But Henry himself shared the prevailing panic. The mayor and council besought him to tarry in the city, offering to die for him, and to pay half the cost of his household. But he fled to Kenilworth (*Three Fifteenth-century Chronicles*, p. 67). His disorderly troops dispersed. But Kemp and Waynflete remained, and broke the back of the rising. When the danger was over Henry made a progress through Kent and Sussex, sitting at Canterbury in judgment on the rebels, and passing sentences of great severity (*ib.* p. 68; *Chron. Giles*, p. 40). After a great 'harvest of heads' he went on to Salisbury.

In September 1450 Richard, duke of York, came back from Ireland, posing as the successor of Gloucester, the saviour of England from anarchy, and the avenger of Normandy. He forced himself into Henry's presence, complaining bitterly of the courtiers, who declared that he was an accomplice of Jack Cade. Henry pronounced him 'our true and faithful subject, and our faithful cousin,' and received him and his leading followers 'with good cheer' (*Paston Letters*, i. 151, ed. Gairdner), and was forced to appoint a new council, of which York was a member. But Somerset, now back from France, struggled eagerly to retain his position. On 6 Nov. parliament met, carefully packed with York's partisans, and the commons agreed that York should be declared heir to the throne (*Chron. London*, p. 137). Somerset was arrested, and disorder rose so high that all parties united to put it down. On 3 Dec. Henry was paraded through London with his lords, all in full armour. During the recess Somerset was made captain of Calais. Early in 1451 Henry refused the commons' request to remove him from court. The dissolution of parliament in the early summer left him as strong as ever. Henry laboured hard, as the Paston correspondence shows, to keep up his kinsman's local influence. 'All is nought, or will be nought,' wrote a contemporary. 'The king borroweth his expenses for Christmas.' Mathieu D'Escouchy says that on Twelfth Night the king and queen could get no dinner, as they had neither money nor credit (i. 304). Debt, indecision, and faction had paralysed the government. In 1451 Guienne was lost as easily and ingloriously as Normandy.

In February 1452 York again marched to London with an army from the Welsh marches. Henry armed against him, and blocked the road to the capital. York turned aside, crossed the Thames at Kingston, and encamped at Dartford. Henry's army encamped on Blackheath on 1 March. A great battle seemed inevitable. But Bishop Waynflete and some of Henry's lords negotiated a compromise. Even on Henry's side many were anxious for the removal of Somerset. Henry pledged himself to keep Somerset under arrest. York disbanded his army, but on visiting the king's tent he found Somerset still at large, and Henry's presence did not prevent a fierce altercation. York found that he was practically a prisoner. But fear of the marchmen saved him from the Tower, and on 10 March he was released after a solemn declaration of loyalty. An effort was now made to put Calais in a proper state of defence and improve the navy. On Good Friday Henry sought to make everything smooth by pardoning all persons guilty of disloyal acts (WHETHAMSTEDE, i. 85), and on that very day 144 sealed pardons were issued from his chancery.

Anarchy still prevailed, and Henry travelled about the country in the vain hope that his presence would procure more respect for the law. In April or May he probably visited Norfolk (*Paston Letters*, i. 231, 233, but cf. Preface, p. lxxxiii). In July he certainly went on progress through the west. He was at Exeter on 18 July, and thence proceeded through Wells, Gloucester, Monmouth, and Hereford to Ludlow, where he arrived on 12 Aug., showing by his visit to York's great stronghold that old feuds were at end. He then travelled through Kenilworth and Woodstock to Eltham, which he reached early in September. In October a third progress was made through the eastern midlands, during which Stamford, Peterborough, and Cambridge were visited (GAIRDNER, Pref. to *Paston Letters*, i. lxxxvi). Before the end of the year Shrewsbury had won back most of Guienne. Success abroad seemed to follow the restoration of amity at home.

In March 1453 a new parliament assembled at Reading. That town was chosen in preference to London because of the Yorkist sympathies of the London populace. Somerset managed the elections so successfully that

for the first time for many years the commons and the council were at one. After Easter parliament reassembled at Westminster. On 2 July Henry thanked the commons in person for their liberal grants, and prorogued the session till November. But the hollowness of the pacification at home and the unreality of the last effort of England abroad were soon apparent.

Henry proposed to devote the summer to an extended progress. He left London for Clarendon, a hunting seat in the New Forest. Here he was suddenly (WYRCESTER, p. 771) smitten with an illness that made him equally impotent in mind and body (*Chron. Giles*, p. 44, says his illness began on 6 July. A contemporary almanac quoted by Gairdner, *Paston Letters*, i. xcvii, dates it as 10 Aug.) Besides the absolute loss of his reason and memory, he could neither walk, move, nor even stand erect (WHETHAMSTEDE, i. 163). In July Shrewsbury was slain at Castillon, and before the end of the year all Guienne was hopelessly lost. On 13 Oct. the queen gave birth to her only son, Edward.

The loss of Guienne was a final blow to the influence of Somerset. The birth of an heir cut off York's prospects of a peaceful succession to the throne, and occasioned all sorts of slanders against the queen. Henry's illness involved a regency, and Margaret and York were rivals for the position. For a time the council went on as in the days of the minority, governing, or trying to govern, in Henry's name. But even the existing parliament, which reassembled at Westminster in February 1454, was now friendly to York, who, as king's lieutenant, opened the session. Somerset had been in custody since December, while Margaret's claim to be regent was quietly put aside. The commons pressed for a new council.

Henry was now at Windsor, a hopeless idiot, ignorant even of the birth of his son. In January 1454 Buckingham and the queen presented the child to him, but he gave no sign of intelligence (*Paston Letters*, i. 263–4). On 15 March the council ordered a commission to be issued to three physicians and two surgeons empowering them to administer a formidable list of medicines to the king (*Ord. P. C.* vi. 166–7). But on 22 March the death of Cardinal Kemp brought matters to a crisis. A rumour spread abroad that the king was getting better (*Paston Letters*, i. 275). The next day a committee of lords was sent to Windsor to report on his health. They reached Windsor after the king had dined, and found him very weak and quite speechless (*Rot. Parl.* v. 240–1). On 27 March the lords ended the crisis by electing York protector until the prince came of age or as long as the king pleased. York kept Somerset in prison, vigorously endeavoured to put down private war, and succeeded in defending Calais and Jersey from French attack.

About Christmas-time Henry began to show signs of returning sanity. On 27 Dec. he sent offerings to the churches of Canterbury and Westminster. On 30 Dec. the queen brought the Prince of Wales to him. Henry recognised them, and declared that since his illness began he had not understood anything that was said to him till that time (*Paston Letters*, i. 315). On 7 Jan. Bishop Waynflete and the prior of St. John's visited him, and found him quite sensible and able to engage in his pious exercises.

Henry's restoration to sanity was a calamity. The last hope of good government was destroyed by the termination of York's protectorate. Somerset was released in February 1455, and restored to his old offices. The ministers were changed, and York excluded from the council. Margaret and Somerset had learnt nothing from adversity, and the king simply registered their will.

York and the Nevilles raised an army in the north, and marched on London. On 21 May Duke Richard sent from Ware a letter to Henry protesting his loyalty (WHETHAMSTEDE, i. 184–6), but Somerset intercepted it before it reached the king. On the same day Henry set out from London at the head of two thousand men, and rested for the night at Watford. Early on the 22nd the two hosts marched from Ware and Watford respectively to St. Albans. Henry occupied St. Peter's Street, while York lay outside the town. For three hours the hosts faced each other, York demanding in vain an interview with Henry. But Henry swore by St. Edward he would slay all traitors. About noon the Yorkists attacked and easily carried the town. Somerset was slain, and Henry, wounded in the neck by an arrow, was captured in a tanner's cottage. York took him to St. Alban's shrine, and then to his room. But the victorious earls fell on their knees and declared themselves Henry's true liegemen. Henry changed his tone with his advisers. Next day he was taken to London 'as a king and not as a prisoner' (GREGORY, p. 198). 'There he kept residence with joy and solemnity' (*Paston Letters*, i. 327–34, and WHETHAMSTEDE, i. 167–71, give the best accounts of the battle).

York was now supreme. Henry had not been seriously hurt by his wound (*Paston Letters*, i. 334), but was much agitated. In June he was again labouring 'under sickness and infirmity,' and his physicians were called

in (*Fœdera*, xi. 366). He withdrew with the queen and prince to Hertford (*Paston Letters*, i. 335). He was back in London to open parliament on 9 July, and to declare his confidence in the loyalty of York, Warwick, and Salisbury. In return, the lords renewed their oaths of allegiance to Henry. Parliament was prorogued on 31 July, and Henry went back to Hertford, where he remained till October. Before the month ended it was whispered that he had again lost his reason (*ib.* i. 352).

On 12 Nov. 1455 York opened parliament as Henry's lieutenant, and was again made protector. But Henry's illness was of a different character from the absolute prostration of his first attack. He was able to transact a little business. He personally committed the government to his council, requesting that they should inform him of all matters concerning his person (*Rot. Parl.* v. 285–7). Next February Henry was well again. He was willing to continue York as chief counsellor, but Margaret overpersuaded him, and York was removed from office on 25 Feb. 1456.

For the next two years a hollow peace was maintained. In the absence of any powerful supporter to take Somerset's place, the queen was forced to allow York to retain some influence and a place in the council, and Buckingham, now the strongest royalist lord, favoured a temporising policy. Henry strove hard to keep some sort of peace, and travelled diligently about the country. His presence did some good in the immediate neighbourhood, but the country as a whole was hardly governed at all. Every nobleman had his train of armed attendants, even when attending great councils. Private wars were common. When James II of Scotland threatened to break the truce to avenge his uncle Somerset, York took up the challenge in the king's name; but soon after Henry repudiated his action, though the court reaped little good from its friendship with the Scots. Margaret, Henry, and York dwelt for the most part at long distances from each other. Henry's separation from the queen may perhaps be significant. During the early summer of 1456 Henry was in the neighbourhood of London, mostly at Sheen and Windsor. On 18 Aug. he was at Wycombe, on the 24th at Kenilworth, and on the 29th at Lichfield. During September he moved about between Lichfield, Coventry, and Leicester (GAIRDNER in *Paston Letters*, i. ccxxviii). On 7 Oct. he presided at a great council at Coventry. The ministers were changed for more decided friends of the king, Waynflete becoming chancellor in succession to Bourchier. York, who attended the council, was now 'in right good conceit with the king, but not in great conceit with the queen' (*ib.* i. 408). Buckingham prevented an open rupture.

For the next year the court remained in the midlands, mostly at Coventry, though Stafford, Coleshill, Chester, Shrewsbury, Leicester, Kenilworth, and Hereford were also visited (*ib.* i. cxxix). When Henry was at Hereford in April and May the burgesses and gentry rallied loyally round him, and forced the powerful Sir William Herbert, afterwards earl of Pembroke (*d.* 1469) [q. v.], and his wild allies to an account (*ib.* i. 417). But the 'lack of governance' exposed the coasts to French invasions, and Margaret perhaps was responsible for the sack of Sandwich, foolishly hoping to weaken York's power by the help of foreigners.

Henry now returned to the neighbourhood of London. He was at Coventry late in September 1457 (*Ord. P. C.* vi. 290), and at Chertsey in October. In November he passed through St. Albans on his way back from the north (WHETHAMSTEDE, i. 269). In January 1458 he held a great council, to which the lords came armed. The Yorkists occupied the friendly city, while the Lancastrians encamped outside, and the armed Londoners strove to act as police. Civil war seemed inevitable. Henry, after solemn appeals for concord, withdrew to Berkhampstead (*ib.* pp. 296–308; *Paston Letters*, i. 425). But Archbishop Bourchier seconded his efforts, and a peace which lasted a year was agreed upon. On Lady day Henry marched with the crown on his head to St. Paul's, York following with the queen on his arm, and the rival lords succeeding arm in arm.

Henry spent part of Lent at Coventry. No preacher was allowed to preach before him until his sermon had been purged by a censor of all political allusions (GREGORY, p. 203). He spent Easter at St. Albans (WHETHAMSTEDE, i. 323–5), and gave his best red robe to the abbey. But the treasurer, finding it the only garment in his possession that became Henry's royal state, redeemed it. Warwick gained a great naval victory over the French on Trinity Sunday; but in November, after a fray between his servants and those of the court, he withdrew to Calais, leaving Margaret supreme.

War broke out again in 1459. On 23 Sept. Salisbury defeated Lord Audley at Blore Heath. York and Warwick joined him at Ludlow. Henry now showed unwonted activity, keeping the field for more than a month, never resting two nights in the same spot, and encamping in late autumn in the open field. He marched from Worcester

against Ludlow in the heart of the Mortimers' country, and broke up the Yorkist army by his timely offers of clemency. On 12 Oct. the three earls fled before the royal forces, not even risking an engagement. York fled to Ireland, and Warwick and Salisbury to Calais. All England now obeyed Henry.

On 20 Nov. 1459 Henry opened a packed parliament at Coventry, which attainted all the Yorkist leaders. But his new-found energy wasted away before poverty, disorder, and selfish faction. 'The realm of England was out of all good governance, for the king was simple and led by covetous counsel and owed more than he was worth.' 'For these misgovernances the hearts of the people were turned away from them that had the land in governance.' The papal legate, Francesco Coppini, bishop of Terni, sent by Pius II to urge on Henry to a crusade against the Turks, left England in disgust, and joined the Yorkists at Calais.

Henry kept Christmas at Leicester (WYRCESTER, p. 771). At the end of January 1460 he went to London. In Lent he spent three days at Crowland, praying at the shrine of St. Guthlac (*Cont. Croyland Chron.* p. 530). He was at his favourite Coventry when he learnt that the lords at Calais had crossed into Kent on 26 March. They secured possession of London on 2 July. On 10 July they reached Northampton, where Henry and his army had now arrived on their march to the south. Thrice Warwick sought an interview with Henry, but Buckingham prevented Henry from making any compromise. In the afternoon a battle was fought, the Yorkists gaining the victory. Henry had left Margaret and the prince behind at Coventry (GREGORY, p. 209). He was himself taken prisoner in his tent (*Engl. Chron.* p. 97; *Three Fifteenth-century Chronicles*, p. 74; WHETHAMSTEDE, i. 374–5). The old protestations of loyalty were renewed, 'whereat the king was greatly comforted.' He was kept three days at Northampton and then taken to London, where he was lodged in the bishop's palace by St. Paul's (*Engl. Chron.* p. 98). He was not put in the Tower as a prisoner, as was believed abroad (JEAN CHARTIER, iii. 123, ed. Vallet de Viriville). He marched through London on 16 July 'with much royalty,' Warwick, bareheaded, carrying the sword of state before him (*Cont. Croyland Chron.* p. 549). Margaret had fled to Scotland.

Parliament was summoned by Henry's writ for October. Henry amused himself with hunting at Eltham and Greenwich, 'biding the parliament' (*Paston Letters*, i. 525). York now came back from Ireland to London, 'breaking open the doors of the king's chamber,' so that Henry, 'hearing the great noise and rumour of the people, gave him place and took another chamber' (*Engl. Chron.* p. 99; cf. *Three Fifteenth-century Chronicles*, p. 170, and WHETHAMSTEDE, i. 377). On 16 Oct. York formally claimed the throne. The lords besought the king to find objections to his claim, 'insomuch as your highness has seen and understood divers chronicles' (*Rot. Parl.* v. 375–6). The judges shirked deciding so grave a matter. At last the lords plucked up courage to reject York's claim; but, as power was in his hands, a compromise was arranged, to which Henry, regardless of his son's rights, readily agreed, 'for a man that hath little wit,' said Gregory (*Chron.* p. 208), 'will soon be feared of death.' He was to keep his throne for life, and York was to be his successor.

Henry went in procession to St. Paul's with York as a sign of concord, and York gave up his quarters in the palace, where Henry again bore sway (*Cont. Croyland Chron.* p. 549). The Yorkists boasted that he was 'excellently disposed' (*Cal. State Papers*, Venet. 1202–1509, pp. 94, 96). He attached himself particularly to Warwick, whom he 'kept all to himself' (*ib.* p. 95). When York marched out against Margaret, who was now in arms in the north to maintain her son's rights, Henry remained in London with Warwick, keeping the Christmas feast with him at the bishop's palace near St. Paul's (WYRCESTER, p. 775). On 29 Dec. Margaret defeated and slew York at Wakefield, and marched south to release her husband. But on 2 Feb. 1461 Edward, the new duke of York, won the battle of Mortimer's Cross. On 12 Feb. Henry was taken northwards to fight against his wife, and rested at St. Albans. On 17 Feb. the second battle of St. Albans resulted in a complete victory for the northerners. 'The king took the field at Sandridge, and there he saw his people slain on both sides' (*Engl. Chron.* pp. 107–8). On the Yorkists' retreat he was left to his fate, Lord Bonville and Sir Thomas Kyriel alone remaining with him, trusting to Henry's promise that they should receive no harm (*Rot. Parl.* v. 477; *Engl. Chron.* p. 108; WHETHAMSTEDE, i. 393). Some northern lords led the king to Lord Clifford's tent, where Henry, who was very much affected, met Margaret and her son. He blessed Edward solemnly, and dubbed him knight (GREGORY, p. 214; WHETHAMSTEDE, i. 394). But neither his plighted word nor his entreaties could save Bonville and Kyriel from Margaret's vengeance (*Cal. State Papers*, Venet. p. 99). His personal action becomes less and less

important. The Yorkists denounced him as forsworn.

The queen's army advanced as near London as Barnet, but then withdrew to Dunstable. This hesitation to advance was fatal to their cause. The victors of Mortimer's Cross now joined Warwick, and on 4 March 1461 Edward was proclaimed rightful king in London, without even waiting for parliament. Henry and Margaret retreated to York with their 'northern robbers' (*Three Fifteenth-century Chronicles*, pp. 172–3), cruelly devastating the country they traversed. Edward IV hurried in pursuit, and won on Palm Sunday, 29 March, the decisive battle of Towton. Henry was not on the field, preferring to pass so holy a day in prayer at York (Pol. Vergil, p. 110, Camd. Soc.; Basin, i. 299). He fled northwards in panic flight. It was said in London that he was besieged 'in a place in Yorkshire called Corumbr, such a name it hath or much like,' but stole away 'at a little postern on the backside' (*Paston Letters*, ii. 7). It is more certain that he fled through Newcastle to Berwick. He secured a good reception in Scotland by surrendering Berwick to the Scots (*Three Fifteenth-century Chronicles*, pp. 77–8). Accompanied by Margaret and the Prince of Wales he now crossed the border, 'full of sorrow and heaviness' (Gregory, p. 217). In November Edward IV's parliament attainted him. He is henceforth described by the Yorkists as 'Henry late in deed but not of right king of England.'

Henry's subsequent movements are difficult to trace. The rumour that he took refuge in Wales (*Cal. State Papers*, Venet. 1202–1509, p. 111; Monstrelet, iii. 96, puts it a little later) is apparently of Flemish origin, and is improbable, though accepted by Dr. Lingard (*Hist. Engl.* iv. 73) and Dr. Pauli (*Geschichte von England*, v. 367). It is more probable that Henry never left Scotland or its neighbourhood, as the Crowland continuator says, for the next four years (*Cont. Croyland Chron.* p. 533). In the summer of 1461 he was reported to be at Kirkcudbright 'with four men and a child,' while Margaret and Prince Edward were at Edinburgh (*Paston Letters*, ii. 46). But before February 1462 Linlithgow Palace was prepared for his reception (*Exchequer Rolls of Scotland*, vii. 49). Sums were also spent for his entertainment at Durisdeer and Lanark (*ib.* p. 60). Before July 1462 food was provided for him at Edinburgh at the house of the Black Friars (*ib.* p. 145), and the accounts of the Edinburgh custumars for the year July 1462 to July 1463 include other expenses on his behalf (*ib.* p. 211). Margaret was forced to pledge a gold cup to her entertainers, and in January 1464 Henry gave a charter to Edinburgh, allowing the citizens to trade with England on payment of no higher dues than the Londoners paid (*ib.* Pref. p. xxxvi; *Charters of Edinburgh*, p. 119, Burgh Records Society). He had previously sought to win over the Earl of Angus by an English dukedom. But other influences were at work. Charles VII's death was a great blow to Henry's cause, while the Lord of the Isles and Douglas signed a treaty with Edward IV (*Fœdera*, xi. 475, 484, 487).

While Henry rested inactive in Scotland, Margaret vigorously upheld the Lancastrian cause, though her now open association with France and Scotland cut off the last hope of English sympathy, except in the wild north, where the traditional devotion to the house of Lancaster remained strong. She spent the summer of 1462 abroad, coming back in October with Pierre de Brezé and a small French force. By November Alnwick, Dunstanburgh, and Bamburgh were in her hands, Henry himself accompanying her army. But on Edward's approach Henry retired to Scotland. Before the end of the year Dunstanburgh and Bamburgh were again lost. Alnwick surrendered in January 1463, though De Brezé came to its help. Later in the year a Scottish force, together with Henry and the Scottish queen-dowager, appeared on the border and besieged Norham (Gregory, p. 220). But on Warwick's approach they retreated. Margaret now sailed for Flanders with her son, leaving Henry in Scotland, 'not without great grief' (Basin, ii. 50).

In the spring of 1464 the north again rose in favour of Henry. Henry joined the rebels. But Montague's victories of Hedgley Moor (25 April) and Hexham (8 May) crushed the rising. Henry narrowly escaped capture in the hot pursuit that followed the latter battle, his pages, clad in blue sammet, and his cap of state falling into Montague's hands. In June the Scots concluded a truce for fifteen years with Edward, and abandoned Henry (*Fœdera*, xi. 525). But the peasantry and gentry of the north still proved faithful, and for a whole year Henry lurked in disguise in the wild hill country that separates Lancashire and Yorkshire. It was reported abroad that he took refuge in a monastery, disguised in monastic garb (Basin, ii. 53). He was more than once entertained at Crackenthorpe, near Appleby in Westmoreland, at the house of John Machell (*Fœdera*, xi. 574). At another time he was hiding in the Furness Fells (Gregory, pp. 232–3). But his favourite refuge seems to have been Upper Ribblesdale, and traditions

[illegible] survive at Bolton West [illegible] *Hist.* [illegible] p. 129, ed. 1878. [illegible] dinner [illegible] Warkworth, [illegible] Henry [illegible] was [illegible] Wyn-[illegible]

by brutal keepers, not only by the meek response: 'Forsooth and forsooth, ye do foully to smite a king anointed thus' (*ib.* p. 302). But as long as Prince Edward lived it was Edward IV's obvious interest to keep Henry alive.

After more than five years of imprisonment an unexpected revolution restored Henry to the throne. Warwick, Clarence, and Margaret formed a league against Edward IV, who fled on 3 Oct. 1470 to Flanders. On [illegible] Bishop Waynflete and Archbishop [illegible] Warwick's behalf went down to the Tower. They found Henry [illegible] carefully kept as [illegible] He was released, [illegible] Westminster. WARK-[illegible] He was [illegible] Nevill.

[illegible] Edward IV [illegible]

4 May 1471 was defeated and captured at Tewkesbury, and Edward her son was slain. On 21 May Edward IV entered London in triumph. The death of the prince destroyed the last motive for keeping Henry alive. The insurrection of the Bastard of Fauconberg [see FAUCONBERG, THOMAS] in Kent showed how dangerous Henry might become. He was therefore slain the very night of Edward's arrival. It was given out that he died 'of pure displeasure and melancholy,' but both in England and abroad Richard of Gloucester was looked upon as his murderer. Even the Yorkist chronicler of Crowland (p. 550) does not deny that Henry came to a violent death. The most circumstantial account relates how Henry died 'on a Tuesday night, 21 May, betwixt xi and xii of the clock, the Duke of Gloucester being then at the Tower and many others' (WARKWORTH, p. 21). Next day his body was exposed in St. Paul's, 'and his face was open that every man might see him, and in his lying he bled.' His body was afterwards exposed at the Black Friars, and then conveyed in a barge to Chertsey, where it was buried in the lady chapel of the abbey (*ib.* p. 21). Official records show that his obsequies were decently performed (DEVON, pp. 496–7; *cf. Cont. Croyland Chron.* p. 556; BASIN, ii. 271).

The Yorkishmen worshipped Henry as a saint and martyr, and many miracles attested his holiness (BLAKMAN; *Fabric Rolls of York Minster*, pp. 82, 208–10, Surtees Soc.) Prayers were composed to him (*Trevelyan Papers*, pp. 53–60, Camd. Soc.), and two short Latin prayers attributed to Henry were reverently handed down; the editions of the 'Sarum Hours' between the end of the century and 1536 contain both sorts of prayers (*Notes and Queries*, 2nd ser. i. 509). Henry VII sought for his formal canonisation from Julius II, and Blakman, his old chaplain, collected the evidences of his sanctity. But nothing definite came of it. Hall says that Henry VII found the fees demanded at Rome so great that he grudged the money. Under Richard III Henry's body was removed from Chertsey to Windsor, where Henry VII planned the erection of a great chapel for the sacred corpse, but the monks of Chertsey petitioned for its return; Westminster Abbey also put in a claim, on the ground of Henry's own wishes. After listening to all the arguments, Henry VII decided for Westminster (*Hist. MSS. Comm.* 1st Rep. p. 97; STANLEY, *Memorials of Westminster Abbey*, pp. 152–7 and 506–21). The first design of the structure now called Henry VII's Chapel was to make it the shrine of the martyred king. But Henry VII died before the proposed translation was effected, and it is not quite certain whether Henry VI's remains still rest in the south aisle of St. George's Chapel at Windsor or were privately removed to an obscure and unmarked tomb at Westminster.

From his Lancastrian ancestors Henry inherited a weakly body, and from Charles VI an impaired mind. He is described as 'tall of stature and slender of body, whereunto all his members were proportionately correspondent, of comely visage, wherein did glisten his bountifulness of disposition' (POLYDORE VERGIL, pp. 156–7, Camden Society; HALL, *Edward IV*, fol. xxxiii, original edition). There are original pictures of him preserved at Eton and in the National Portrait Gallery, which have been often engraved. Lacking resolution, and without knowledge of men, he was always under the influence of a stronger mind, and, though suspicious, liable to be deceived. In the latter part of his reign he was the puppet of every faction; the kingdom drifted into anarchy, and his mind broke down beneath his troubles. Yet Henry was no dullard. Hall is probably right in describing him as 'neither a fool nor very wise.' But, although he recognised his position as a constitutional sovereign and had some sound political views, his heart was never in business. He was well educated, knowing French and Latin, and well versed in history, which, after the scriptures, was his favourite study. The debates of the council of Basel keenly interested him. He bitterly lamented the schism between the council and the papacy, and rejoiced in Pope Eugenius's efforts to restore the unity of Eastern and Western Christendom (BECKINGTON, ii. 49, 155). His life was that of a scholar and pious recluse, not caring for amusements, though diverting himself at times with hawking and hunting, despising pomp, and always practising excessive humility. He dressed very simply, with a long cloak and round cape 'like a townsman.' Regardless of the long pointed shoes of fashion, he constantly wore 'round shoes like a rustic.' On great days he would wear a hair shirt underneath his gorgeous robes. He was assiduous in attendance at divine worship, paid his tithes with exemplary regularity, and administered with scrupulous care his church patronage. He said grace before meals 'like a monk,' and always had on the table a dish representing the five wounds of Christ. He avoided gossip, though fond of sermonising both in speech and letters. He was specially devoted to English saints, procured the canonisation of St. Osmund, and sought to obtain for Alfred the honours of sanctity (*ib.* i. 119).

Henry's piety was no mere form. 'There was not in the world a more pure, more honest, and more holy creature' (POLYDORE VERGIL, p. 70, Camden Soc.) Strongly attached to his family, and unswervingly faithful to his queen, who from the first exercised commanding influence over him, he carefully watched over the education of his half-brothers, Jasper and Edmund Tudor, and was morbidly anxious about the morals of his household. Yet his petty inquisitorial ways did not prevent him from inspiring real devotion among his domestics. He was so liberal that he alienated his domains and wasted his revenues in foolish presents (WHETHAMSTEDE, i. 248–52); so merciful that it was hard to persuade him that robbers and traitors ought not to go scot-free. His excessive shyness and modesty sometimes verged towards the ludicrous. His strongest expletive was 'Forsooth and forsooth,' though when very emphatic he would swear 'By St. John!' He hated cruelty and brutal punishments, and was often plunged into fits of silence and ecstatic visions in which the age discerned something miraculous (BLAKMAN, 'De Virtutibus et Miraculis Hen. VI,' in OTTERBOURNE, ed. Hearne, pp. 286–305, contains the fullest account of Henry's personal characteristics).

Henry VI had imbibed Duke Humphrey's ardent love of letters and liberal patronage of learning. He showed the keenest interest in the universities, and displayed some ingenuity in his efforts to enrich poor foundations from his scanty resources. He lamented the decline of Oxford, and urged the bishops to promote graduates as the best way of encouraging students (BECKINGTON, i. 55). He watched with interest the university of Caen, founded in his boyhood by Bedford (*ib.* i. 123), and granted a charter in 1438 to Chichele's new foundation of All Souls. But he early concentrated his chief energies on his twofold foundation at Eton and Cambridge, in which he sought to reproduce on a grander scale Wykeham's two colleges of St. Mary at Winchester and Oxford. His chaplain, John Langton, master of Pembroke Hall, Cambridge, first inspired him with the idea. In 1439 he took the preliminary step of procuring the advowson of the rectory of Eton. In July 1440 he personally inspected Winchester College. On 11 Oct. 1440 he issued the charter of foundation of the 'King's College of our Lady of Eton beside Windsor.' The parish church of Eton was by it extended into a college under a provost and fellows, with which were associated a school and an almshouse. Henry made William of Waynflete, then master of Winchester, successively master and provost. For many years he watched the foundation with the closest attention, constantly altering and enlarging his scheme, and gradually developing the school at the expense of the almshouse. He procured both papal and parliamentary sanction for his plans, and mostly employed the revenues of the suppressed alien priories for endowments. He laid himself the foundation-stone of the chapel (CAPGRAVE, *De Illustribus Henricis*, p. 133), though want of funds made its progress slow. His final plans for the chapel ('the king's own avyse') contemplated a building on a colossal scale, but the nave was never begun, and the choir not completed until long after Henry's death. He showed minute care in buying up little scraps of property round the college to allow for its extension. He displayed the keenest interest in his Eton boys, with whom he was brought into constant intercourse through his frequent residence at Windsor. He delighted in giving them presents and good advice. He used to choose the masters with the greatest care, saying that it mattered little if the music in chapel were indifferent so long as his scholars grew in wisdom and piety (BLAKMAN, p. 296).

Henry occupied himself with almost equal zeal in the foundation of the supplementary college at Cambridge. His first charter to the 'King's College of our Lady and St. Nicholas' was issued on 12 Feb. 1441. On 2 April 1441 Henry laid the first stone of his college. Here, as at Eton, the original plans for a small college were gradually enlarged. The present vast chapel of King's College, though not completed until long after Henry's time, is the only part of the existing structure which corresponds to his magnificent designs. He laid the first stone of it on 25 July 1446. Between 1445 and 1453 Henry made constant visits to Cambridge to watch over the progress of his foundations, staying mostly at the King's Hall, a college now absorbed in Trinity. The foundation of Queens' College, Cambridge, by Margaret of Anjou (1448) must be attributed mainly to Henry's influence. Henry's university policy forms a connecting link between that of Wykeham and that of Wolsey. His conversion of foreign monasteries into English secular colleges, and his displacement of regular clergy by scholars anticipates an important aspect of the Reformation. The whole scheme and nearly every detail of it is plainly the result of Henry's personal efforts (LYTE, *History of Eton College*; WILLIS and CLARK, *Architectural History of Cambridge*; MULLINGER, *History of the University of Cambridge* give the best accounts of Henry's foundations.

The Eton bulls and charters are printed in BECKINGTON, *Correspondence*, ii. 270–311, and in HEYWOOD and WRIGHT, *Statutes of King's College, Cambridge, and Eton College*. BECKINGTON'S *Correspondence* fully illustrates every side of Henry's interest in the universities).

[Capgrave's contemporary life of Henry, De Illustribus Henricis, pp. 125–39 (Rolls Ser.), contains little but pious ejaculations. The only full personal characterisation is that of Blakman in Hearne's Otterbourne. The English chronicles of the reign are meagre and unsatisfactory, throwing little light on Henry's personal life. The chief among them are William of Wyrcester's disjointed rough diaries, published in Stevenson's Wars of English in France, vol. ii. pt. ii. pp. 743–793; the Fragmentary English Chronicle published as a supplement to Hearne's Sprot; an English Chronicle, 1377–1461, ed. Davies (Camd. Soc.); Warkworth's Chronicle (Camd. Soc.); the two continuations of the Croyland Chronicle in Fell's Scriptores, vol. i., 1687; John Rous or Ross, Hist. Regum Angliæ, ed. Hearne; Chronicle of London, ed. Nicolas, 1827; Gregory's Collections of a London Citizen; Three Fifteenth-century Chronicles (these last both edited by J. Gairdner for the Camd. Soc.); Chronicon Incerti Scriptoris, ed. Giles; Abbot Whethamstede's Register (Rolls Ser.) (important between 1455 and 1460); the Restoration of Edward IV (Camd. Soc.) Some of the chronicles are conveniently collected, though ill edited, in Giles's Chronicle of the White Rose. The later writers, such as Polydore Vergil, Hall, and Fabyan, are sometimes useful. The most important French and Burgundian writers are Monstrelet, ed. Douët-d'Arcq, Comines, ed. Dupont, Mathieu D'Escouchy, and T. Basin, all in Soc. de l'Histoire de France. Others are in Godefroy's Collection. Jean Chartier is quoted from Vallet de Viriville's edition, Bibliothèque Elzévirienne. Wright's Political Songs, Lydgate's Poems, and the songs collected in Archæologia, xxxix. 318–47, illustrate another aspect of the reign. Beckington's Correspondence (Rolls Ser.), Stevenson's Wars of the English in France (Rolls Ser.), and Nicolas's Proceedings and Ordinances of the Privy Council, vols. iii–vi., are the most essential collections of documents, along with Rymer's Fœdera, vols. x–xii., orig. edit., and Rolls of Parliament, vols. iv. and v. The Paston Letters are very important. Mr. Gairdner's introductions throw much light on the whole period. They constitute, with Stubbs's Const. Hist. vol. iii., and Pauli's Geschichte von England, vol. v., the best modern accounts of the reign. G. Du Fresne de Beaucourt's Hist. de Charles VII is a useful modern authority for the French side.] T. F. T.

**HENRY VII** (1457–1509), king of England, was the son of Edmund Tudor, earl of Richmond, by his marriage with Margaret Beaufort [q. v.], only daughter of John, duke of Somerset, and undoubted heiress of John of Gaunt [q. v.] His grandfather, Sir Owen Tudor, was a Welsh knight, who married Catherine, widow of Henry V, and traced back his descent to Cadwallader and the old British kings. Henry was born at Pembroke Castle on the feast of St. Agnes the Second (28 Jan. 1457). His father had died more than two months before, and his mother was not quite fourteen years old when she gave birth to him. Being an only son he was Earl of Richmond from his birth. He was brought up in Wales under the care of his uncle, Jasper Tudor, earl of Pembroke; for though Edward IV obtained the crown when Henry was four years old, the Lancastrian party still held possession of various Welsh castles until the surrender of Harlech in 1468. Young Henry seems to have been taken prisoner in that fortress when it was won by William, lord Herbert, who was created Earl of Pembroke (*d.* 1469) [q. v.] Pembroke became Henry's guardian, and desired to marry him to his daughter Maud. In 1470 Edward IV was driven from his throne, and Henry VI restored. Henry was now reclaimed by his uncle Jasper, who took him up to London and presented him to King Henry. According to a tradition preserved in Shakespeare, the king, struck with his intelligent looks, remarked: 'Lo, surely this is he to whom both we and our adversaries shall hereafter give place.'

He was now in his fourteenth year. His childhood had been delicate, and he had been moved about in Wales a good deal for the sake of his health. Great care, however, had been taken with his education, and one of his tutors, Andreas Scotus, reported in after years to Bernard Andreas [q. v.] that he had never seen a boy of so much quickness in learning.

In 1471 Edward IV recovered his throne. It was no longer safe for Henry to remain in Wales, and his uncle Jasper took him across the sea, meaning to convey him to France. The wind, however, compelled them to land in Brittany, where they found an asylum with Duke Francis II. The death of Henry VI and of his son Prince Edward had made Henry the head of the house of Lancaster, and an object of jealousy to Edward IV. Edward applied for him to the Duke of Brittany, professing that he did not intend to keep him as a prisoner, but to marry him to one of his own daughters. The duke at one time had actually delivered him up to an English embassy, when he was persuaded to revoke the order, and Henry was released. He remained in Brittany during the whole of Edward's reign. But Edward's death in 1483, and the murder of his two sons by the usurper Richard, removed from the field almost every rival

belonging to the house of York who could dispute his pretensions, so that he became the natural leader of any movement to relieve England from Richard's tyranny. This was admitted by Henry Stafford, duke of Buckingham, who would otherwise have aspired to the crown himself, in conversation with his prisoner, John Morton, bishop of Ely: the duke also declared himself willing to assist the Earl of Richmond's claim if he would engage to marry Elizabeth, eldest daughter of Edward IV, and so unite the titles of York and Lancaster. Morton at once entered eagerly into the project, and helped the duke to organise in secret a rebellion against Richard, which was to be aided by the landing of Richmond with troops from Brittany. A simultaneous rising actually took place, as agreed, on 18 Oct. 1483 all over the south of England Buckingham raised his standard at Brecknock: but a great flood in the Severn prevented him from joining his allies, and Henry's expedition, though aided by the Duke of Brittany with fifteen ships and a force of five thousand Bretons, was dispersed by a storm at sea. Henry's own vessel did indeed approach Poole, but the coast was lined with armed men, who vainly endeavoured to lure him ashore by pretending to be friends of Buckingham. He recrossed the Channel to Normandy, and after three days returned by land to Brittany.

We are told by Polydore Vergil and the chroniclers that he sent to Charles VIII for a safe-conduct, in expectation of which he sent home his ships and began his journey, and that his messengers soon returned, bringing both the safe-conduct and money for his expenses. He had already arrived in Brittany by 30 Oct., on which day he gave the Duke of Brittany a receipt for a loan of ten thousand crowns of gold, dated at Paimpol, near Brehat (*Addit. MS.* 13398, f. 33, Brit. Mus.) He could hardly have known at that time of the complete failure of the rebellion in England. Presently, however, he heard that Thomas Grey, marquis of Dorset (q. v.), and other friends had escaped like himself to Brittany, and were at Vannes. He summoned them to a council at Rennes, where it was decided to make another attempt on a favourable opportunity, and on Christmas day they all bound themselves to each other and to Henry at Rennes Cathedral, he making solemn oath to marry the Princess Elizabeth after obtaining the crown. He also took counsel with the duke, who promised him future aid.

Brittany, however, was professedly on friendly terms with England, and Richard III sent to the duke to demand Henry's delivery. The duke, who suffered occasionally from mental derangement, could transact no business, and his unpopular minister, Pierre Landois, would have given up the refugee. But Bishop Morton despatched Christopher Urswick into Brittany to give Henry warning. Henry at once directed his uncle Jasper, earl of Pembroke, to collect a few of his friends and secretly make his way with them into France. He himself, after journeying by zigzag routes to avoid pursuit, joined them in Anjou. His flight was not discovered for some time, as there were about three hundred Englishmen still in Vannes who were not privy to his purpose; but it is said he had only passed the frontier in disguise one hour before the arrival of the horsemen sent in pursuit of him. The Duke of Brittany afterwards assisted Henry's other friends to join him in France.

Henry meanwhile repaired to Charles VIII at Langeais, and being encouraged by the French council (for Charles was then a minor) to look for further support, followed the court to Montargis, and afterwards to Paris. In England, however, Richard III succeeded in persuading the queen-dowager Elizabeth Widville or Woodville to come out of sanctuary with her daughters. Richard's queen died on 16 March 1485, and it was rumoured that Richard intended to marry Elizabeth, his eldest niece. Henry began seriously to think of another match for himself, but Richard was compelled by public clamour to disown the design imputed to him. Meanwhile Henry was joined by many English refugees in France and by the Earl of Oxford, who had been a prisoner in Hammes Castle. The captain of Hammes not only released him, but declared for the Earl of Richmond. The castle, however, was besieged in consequence by the whole garrison of Calais, and compelled to surrender.

With the aid of the English refugees and a body of troops given him by the French king, Henry at length embarked at Harfleur, 1 Aug. 1485, and within a week landed at Milford Haven. His company only numbered two thousand men, but he relied greatly on his Welsh countrymen, very many of whom joined him on his way to Shrewsbury. He also summoned to his aid Lord Stanley and his brother Sir William, who were powerful in Cheshire and Lancashire. Lord Stanley was his stepfather, having recently married his mother, the Lady Margaret. The latter, though deprived of her lands by Richard for conspiring in her son's favour, was allowed to live in seclusion, her husband being security for her good behaviour. Lord Stanley was afraid to join Henry, as he had received a similar summons from Richard, and had been

obliged to leave his son Lord Strange in Richard's hands. Sir William Stanley also temporised. Many others came over to Henry, who at last took up a position near Bosworth in Leicestershire, where with five thousand men, protected by a rivulet on the left and a morass on the right and in front of him, he awaited the attack (22 Aug.) After about two hours' fighting Richard endeavoured to single out his enemy, when Sir William Stanley, who had viewed the action from a neighbouring hill, brought his men into the field to Henry's aid. Richard was surrounded and killed. He had gone into battle wearing his crown upon his head. This was afterwards found and set upon Henry's head by Lord Stanley.

Having sent Sir Robert Willoughby to Sheriff Hutton in Yorkshire, to bring up the Princess Elizabeth and the young Earl of Warwick to London, Henry advanced thither himself, and entered the city on Saturday, 3 Sept. (*Harl. MS.* 541, f. 217 *b*). A severe visitation of the sweating sickness delayed Henry's coronation at Westminster till 30 Oct. Three days before he made twelve knights-bannerets at the Tower; promoted his uncle Jasper, earl of Pembroke, to the dukedom of Bedford; created his stepfather, Lord Stanley, Earl of Derby; and Sir Edward Courtenay, Earl of Devon. He also instituted a bodyguard to attend him—a new institution after a French model. Parliament met in November following and confirmed his title to the crown. On 10 Dec. both houses petitioned the king to fulfil his promise to marry the Princess Elizabeth, which he accordingly did on 18 Jan. 1486. In March he left London without his queen on a progress through the eastern counties to York, where he was received with acclamations; but he was warned of danger on the road, and was nearly captured in York itself by a conspiracy of Lord Lovell and Humphrey and Thomas Stafford, who since the battle of Bosworth had lived in sanctuary at Colchester. Lord Lovell escaped to Lancashire, Humphrey Stafford was hanged at Tyburn, and his younger brother Thomas was pardoned. Henry went on to Worcester, where Bishop Alcock preached before him on Whit-sunday, and after the sermon declared certain bulls received from Rome in confirmation of the king's title and of his marriage. The king then visited Bristol and returned to London in June. He ended by coming from Sheen to Westminster by water, and was accompanied from Putney downward by the lord mayor and citizens in barges. Shortly afterwards he went westward again hunting, and took his queen to Winchester, where on 20 Sept. she gave birth to a son, who was christened Arthur (1486–1502) [q. v.]

Next year took place the imposture of Lambert Simnel personating Edward (1475–1499) [q. v.], the young earl of Warwick, eldest son of George, duke of Clarence, whom Henry had shut up in the Tower. Simnel met with extraordinary success in Ireland, where he was crowned as Edward VI, and invaded England with Gerald Fitzgerald, eighth earl of Kildare [q. v.], and a number of Irish followers, and a band of Germans supplied by Margaret, duchess of Burgundy, whose hostility to Henry caused her to be called his Juno. On the first news of the conspiracy, Henry called a council at Sheen and caused the real Warwick to be taken out of the Tower and shown in the streets. He also took a strange resolution to deprive his own mother-in-law, Elizabeth Widville or Woodville [q. v.], of her jointure lands, for some unknown indiscretion, so that she retired to Bermondsey Abbey for the rest of her days. But he conferred her lands on the queen, her daughter. The rebels landed in Lancashire and endeavoured to raise Yorkshire, but meeting with little encouragement, advanced southwards towards Newark; they were utterly defeated by the king himself at Stoke-upon-Trent (16 June 1487). Kildare and Simnel were taken prisoners; not one of the other leaders was seen alive after. Henry went on to Lincoln, where he ordered thanksgiving for the victory, and from there to York and Newcastle, causing strict inquiry to be made as he went along for persons guilty of encouraging or even sympathising with the rebels. He punished the suspected persons for the most part by fines, but in serious cases with death. From Newcastle he sent his faithful friend Richard Foxe [q. v.], whom he had made bishop of Exeter, and Sir Richard Edgcumbe (*d.* 1489) [q. v.] on an embassy to James III of Scotland to prolong the existing truce and arrange some marriages between the two royal families. But these projects were completely frustrated next year by the overthrow and death of the Scottish king in a rebellion of his nobles.

In the autumn he returned southwards, and was at Leicester when he received an embassy from Charles VIII, sent to explain the reasons of the French king's attack on the duchy of Brittany. He arrived in London 3 Nov. 1487, and was received like a conqueror. Parliament met on the 9th, and the queen was crowned on the 25th with great splendour at Westminster. This parliament, besides taking measures for the repression of crime and punishment of rebellion, may almost be

said to have instituted the court of Star-chamber. It also voted a subsidy, which was probably felt to be all the more necessary as the king might soon be called on to take active steps in aid of Brittany; for the French had invaded the duchy and shut up the duke for a time in Nantes—action which aroused no small feeling in England. In the following spring Sir Edward Widville or Woodville, commonly called Lord Woodville, the queen's uncle, being governor of the Isle of Wight, went over unauthorised with a band of volunteers in aid of the duke. Henry endeavoured to pursue a peaceful course, and not only repudiated Lord Woodville's act, but prolonged for one year the truce with France, which would have expired in January 1489. He, however, sought to act as mediator. But he had scarcely signed the renewal of the truce when the power of Brittany was completely crushed at the battle of St. Aubin, 28 July 1488, where Lord Woodville was slain with nearly all his band. The Duke of Brittany next month made peace with France, and died within three weeks.

Englishmen were still extremely anxious to preserve the independence of the duchy, which now descended to the late duke's daughter Anne, a girl of twelve. Various marriage projects were already formed for her by her guardian, Marshal de Rieux, with a view to an alliance against France. Henry sent men in aid of the duchy, purely for defensive purposes so long as his truce lasted, prepared, however, or rather preparing himself by alliances with other powers, to make war on France if necessary as soon as it expired.

In November 1488 Henry called a great council at Westminster, and immediately afterwards (11 Dec.) sent embassies to France, Brittany, Burgundy, Maximilian, king of the Romans, Ferdinand and Isabella of Spain, and John II of Portugal, all on the same day. In January 1489 a new parliament met, and granted him another subsidy for a force of ten thousand archers for defence of the kingdom. When the commissioners began to levy it in Yorkshire they were openly resisted, and the Earl of Northumberland, who came to support their authority, was slain on 28 April. The king, who was then at Hertford receiving embassies, first sent against them Thomas Howard, earl of Surrey, whom he had recently liberated from the Tower, where he had been imprisoned since Bosworth Field, and he followed himself on 22 May. The insurrection was prolonged for a while under Sir John Egremont and John à Chamber [q. v.], but Egremont soon fled to Flanders, and Chamber fell into Surrey's hands. The king accordingly returned southwards and established a council for the government of the north under Surrey.

Meanwhile the French had taken several places in Brittany, and would have conquered it entirely but for the aid sent to the duchy by England and the hostile action of Maximilian and Ferdinand of Spain. Several fortresses were put into the hands of the English to guarantee repayment of expenses. Henry also sent troops to the Low Countries in aid of Maximilian against the French. He thus compelled the latter to raise the siege of Dixmude, where their success would have endangered Calais. Charles VIII found it advisable to make a separate peace with Maximilian, which he soon after compelled the Duchess of Brittany to accept. He also sent frequent embassies to England to persuade Henry to withdraw his troops from the duchy and make peace with him; but Henry refused, and induced the duchess to throw herself again on his protection. Chieregato, bishop of Concordia, the papal nuncio in France, now went to England as mediator (1490), but failed to adjust matters. Henry, although he had no desire to go to war with France, stood engaged, not only to Brittany and to Maximilian, but also to Spain, which had been urging a warlike policy upon him from the first. The Duchess Anne soon relieved him of his difficulty respecting Brittany by marrying Charles VIII and becoming queen of France (6 Dec. 1491).

Henry, however, was already preparing, in fulfilment of his pledges, to make war on France, in concert with Maximilian and Ferdinand and Isabella of Spain. His subjects warmly sympathised in the object, and he was able to raise a 'benevolence' for the purpose, although that kind of exaction had been abolished by a statute of Richard III. He also obtained a further grant from parliament. In October 1492, though his allies were unready, and he had allowed the best part of the year to pass, he crossed the sea and laid siege to Boulogne. The town had been well fortified; the besiegers only wasted their efforts, and offers were made to them by the French king for peace. Charles agreed to pay the whole of the expenses which Henry had incurred for the defence of Brittany, and two years' arrears of a pension due to England by the treaty of Amiens, at the rate of fifty thousand francs a year. A treaty to this effect was signed at Etaples, 3 Nov., and the army returned to England, to the disgust of many who had burdened their estates to provide the means for this almost bloodless campaign.

In February 1492 Perkin Warbeck landed in Ireland, asserting himself to be Richard, duke of York, and claiming the crown of Eng-

land as only surviving son of Edward IV. He had been invited from Ireland to the French court just before the war broke out; but by the peace of Etaples Charles was compelled to forbid his remaining in France, and he took refuge in the Low Countries with Margaret, duchess of Burgundy, who received him as her nephew. There he remained for two years, drawing towards him a number of disaffected Yorkists out of England; and Henry in vain requested the council of Philip, archduke of Austria, who, as duke of Burgundy, was the nominal ruler of those parts, to give him up or banish him. The archduke's council replied that they had no power to interfere with Margaret in the lands of her jointure; and Henry, seeing no other means of redress, endeavoured, to the irritation of the London Hanse merchants, to stop the trade between England and Flanders and to set up a mart for English cloth at Calais. He also kept careful watch against conspiracies, and obtained information through spies of the designs formed by the Yorkists, both in England and in the Low Countries. Sir Robert Clifford went into Flanders as a Yorkist, and won the confidence of the intriguers. On his return to England he impeached, among others, Sir William Stanley, as somehow implicated in the plot. Just before, Lord Fitzwalter, Sir Simon Montfort, and a number of the other intriguers in England were suddenly arrested, tried, and condemned for treason. Only four were sent to the block, and Fitzwalter would have been spared but for his attempt to escape. Stanley was beheaded on 14 Feb. 1495.

These arrests and executions disconcerted the Yorkists and delayed Perkin's projected invasion of England till July 1495, when Perkin, with a little fleet supplied to him by Maximilian and Margaret of Burgundy, appeared off Deal and landed some of his followers. But the country people attacked them with hearty goodwill, took many of them prisoners, and drove the rest back to their ships. Perkin then sailed to Ireland. In 1494 Henry had sent thither Sir Edward Poynings and a staff of English officials, who sent prisoner into England Gerald Fitzgerald (*d.* 1513) [q. v.], the powerful Earl of Kildare, and passed the celebrated Poynings law, by which the whole system of government and legislation was directly brought under the control of the English council. Perkin therefore found little support in Ireland, and sailed to Scotland, where he was well received by James IV. He stayed nearly two years at the Scottish court, and married a high-born Scottish lady. In September 1496 James invaded England along with him in support of his pretensions. But though Warbeck put forth a proclamation as King Richard IV, the expedition proved a brief and insignificant border raid.

In 1496 Henry, after much solicitation, especially on the part of Spain, joined the Holy league for keeping the French out of Italy. Ferdinand and Isabella, anxious for his active co-operation, sought to relieve him from the hostility of Scotland by sending thither an accomplished diplomatist named Don Pedro de Ayala, whose efforts helped much to mitigate old prejudices between England and Scotland and to promote alliance and friendship. Henry himself was entirely disposed towards peace, and was willing to give his eldest daughter Margaret to the Scottish king. Ayala warmly promoted the scheme; but Henry made the surrender of Warbeck, who was still in Scotland, a necessary condition of any peace. At length, in July 1497, James dismissed his guest, who took shipping at Ayr for Ireland. Nevertheless James immediately afterwards made another raid into England and besieged Norham. The place was strongly garrisoned, and England was well prepared for war. In the beginning of the year parliament had granted the king a subsidy for defence against the Scots, and the council had agreed to his raising a loan besides. The Earl of Surrey, at the head of a large army, drove James into Scotland, and at Ayton on 30 Sept. compelled him to agree to a seven years' truce.

The levying of this loan and subsidy had again created discontent. The Cornishmen rose in revolt under Thomas Flammock [q. v.], a lawyer, and Michael Joseph, a blacksmith. James Tuchet, lord Audley [q. v.], led them to Blackheath. The king was taken by surprise, and he had to recall a force that he was sending against the Scots under Giles, lord Daubeney [q. v.], while he himself went westward as far as Woodstock. At Blackheath Lord Daubeney gained a complete victory over the rebels on 17 June 1497. Lord Audley and the two other ringleaders were executed, but the other survivors of the insurgents were pardoned.

About a month later Warbeck landed in Ireland, where, as before, he made little progress. But the lenity shown by the king after Blackheath encouraged disaffection, and the impostor landed in Cornwall in Septem[illegible] He soon found himself at the head of th[illegible] thousand men, and laid siege to Exeter; [illegible] hearing that troops were coming against h[illegible] he took sanctuary at Beaulieu Abbey in Hampshire. Henry passed on to Exeter, where he was received with joy, and presented his own sword to the mayor in acknowledgment of the city's loyalty. Perkin's wife was taken at St. Michael's Mount, and

Henry caused her to be well treated and sent to his queen. The adventurer himself, being assured of his life, surrendered and made a full confession of his imposture at London. Henry appointed commissioners to impose fines on all who had in any way aided the rebellion. Perkin made a foolish attempt at escape, and was sent to the Tower. But a new pretender, Ralph Wilford, soon after personated the Earl of Warwick, and was hanged in February 1499. And, whether it were owing to these repeated Yorkist conspiracies or to some darker thoughts of his own, it was remarked soon after that Henry had come to look twenty years older within a fortnight. A few months later it was found that Warbeck had been tampering with his gaolers, and had been able to send messages to Warwick and draw him into a plot for the liberation of both of them from the Tower. Hereupon Perkin was hanged at Tyburn on 23 Nov. Warwick, too, was tried for treason and beheaded [see EDWARD, EARL OF WARWICK], a tyrannical act done under the mere semblance of law. Warwick's imprisonment all along had been unjust. But with his death the male line of the house of York was extinct, and Henry had less to fear from the rival faction.

Henry had built for himself, or paid the prior of Sheen to build for him, a sumptuous residence on the Thames, named Sheen Palace, which soon after its completion was, on 21 Dec. 1497, burnt almost to the ground. It was soon rebuilt with greater magnificence than before, and Henry then called it Richmond, after the title which he had borne before he was king; by this name the place has been known ever since.

In the spring of 1498 the king was at Canterbury when a heretical priest suffered at the stake. By the king's exhortation he was induced to recant before his death, 'whereof,' says an old chronicler, 'his Grace got great honor' (*Cott. MS.* Vitell. A. xvi. f. 172; *Excerpta Historica*, p. 117).

The seven years' truce with Scotland was nearly undone a year after it was concluded by an affray which took place at Norham in 1498, owing to the imprudence of some Scottish gentlemen who were taken for spies. James demanded redress, and was not easily pacified by the most conciliatory answers; but he willingly received as ambassador Richard Fox, bishop of Durham, who convinced him of Henry's real anxiety for peace, and undertook to promote anew the project of his marriage with Henry's daughter Margaret. In July 1499 the truce was superseded by a treaty of peace to last so long as either James or Henry should live, and for one year after the survivor's death. On 11 Sept. following Foxe succeeded in negotiating the marriage.

In 1500, while a plague was raging in different parts of England, Henry went over to Calais, where, after some messages had passed between him and the Archduke Philip, they had a personal interview just outside the town, and agreed to confirm old treaties and remove restrictions on commerce between England and the Low Countries. Two cross marriages were also arranged between their children, neither of which came to effect, though one was still in treaty for some years after Henry's death. This was the year of jubilee at Rome, in which indulgences were given to all who visited the holy see. But the pope likewise sent to England a commissioner named Jasper Pons to dispense the same favours to those who were willing to compound for the journey by a payment. The sums thus collected were to be applied to a crusade against the Turks, who were a serious danger to Italy, and Henry was even asked by the pope to join the expedition in person. He made a curious reply, excusing himself by the remoteness of England from Turkey; but he ultimately gave the nuncio 4,000*l.*, after corresponding with Ferdinand of Spain as to the best means of preventing his holiness from misapplying the money.

In October 1501 came to England Catherine of Arragon [q. v.], daughter of Ferdinand and Isabella of Spain, whose marriage with the king's eldest son, Arthur, had been for many years a subject of negotiation. It took place at St. Paul's on 14 Nov., and the young couple were after a time sent down to the borders of Wales, where, on 2 April following, the bridegroom died. Next year (11 Feb. 1503) Henry also lost his queen in childbed; but in June following he conducted his daughter Margaret from Richmond to his mother's residence, Collyweston in Northamptonshire, on her way to Scotland, where she was married to James IV on 8 Aug.

In July 1499 Henry had been disquieted by the flight of Edmund de la Pole, earl of Suffolk [q. v.], to Calais. After Warwick, Suffolk was the lineal heir to the pretensions of the house of York, and his elder brother, the Earl of Lincoln, had fought for Lambert Simnel. Edmund, however, had done good service at Blackheath, and had been treated with favour; but in 1498 he was arraigned for homicide in the king's bench, having killed a man in a passion, and, though he received the king's pardon, he seems to have remained disaffected. The king, when sending Sir Richard Guildford and Richard Hatton to the archduke, instructed them to see Suffolk on their way, and they induced him to return to Eng-

land. But in 1501 he again abruptly left England and fled to the Emperor Maximilian, who had promised a friend of his to aid him to obtain the crown. He was welcomed by Maximilian in the Tyrol, but on 20 June 1502 a treaty was made between Henry and Maximilian, and confirmed by the latter on 28 July, by which Henry gave the emperor 10,000*l.* in aid against the Turks, and the emperor promised not to receive English rebels of whatever rank. Suffolk accordingly had to seek other protectors, but Henry had so many allies upon the continent that hardly any country now was safe for him. In 1504 he was made prisoner by the Duke of Gueldres, who handed him over in 1505 to Philip, archduke of Austria, then king of Castile.

On the death of Prince Arthur in 1502 the Spanish sovereigns demanded restitution of the dowry that Catherine brought with her to England; but to this Henry considered himself in no wise bound. The Spanish sovereigns were ready, however, to settle the dispute by marrying Catherine to Arthur's younger brother Henry when he should come of age. To this in itself Henry was not ill inclined, but he was determined not to agree to it until the Spanish sovereigns expressly renounced all claim in any event to the restitution of the dowry. While things were in this state Henry became a widower, and immediately made a monstrous proposal to marry his own daughter-in-law himself. Her mother Isabella was greatly shocked, and wrote to her ambassador not to press the demand for restitution of the dowry, but to get Catherine by all means back to Spain. The result was that a treaty was immediately agreed to in England for Catherine's marriage with her late husband's brother, with an express renunciation by Ferdinand and Isabella of all claim to restitution of the dowry, and it was confirmed by each of the Spanish sovereigns separately in the following September.

In 1504 Isabella of Castile died, and her kingdom descended by inheritance to her daughter Joanna and Joanna's husband, the Archduke Philip. Henry was deeply interested to know how much authority over Castile Ferdinand still possessed as governor in the absence of the new king and queen, and in 1505 he sent three gentlemen to Spain mainly to report on this subject, though ostensibly to offer terms for an alliance against France to which he had been much solicited. They were also instructed to visit Valencia, where two dowager queens of Naples (mother and daughter) lived, and to make careful observations, in reply to a regular set of questions by no means delicate, of the stature, complexion, and personal qualities generally of the younger lady, who had been suggested by Queen Isabella as a second wife to Henry to divert him from the thought of her daughter. The inquiries on this head were satisfactory, except as regards the young queen's jointure. As to Ferdinand's position in Castile, Henry's agents satisfied him that the nobles there were anxious for Philip's coming to emancipate them from his control.

In January 1506 Philip and Joanna actually set sail for their new kingdom; but meeting with a violent storm on the way they were obliged to land in Dorsetshire. Henry at once invited them to Windsor, where he showed them every attention, made Philip a knight of the Garter, and led him to sign a treaty of alliance which involved the surrender of Suffolk. A treaty of commerce was also arranged between England and the Low Countries, which the Flemings called the *Intercursus Malus*, as it was so much in favour of the English merchants. Suffolk was brought to England just after Philip's departure, and thrown into the Tower. Henry promised Philip to spare his life, and did so, though he was put to death by Henry VIII in 1513.

Philip died in Spain in September 1506, and Henry immediately offered to marry his widow, with a view to becoming master of Castile. The lady was insane, as Henry knew, and her father Ferdinand certainly did not wish him for a rival in the peninsula; but Ferdinand promised, if she could be induced to listen to any project of marriage, that she should have no other husband than Henry. The scheme, however, was not seriously entertained on either side, and Henry endeavoured to attain his object otherwise by marrying his daughter Mary to Philip's son Charles (afterwards the emperor Charles V), which was one of the matches proposed at the interview between him and Philip at Calais, although the parties were still mere children. Relations were becoming strained between Henry and Ferdinand, and it was said in Spain that Henry was collecting a fleet to invade Castile. Matters went no further, however, than a war of diplomacy. Ferdinand made alliance with France, which dragged him into the league of Cambray against Venice; while Henry made treaties with Maximilian, and endeavoured to negotiate for himself a marriage with the emperor's daughter, Margaret of Savoy, which would have placed the government of the Low Countries in his hands.

A great embassy came over from Flanders towards the close of 1508, and the marriage of Mary to Prince Charles of Castile was celebrated by proxy on 17 Dec. But the king's health now began to decline under complicated

infirmities. He discharged the debts of all prisoners in London committed for sums under 40s., and expressed remorse for the extortions practised under his authority by the notorious Sir Richard Empson [q. v.] and Edmund Dudley [q. v.], but they nevertheless continued till his death. He died at Richmond on 21 April 1509. Out of a family of seven, one son and two daughters survived him.

Henry was called the Solomon of England, being accounted one of the wisest princes of his time, yet even of his diplomacy (of which we know more than of his private life) the records are very scanty at home. Our knowledge, however, has been largely increased of late years by researches in foreign archives, which confirm the general impression given of it in Bacon's history. Churchmen and lawyers were Henry's principal agents. The latter were the chief instruments of his extortions, which were the principal blot on his reign. He was a great patron of commerce, and under his encouragement the Cabots discovered Newfoundland. Literature also interested him, and he recommended Caxton to translate and print 'The Fayts of Armes and Chivalry.' Of his magnificence in building the chapel which bears his name at Westminster remains a witness. It was designed as a shrine for Henry VI.

Thirteen portraits and two miniatures of Henry were shown in the Tudor Exhibition, 1890 (see catalogue). They included two by Jan de Mabuse, lent by Captain J. Bagot and Earl Brownlow. A painting of his marriage by the same artist was lent by Mrs. Dent of Sudeley; this was formerly in the Strawberry Hill collection. There are portraits at Trinity College, Cambridge, and at Christ Church, Oxford. At Windsor there is a painting of Henry VII and his family with St. George and the Dragon (engraved in 'Archæologia,' xlix. 246), and also a miniature executed by Nicholas Hilliard in 1509. A cartoon of Henry VII and Henry VIII, made by Holbein in 1537 for his fresco painting in the privy chamber at Whitehall (destroyed in 1698), is in the possession of the Marquis of Hartington.

[Memorials of Henry VII (Rolls Ser.); Letters and Papers of Richard III and Henry VII (Rolls Ser.); Polydori Virgilii Historia Anglica; Hall's Chron.; Fabyan's Chron.; Cott. MS. Vitellius A. xvi.; Cal. State Papers (Spanish, vol. i and Suppl.); Cal. State Papers (Venetian, vol. i.); Bacon's Hist. of Henry VII; Cooper's Memorials of Margaret, Countess of Richmond and Derby; Excerpta Historica, pp. 85–133.] J. G.

**HENRY VIII** (1491–1547), king of England, was the second son of Henry VII, by his queen, Elizabeth of York [q. v.] He was born at Greenwich on 28 June 1491. When little more than three years of age he was, 12 Sept. 1494, appointed lieutenant of Ireland, with Poynings as his deputy. On 31 Oct. following his father dubbed him knight of the Bath, and next day created him Duke of York. In 1495 he was admitted into the order of the Garter, and installed on 17 May. In 1501 a marriage was proposed between him and Eleanor, daughter of the Archduke Philip, but the project was soon dropped. After the death of his brother Arthur (1486–1502) [q. v.] he was created Prince of Wales on 18 Feb. 1503, and soon after contracted to his brother's widow, Catherine of Arragon [q. v.] A dispensation was granted for the match by Julius II on 26 Dec. 1503, and was sent by Ferdinand of Spain to England in 1504. But on 27 June 1505, being then close upon the age of puberty, he protested that the contract made during his minority was against his mind, and that he would not ratify it (Collier, *Eccl. Hist.*, ed. 1852, ix. 66). This, however, was merely a device of his father to keep himself free from any engagement to Ferdinand until the latter should send to England Catherine's stipulated dowry, only part of which had been paid [see under Henry VII]. Owing to the dispute on this subject, Henry VII to the close of his reign would not allow his son to proceed to the completion of this marriage, and young Henry himself was not impatient for it. Rumours were even spread that his father intended to marry him to Margaret, sister of Francis, count d'Angoulême, afterwards Francis I, a match first suggested by Cardinal d'Amboise. In 1506 Philip, king of Castile, who was driven by storms to land in England on his way from the Netherlands to Spain, conferred upon young Henry the order of the Toison d'Or.

From his earliest boyhood he was carefully educated. Erasmus, who visited the royal household when he was nine (or more probably only eight) years old, was struck even then with a sort of royal precocity of intellect which he combined with a highly polished manner. Boy as he was, he wrote during dinner a note to the great scholar requesting to be favoured with some production of his pen, which Erasmus gave him three days after in the form of a Latin poem (Prefatory epistle to Botzheim, *in Catalogo Erasmi Lucubrationum*, Basle, 1523). Nor was he less devoted to bodily than to mental exercises. At seventeen he was daily to be seen tilting at the ring with friendly rivals. At twenty-nine, when he had been some years king, and was the handsomest prince in Europe, he could tire out eight or ten horses in the course of a day's hunting, mounting each succes-

sively after one was exhausted. His tennis playing also excited the admiration of the Venetian ambassador Giustinian. Added to these gifts was a great delight in music, and a devout observance of religious ordinances.

On 22 April 1509 he was called to the throne by his father's death, and on 11 June following he married Catherine of Arragon. They were both crowned together at Westminster on the 24th. His father had been on ill terms with his father-in-law for some time before his death. But now many things were changed. A general pardon had been proclaimed at his accession; many debtors of the crown were released from their engagements; Empson and Dudley were thrown into the Tower, and were next year beheaded. Young Henry was at peace with all the world, and the first two years of his reign went merrily in pageants and festivities. On 1 Jan. 1511 a prince was born, in whose honour a tournament was held on 12 Feb.; but on 22 Feb. he was dead. In March Henry, having resolved to aid his father-in-law against the Moors in Barbary, appointed Thomas, lord Darcy [q. v.], to take the command of the expedition. In July the king, at the request of Margaret of Savoy, regent of the Netherlands, sent a body of fifteen hundred archers to her aid against Gueldres. On 13 Nov. Henry entered the league, concluded 4 Oct. by Pope Julius II, Ferdinand, and the Venetians against France, and a special treaty with Ferdinand was signed at Westminster on 17 Nov., arranging among other things for a joint attack on France from the Spanish frontier to recover Guienne for the king of England. Early in May 1512 accordingly a force was despatched from Southampton under Thomas Grey, second marquis of Dorset [q. v.], and landed in Biscay on 7 June. But no provision had been made for their arrival. The troops began to mutiny, and at a council of war on 28 Aug. the army resolved to return home even without orders. Henry was intensely angry at their return. Meanwhile some notable naval actions took place under Admiral Sir Edward Howard [q. v.] off Brittany and his elder brother, Lord Thomas Howard, third duke of Norfolk [q. v.] The latter in 1511 defeated and took prisoner Andrew Barton [q. v.], the celebrated Scotch naval officer. In an action conducted by the former off Brest on 10 Aug. 1512 the English ship Regent was burned. To repair his loss, the king caused to be built the Henry Grace de Dieu, the largest vessel that had been seen afloat. In May 1513 an army of fourteen thousand men was sent over to Calais in two detachments, the first commanded by George Talbot, fourth earl of Shrewsbury, the second by Lord Herbert, which, after making a show of marching upon Boulogne, sat down before Thérouanne. The king soon followed. Accompanied by the queen he left Greenwich on 15 June, and by short journeys reached Dover. On the 30th he arrived at Calais. On 3 July he ratified some articles of agreement with the emperor in St. Mary's Church there, and for some days was occupied in receiving embassies. On the 21st he left Calais with a magnificent army, augmented by eight thousand German mercenaries. Heavy rains fell that afternoon and night, and the tents were scarcely a protection. The king did not put off his clothes, but rode about the camp at three in the morning comforting the watch. On the 25th he entered the French territory near Ardres, and had continual skirmishes with the enemy till 4 Aug., when he joined the besieging army before Thérouanne. He had a timber house with an iron chimney, 'and for his other lodging he had great and goodly tents' 125 feet long. On the 11th, the Emperor Maximilian having come to Aire, Henry met him between that town and Thérouanne, but had only a brief interview on account of the bad weather. Maximilian and his company, however, took service under Henry, and accepted wages from him in the war. Next evening a herald delivered a letter from James IV of Scotland (dated 26 July), threatening war against Henry if he did not desist from the invasion of France. On the 16th took place 'the battle of Spurs,' when the king, hearing of a large force coming to victual Thérouanne, removed his camp to Guinegates, pursued the relieving force six miles, and took prisoners the Duke of Longueville and other distinguished persons. On the 22nd Thérouanne agreed to surrender; the garrison left next day, and the king and emperor marched in on the 24th. On the 26th they left again, and the king caused the fortifications to be demolished. On 12 Sept. he arrived at Lille, where he paid a three days' visit to Margaret of Savoy and young Prince Charles of Castile. On the 15th he came before Tournay, where he received news of the defeat and death of James IV at Flodden on the 9th. After about a week's siege Tournay surrendered, and he entered it on the 25th. The mayor and citizens came before him, and swore allegiance to him in his tent on 29 Sept. On 11 Oct. he received Prince Charles and Margaret of Savoy in the city, and on the 18th held a grand tournament before them. They took leave on the 20th, and soon after the king himself departed, leaving the city under the command of Sir Edward Poynings. His conquest being secure for the winter, he returned to Calais, and crossed to England in

the end of October, but not before his ambassadors had concluded at Lille (17 Oct.) a new treaty with Maximilian and Ferdinand of Spain for a joint invasion of France in the following year.

† Ferdinand had derived little satisfaction from the successes of his son-in-law. He had made a separate truce with France as early as 1 April, and immediately afterwards sent his secretary Quintana thither on a secret mission to convert it into a peace; but as soon as he saw that Henry was likely to win victories without his aid he sent a special ambassador to him to excuse his conduct, and to further either a war or a peace policy according to the event. He declined, however, to ratify the treaty of Lille without some modifications, and was evidently willing that Henry should sustain the burden of a little more fighting single-handed, while he was once more secretly negotiating with France. Henry saw through all this duplicity, and found means ere long to requite it. The war was resumed by sea in the spring of the following year. Meanwhile a sword and a cap of maintenance, sent by the new pope Leo X to the king, were received in London 19 May 1514, and presented on Sunday the 21st in St. Paul's Cathedral.

After a futile attempt in June to recover ground in Picardy, the French made secret overtures for peace, to which Henry was all the more willing to listen because both Ferdinand and Maximilian had deserted him. In February he had sent over a commission to Flanders to levy men in the emperor's dominions according to treaty. He had an attack of small-pox at the time, from which he soon recovered, eager as ever to continue the war. Soon after he notified to the council of Flanders his readiness to fulfil the long-standing marriage contract of his sister Mary and Charles, prince of Castile, and send the former over to the Low Countries. He was met by excuses and delays on both subjects. The alliance against France had in fact already been broken up by Ferdinand's subtle policy, and Henry was loud in his indignation. But France was now willing to come to terms with him, and Louis XII, now a widower, having made an offer for Mary's hand, the contract with Charles was broken off. The Duke of Longueville, Henry's prisoner of war, assisted in the negotiations, and before Ferdinand or Maximilian were aware of what was going on peace was proclaimed in London on 7 Aug. Next month Henry conducted his sister to Dover on her way to France, and she was married to Louis XII at Abbeville 9 Oct. The cordiality of the union between the two recent enemies astonished the world. But the world did not know how nearly it had become an offensive alliance against Ferdinand; for Henry actually made secret overtures to Louis to drive Ferdinand out of Navarre.

✓Louis died on 1 Jan. following (1515). Immediately afterwards the Duke of Suffolk [see BRANDON, CHARLES] was sent over to Paris to congratulate the new king (Francis I) on his accession. Henry knew that Suffolk had loved his sister Mary even before she married Louis XII, and was now willing that he should marry her: but the young couple were so precipitate that they were secretly married before they left Paris. Henry's indignation was only appeased by the gift of his sister's plate and jewels and the surrender of her dowry. Francis, having secured peace with England by a new treaty (5 April), without caring to negotiate for the restitution of Tournay, started off on his first Italian campaign, and won the battle of Marignano in September. Henry would not at first believe the tidings, and when he received letters confirming it had great difficulty in suppressing tears.

Before this unpleasant news he had been spending the summer agreeably in the west of England, visiting towns and castles, hearing the complaints of the people, hunting, and sending presents of venison. He was highly popular, not a little vain of his person, and pleased to learn from the Venetian ambassador that, though Francis was about as tall as himself, his legs were thin, and could not compare for a moment with his own sturdy calves. He had returned from his progress and was at Woking in September 1515, when Wolsey brought him the news of his own elevation to the cardinalate, which the pope had conceded at Henry's urgent request. Parliament met in November, and three days later the hat was received from Rome. During the war with France Henry had been indebted to Wolsey more than to all his other councillors for his practical sagacity and qualifications for business. He now made him lord chancellor, and was henceforth guided by his sole advice: though not without discussing questions as they arose and having a very clear conception of the policy to which he gave his sanction.

Richard Pace was sent over to Switzerland to engage Swiss mercenaries to serve against the French, in conjunction, it was hoped, with Maximilian, whose interests in Italy had been seriously impaired by the success of Francis. Galeazzo Sforza was to lead those bands, and England's hand in the matter was to be ignored. In a few months all was arranged. In March 1516 Swiss

and imperialists were marching steadily upon Milan, and the French shut the gates in alarm. But the needy Maximilian, who had been trying to get the pay of the Swiss into his own hands, plainly told the English agents, Pace and Wingfield, on Easter Tuesday (25 March), that he must desist from the enterprise, as he could not give the Swiss in his own service their stipulated pay until the king's money should come. Regardless of his honour he recrossed the Adda and retired towards Germany, still pretending the utmost desire to prosecute the war, and even extorting sixty thousand florins from Pace on threat that he would otherwise be driven to make terms with France. The king, however, by Wolsey's advice, determined to overlook these irregularities and keep Maximilian still his friend without allowing him to dispose of his money further.

On 18 Feb. 1516 was born Mary, the only child of Henry's first marriage who survived infancy. On 3 May he met his sister Margaret, queen of Scots, at Tottenham, when she came to seek refuge at his court, after having been driven out of Scotland. She remained in England till May following, when an arrangement was made for her return to Scotland on condition that she took no part in the government.

In the same year (1516) Charles, prince of Castile, had become king of Spain by the death of Ferdinand, and, though anxious to keep on the best possible terms with England, negotiated secretly with Francis the treaty of Noyon. Maximilian in all his intercourse with England had professed himself anxious to avert this result, and to make his grandson Charles a party to the league against France. For this purpose he promised to come down to the Low Countries and remove the evil councillors who were leading his grandson Charles astray. He would meet Henry there and do everything to satisfy him; he would even resign the imperial crown to him (he had previously offered him the duchy of Milan); only he must have a little money for his journey. Henry cared little for these wild proposals, and he had not intended to give the emperor any money; but the latter, by acting on the weakness of the English ambassador Wingfield, contrived to divert to his own use some that had been destined for the Swiss. Henry, however, felt it important still to keep him in good humour, and even after the treaty of Noyon was concluded gave a willing reception to the cardinal of Sion, whom Maximilian sent to England in October, though the object of his mission was evidently to extract further contributions lest Verona should fall into the hands of the French. Sion's unblushing effrontery seems, once at least, to have made Wolsey intensely angry, but he was successful in obtaining forty thousand crowns for his master. By this Maximilian and Margaret of Savoy were so encouraged that they made yet further attempts on Henry's pocket later in the year, even when Maximilian himself had accepted the treaty of Noyon, and had surrendered Verona to the French for two hundred thousand ducats. But Henry was not so much deceived as he appeared to be. He accepted Maximilian's threadbare excuses, and appeared still to be on the best of terms with him, with the result that he brought the emperor into suspicion with his new ally Francis, and into contempt with the councillors of his grandson, Charles of Castile, who soon learned to look on Henry rather than Francis as their friend, and were able next year through his aid to secure their master in peaceful possession of his new kingdom.

In 1517 occurred the riot of Evil May-day in London. Henry was much displeased that none of the more substantial men of the city had interfered to stop the violence done to foreigners, and severely censured the city authorities for their remissness, while, at the same time, he pardoned all the rioters except one. The prisoners, over four hundred in number, were brought before him in Westminster Hall, with halters round their necks, and were told by Wolsey that they had merited death, but the lords interceded for them and they were pardoned. In the following summer the country suffered severely from the ravages of the sweating sickness, and the king passed about from place to place with few attendants to escape the danger.

In 1518 the pope sent Cardinal Campeggio to England as legate with a view to raising contributions for a crusade against the Turks. He was not admitted into the kingdom, however, until the pope had made Wolsey joint legate with him, after which he was received in great state. In September a great embassy arrived from France, and a peace was arranged with provisions for the re-delivery of Tournay, and for the marriage of the dauphin and the Princess Mary. Again the most cordial relations were established with France, and the renewal of the amity was celebrated with banquetings and rejoicings. For two years or more the two kings were to all appearance very good friends.

There was none the less a wide diversity of aim between them in European politics. The Emperor Maximilian died in January 1519, and his grandson, Charles of Castile, became at once a candidate for the succession. But Francis I was a formidable

competitor, and Henry VIII, listening on this occasion to Richard Pace rather than to Wolsey, became secretly a candidate also, of course endeavouring to the utmost to counteract the designs and outbid the offers of his ally in Germany. Charles, however, was elected on 28 June, and Francis, although secretly indignant at Henry's perfidy, could not afford to quarrel with him. To outward seeming the two kings were more cordial in their relations with each other than ever, and proposals were favourably entertained on both sides for a personal interview which should dazzle the eyes of the world by its magnificence and place their friendship beyond all question. Yet it seems that French manners at court were not approved of by the more sober councillors, and acting on their advice Henry in May 1519 dismissed a number of favourites, who had been in France, and whose over-familiarity with himself was a subject of complaint. When the dignity of his crown was concerned Henry was never indifferent. In November he severely rebuked Sir William Bulmer, who was brought before him in the Star-chamber for having dared to forsake his service and enter that of the Duke of Buckingham; but after the offender had remained for a long time on his knees without any one daring to intercede for him, he at length forgave him.

The great interview at length took place at the Field of the Cloth of Gold in June 1520. ''Twixt Guynes and Arde' the two kings met, and exchanged the most elaborate courtesies in a scene of splendour altogether unsurpassed. Yet it was essentially insincere, especially on the side of Henry. For months before he had been secretly negotiating with the new-made emperor another alliance, not indeed directly hostile to France, but incompatible with his previous engagements, inasmuch as it involved the transference of Mary's hand from Francis to Charles V. This was a mere move in the game, apparently intended to prevent Charles from committing himself to the proposal of a French wife, and Charles understood its value. He in like manner was afraid of a too close alliance between France and England, and when he saw that the interview of the two kings was to become a fact he was most anxious that an interview between Henry and himself should take place before it. He agreed to land on the English coast on his way from Spain to Germany, and visit Henry in his own kingdom. Henry contrived slightly to delay the French interview on other pretexts, in order to be able to receive the emperor in the end of May. Charles landed on the 26th at Dover, where Henry came to meet him and conducted him next day to Canterbury to see the queen, his aunt. On the 31st he took leave of the king, and embarked at Sandwich for Flanders the same day that Henry crossed to Calais. Another interview was arranged to take place at Gravelines after the meeting with Francis, and at Gravelines accordingly Henry met the emperor on 10 July. Next day the emperor returned with him to Calais, and there on the 14th the two princes signed a secret treaty by which each of them engaged not to make any closer alliance with France than he had done already.

In the spring of 1521 the world was startled by the arrest, trial, and execution (11 May) of the Duke of Buckingham for treason. As the crime imputed to him, even in the indictment, was mainly that he listened to prophecies of the king's death and his own succession to the crown, his fate proved the king's excessive jealousy and power. From that day the nobility were completely cowed.

Open war now broke out between Francis and the emperor, on which the king offered his services to both parties as a mediator, with what sincerity it is not difficult to judge. Strange to say, after some diplomacy they were accepted by both, and Wolsey was despatched to Calais to hear complaints on both sides, with power to settle them as arbitrator. But Henry's intention from the first was that Wolsey should find no arrangement possible, and that thereupon he should withdraw to the emperor and treat apart with him. Wolsey landed at Calais on 2 Aug. with separate commissions to settle the differences of the belligerents, to conclude the marriage of Mary to the emperor, and to make a new league with the emperor against France. He had also designedly illusory commissions for a closer amity with the French king, and for a general confederation of the pope, the emperor, and Francis. Wolsey performed his part with no small dexterity, and concluded the new alliance with the emperor at Bruges. He continued the conferences till November, when he returned to England, the war meanwhile continuing in Champagne and Picardy.

Hitherto Francis had really been anxious to preserve peace with England. He had even used his influence to keep Scotland quiet, and had given a secret undertaking to detain the regent, John Stewart, second duke of Albany, in France. Now Albany was allowed to return, and reached Scotland in November; and although he protested that he came for peace and desired a prolongation of the truce, Henry sent a message to the estates of Scotland (delivered 3 Feb. 1522) that he would listen to no such proposal until the duke left

the country. The lords replied that he had come at their invitation, and that they would stand by him to the death. Neither party, however, was prepared to prosecute war in earnest, and the chief effect, as regards England, of Albany's return was to give Henry one slight addition to his flimsy pretexts of complaint against France. In March, however, Francis ordered the goods of Englishmen to be arrested at Bordeaux, and withheld the annual pensions that he had hitherto paid to England. Clarenceux was accordingly despatched to France, and on 29 May intimated to the French king at Lyons that Henry was his mortal enemy. Just at that time the emperor was paying a second visit to England. He reached Dover on the 26th, and the king soon after conducted him to London. On the way (5 June) they received news of Clarenceux's defiance of the French king. On the 19th he made a new treaty with Henry against France at Windsor, and after having fully arranged with him a plan of joint hostilities, on 6 July he sailed from Southampton for Spain.

The Earl of Surrey was despatched to sea with a squadron, as if to accompany the emperor and secure his safety; but he made for Brittany, sacked the town of Morlaix, and set it and the shipping on fire. Shortly afterwards the king sent him with an army to ravage Picardy. To support these operations the king called upon his subjects for a loan, assessed by commissioners throughout the country, of one-tenth of each man's income. A few months later, when parliament met (in April 1523), this was supplemented by a four years' subsidy, made up of a graduated income and property tax, which pressed with unexampled severity, and was voted with extreme reluctance. The war then went on more vigorously than ever, both with France and Scotland. Surrey was now sent against the latter country, while Suffolk took his place in France.

But Henry's generals spent his treasure without profit, and it became manifest that the emperor, who alone derived benefit from these operations, gave no very energetic assistance. Francis was not deterred from invading Italy to secure the duchy of Milan, but in February 1525 was himself taken prisoner at Pavia. It was at once obvious that the emperor had gained all that he could possibly hope for from war, and that England would be left in the lurch. Wolsey had, however, to some extent provided against even such an unexpected issue as this by underhand negotiations with France, which might either serve to keep the emperor in check, or be disowned if necessary. And when the imperial ambassador's suspicions were aroused, Wolsey with sublime audacity caused his despatches to be intercepted, and having read their contents (expressing a strong opinion of his own duplicity), got the king to write with his own hand to the emperor demanding the punishment of an agent who had expressed sentiments so destructive of a good understanding between allied princes. This was just before the capture of Francis. But, unexpected as was his good fortune, the emperor could not afford to quarrel with England. He was afraid that the secret negotiation between England and France would develope (as it subsequently did) into an alliance against himself.

The capture of Francis, if the emperor had meant to keep faith with his ally, presented an excellent opportunity for extorting from France concessions of territory alike to the emperor and to England. Henry accordingly made offers for a joint invasion, declaring that his army was ready, and he himself would lead it over in person; that he expected, after a triumphant campaign, to accompany the emperor to Rome; and that Charles, with his prospective marriage to the Princess Mary, would then be master of all Christendom. Charles in reply was obliged to confess that he was in no condition to prosecute the war, and that unless Mary were sent over to Spain at once with a dowry of four hundred thousand ducats, and Henry (to whom he was deeply in debt already) would contribute half as much again to the expenses of the war, he was not prepared to take action. These demands were only intended to cover the emperor's secret purpose to break off his engagement with Mary, marry Isabella of Portugal, and leave Henry to make war on his own account, so as to enhance the terms he himself might exact from Francis for a separate peace. Wolsey, however, not only saw through this policy, but told the imperial agents in England plainly that he could checkmate the emperor by offering Mary to the Dauphin, and allying England not only with France, but even with the Turk. The warning passed unheeded. Dramatic

Meanwhile it was given out in England that the king would personally invade France, and as this was presumed to be in the highest degree expedient, commissions were sent out in March over all the kingdom demanding an immediate advance of money to the king at the rate of 3*s.* 4*d.* in the pound on the higher incomes according to the valuations already made, and on smaller incomes at lower rates. The demand took the nation by surprise. In some places it was grudgingly conceded; elsewhere it was resisted as intolerable. The

clothworkers of the eastern counties, who did not dare oppose it, were, however, obliged to dismiss their men, telling them they had no longer money to pay their wages. Serious riots took place in consequence, which the Dukes of Norfolk and Suffolk had great difficulty in suppressing. But the opposition raised in the city of London caused the ultimate withdrawal of the demand. On 26 April 1525 Wolsey sent for the mayor and aldermen, and informed them that the king would be satisfied with what they were pleased to give of their own benevolence. But even this was objected to as contrary to the statute of Richard III, by which benevolences were abolished, and finally it was left to every man to 'grant privily what he would,' without being called before aldermen or commissioners of any kind.

In the course of the summer it was intimated that the king had received from France very advantageous offers for peace, which would probably make the proposed expedition unnecessary. In fact, on 13 July a forty days' truce was agreed to with the French envoy, De Vaux, and immediately after Brion arrived in London with a commission from Louise of Savoy, regent of France during the imprisonment of her son, Francis I. Henry notified to the emperor that, as he was unable to co-operate with him in the war, he thought it unadvisable to reject the very favourable offers of the French, and before the emperor could reply a new alliance was formally signed on 30 Aug. at Moor in Hertfordshire. On 8 Sept. it was proclaimed in London. The pope and other princes of Italy at once hailed it as a very desirable counterpoise to the growing power of the emperor; but the ratification of Francis could not be obtained so long as he was a prisoner. Charles, on the other hand, was in a position to exact his own terms. On 14 Jan. 1526 his prisoner was driven to sign the treaty of Madrid, giving up Milan, Naples, and Burgundy, and much else besides. Two months later he was restored to his kingdom, leaving his two sons as hostages in Spain. But when pressed to confirm the treaty of Madrid he declined, declaring that it had been wrung from him by compulsion. He was encouraged by the pope, the Venetians, and other Italian powers, who immediately formed a league with him at Cognac (22 May) to protect themselves against Charles, which Henry was earnestly solicited to join. But though glad to see so much opposition to the emperor, Henry had no occasion to enter into war in behalf of the confederates, and preferred to offer his services as a mediator. Nor did his sympathy with the Italian powers lead him to depart from the line of strict neutrality, even when the imperialists, having already made a truce with the pope, perfidiously swooped down upon Rome.

But England still drew nearer to France, or, it might rather be said, contrived to draw France nearer to herself. The great object of Francis now was to secure the deliverance of his sons on as easy terms as possible, and the hard conditions of the treaty of Madrid could only be mitigated by the influence of England, or by a new arrangement with the emperor, including his own marriage with the emperor's sister Eleanor. To prevent his too easy adoption of the latter alternative, Wolsey had been careful to suggest to him that England could offer him a younger and more attractive bride in the Princess Mary. The possibility of such an alliance was a quite sufficient lure to draw the French into rather lengthy negotiations, and a great embassy was sent over to England in the end of February 1527. Under Wolsey's skilful diplomacy France was compelled to offer a very high price for the support of England, in the shape of pensions and tribute; but when it was desired that Mary should be sent over to France as security for the marriage taking effect when she came of age (for otherwise Francis felt it would be unadvisable to give up Eleanor), the request was refused, and it was suggested that Mary's marriage with the second son of Francis would do equally well as a guarantee for the alliance. Thus the bait was withdrawn for the sake of which Francis had already made very large concessions.

The sack of Rome by the imperial troops in May 1527 only added strength to the Anglo-French alliance. It no doubt cowed the pope, and broke up the Italian league, but it exasperated Francis against the emperor, and threw him more than ever into the arms of England. Henry, too, had reasons of his own, quite apart from the political advantages of such an alliance—which in themselves were very great indeed—for desiring to make as much of it as possible; and in July he sent Wolsey over to France, with a splendid train, as his lieutenant, to cement the new alliance by arranging with Francis the terms to be offered to the emperor, and communicating to him a very precious secret—the possibility of the king's divorce from Catherine of Arragon.

Henry had certainly not been a devoted husband. Ten years after his marriage he had a child by Elizabeth Blount, one of the queen's waiting-women, a lad called Henry Fitzroy (1519–1536) [q. v.], whom in 1525, when he was only six years old, he created Duke of Richmond. At the same time honours

began to be showered upon the Boleyn family. It was only, however, at the time of Wolsey's embassy to France, in 1527, that the rumour got abroad of a divorce being in contemplation, and when it first arose it was jesuitically denied. The king, it was admitted, had been led to entertain some doubts as to the legality of his marriage, doubts which, as he falsely pretended, had been insinuated by the French ambassador, and which he himself was anxious to see removed. But in truth the king had already, in May 1527, made one effort to get rid of Catherine by a collusive suit begun in secret before Wolsey; and though this process was shortly after laid aside, he never from that time desisted from the attempt to get his marriage declared invalid, as having been contracted with his deceased brother's wife. [For a more detailed account of the divorce question see CATHERINE OF ARRAGON.]

The great alliance with France, of which Wolsey had been the chief promoter, was regarded by the king as an important means of obtaining his own objects in this matter by keeping the emperor in check. He moreover thought he could take advantage of the pope's imprisonment by sending a confidential messenger to Rome while Wolsey was in France, with instructions to which the cardinal was not privy. Here, however, his eagerness made him underestimate difficulties. Dr. Knight, the agent in question, just reached Rome when the pope had made his escape to Orvieto, and, pursuing him thither, flattered himself soon after that he had procured by a little pressure from his holiness a sufficient commission for Wolsey to hear the cause, and a dispensation for Henry to marry Anne Boleyn after the sentence. The documents in fact turned out to be worthless, for the drafts drawn up in England had been scanned by the practised eyes of Italian diplomatists and corrected so as to be made quite innocuous. The pope was only put upon his guard, and the king's object was further off than before. Early in 1528, accordingly, Edward Foxe, the king's almoner, and Stephen Gardiner, then Wolsey's secretary, were sent to Rome to repair the blunder. But their diplomatic ability only succeeded in obtaining another commission and dispensation, which, though effective in some respects, did not supply everything that was wanted. The commission was to Wolsey and Campeggio to hear the cause together in England.

Meanwhile, on 22 Jan. 1528 a French and an English herald presented a joint defiance to the emperor at Burgos. But war with the emperor was against all the traditions of English policy, and was exceedingly unpopular. The interruption of commerce even with Spain was serious; with the Netherlands it was intolerable. A crisis took place at home; the clothiers in Suffolk again found it necessary to discharge their workmen when they had no vent for their cloths in the Belgian markets. Nor did the Flemings on their side suffer less inconvenience. An eight months' truce with the Low Countries was presently agreed to, while the war with Spain continued.

About the same time the sweating sickness reappeared in England with greater virulence than before. Anne Boleyn caught the infection. Henry kept moving about with few attendants, made his will, and took the sacrament in fear of death, while writing the most tender letters to Anne Boleyn. He was most solicitous also for the preservation of Wolsey's health. As Campeggio was on the way to England he seems to have persuaded himself that his divorce and second marriage were now on the eve of accomplishment. Campeggio did not, owing to his ill-health, arrive in England till October. Soon after Henry gave Anne apartments in his palace at Greenwich separate from those of the queen, with whom he appeared to be still living on the ordinary terms of married life. But the trial before the legates was for a long time deferred. Campeggio in the first place vainly strove to induce Catherine to enter a nunnery. Afterwards the king himself feared to proceed too hastily, learning that there was a second brief of dispensation in Spain which he had not known about. At last the court was opened on 31 May 1529, and, after hearing much evidence as to Catherine's cohabitation with Arthur, was on 23 July suspended by Campeggio till October, in accordance with the Roman practice of keeping summer holidays. Meanwhile the pope had revoked the cause to Rome, where, as Henry knew very well, it was absolutely hopeless to look for a decision in his favour.

The inevitable consequence was the fall of Wolsey, who had seen all along that his only chance of safety lay in a desperate effort to satisfy the king's wishes. His failure had been anticipated by many enemies, who had already prepared a number of charges against him which they could now bring forward with safety. On 17 Oct. he was deprived of the great seal, and on the 25th Sir Thomas More was made chancellor in his place. The king's chief advisers now were the Dukes of Norfolk and Suffolk and the Boleyns; but they were soon superseded by Thomas Cromwell [q. v.]

Parliament met on 3 Nov. 1529. The immediate object the king had in view in summoning it seems to have been to get himself exonerated from repayment of the forced loan

levied a few years before. An act for this purpose he soon obtained from a House of Commons who were his own nominees, for there was no freedom of election in his day. The commons, however, were encouraged to complain freely of any kind of extortion except the king's, and they attacked the spiritual courts for levying exorbitant fines on probates, and the clergy for mortuaries, for pluralities and non-residence, and for occupying grazing farms. Acts were passed on all these subjects, not without a remonstrance in the House of Lords from Bishop Fisher, who had already incurred the king's displeasure by daring to oppose him on the divorce question. These things were but a faint foreshadowing of the great revolution this parliament effected in later sessions in the relations of church and state; but they bore fruit at once in disputes between the two houses (encouraged no doubt by the king's agents), in which the king himself was called in to arbitrate.

As to his projected divorce Henry was now pursuing the policy suggested by Cranmer [q. v.] of taking the opinions of universities on the validity of his marriage. A judicial decision was not necessary if he could only procure opinions in his favour of sufficient weight. For this purpose bribes and intimidation were necessary even in the case of Cambridge and Oxford, and a little cajolery besides. But the opinions of foreign universities were more sought after, as seemingly more impartial, and Henry's chief reliance was upon France, where Francis, having now redeemed his children after making peace with the emperor at Cambray, was quite willing to favour his policy underhand. Henry sent Reginald Pole to Paris to influence the divines of the Sorbonne, and in the spring and summer of 1530 other agents were busy corrupting the universities of northern Italy. In the end the king obtained, besides a multitude of individual opinions, no fewer than eight decisions under the seals of learned corporations in France and Italy against the validity of marriage with a brother's wife, and against the competency of the pope to dispense in such a case. At the same time he got a large number of the peers of his own realm, including Wolsey, Archbishop Warham, and four other bishops, and twenty-two abbots, to join in a memorial to the pope urging him to comply, without further delay, with his request for a dissolution of his marriage.

The opinions of the foreign universities were read in the House of Commons 30 March 1531, at the close of the parliamentary session, and 'above an hundred books drawn by doctors of strange regions' were exhibited to the like effect; after which More, as lord chancellor, had the ungrateful task imposed upon him of telling the members to report to their constituencies what they had seen and heard, so that it might appear that the king's proceedings were due merely to conscientious scruples. Meanwhile the king's agents were watching the cause at Rome, and Henry was procuring further opinions from various universities to show that he was not bound to obey the pope's citation. He had procured opinions in Rome itself declaring that Rome was not a safe place in which to deliver judgment. On 31 May, by his direction, more than thirty lords waited upon the queen at Greenwich, and informed her that he was displeased with her for having caused him to be cited to Rome. The lords at the same time urged her to allow the matter between them to be settled by arbitration. This appeal was ineffectual, and in July following Henry finally parted company with her, leaving her at Windsor without saying adieu while he went on to Woodstock.

Very important proceedings had meanwhile taken place in that sitting of parliament (January–March 1531) in which the opinions of the universities were read. Before the opening of the session the attorney-general had begun to take action against the bishops, on the ground that the whole body of the clergy had incurred the penalties of præmunire by acknowledging the legatine jurisdiction of Cardinal Wolsey. It seemed strange to punish these submissive sheep when the king himself had sent for another legate from Rome on his own special business. Logically, too, it was seen that a host of laymen who had brought or responded to suits in the legatine court were just as amenable to the statute as the clergy. The latter, however, it was expected, would for peace sake be glad to compound for their offences, and the commons were to give their assistance to bring them to their knees. The convocation of Canterbury did, in effect, offer no less than 100,000*l.* to the king under the name of a free gift, in the hope that he would stay proceedings. The king intimated that he would accept the gift, and grant them a pardon of the præmunire only on condition that they acknowledged him as supreme head of the church of England. The clergy at once withdrew their offer. After long debates, however, and frequent messages from the king, they at length agreed to accept a pardon with the acknowledgment required, qualifying, however, the title of 'supreme head' by the words 'quantum per Christi legem licet.' Parliament was then asked to confirm the pardon; but the commons took alarm at finding that the spiritualty were pardoned and the laity still

liable to penalty. The speaker was sent to make strong remonstrances to the king, who replied that he would not be dictated to, as he might have pardoned the clergy himself without consulting them. The king presently appeased the ferment by sending a separate pardon for the laity.

The convocation of York sat a little later, and with much reluctance agreed to buy the king's pardon and to recognise his headship in the same manner as that of Canterbury had done, though on the latter subject Bishop Tunstall of Durham protested, at least as to the ambiguity of the title, lest it should be supposed to confer spiritual jurisdiction on the king. Henry took this remonstrance in good part, and wrote to Tunstall in answer to his objections, hinting, however, that the bishop, who on the subject of the divorce had advised him to conform his conscience to that of the majority, might on the same principle have acquiesced in the resolution of the convocation of Canterbury. It was characteristic of Henry thus to meet argument by argument; but his intention was to subdue all spirit of resistance in the church, and it was by his secret instigation next year that the House of Commons were encouraged to prefer to him their celebrated 'supplication against the ordinaries.'

This was a complaint of the mode of procedure in spiritual courts, of the excessive fees taken for probates, and of the uncharitable demeanour of some of the bishops, with a petition that they should be made to submit their laws to the king and ask his assent to them. It was presented to the king on 18 March 1532, accompanied by another petition, which was much more genuine and spontaneous, desiring that he would now dissolve parliament and let the members return to their own homes. The king replied gravely that on the question between them and the prelates he would hear both sides; but it was very inconsistent to ask for immediate release when they were petitioning for redress of grievances. Moreover, he had sent them a bill concerning wards and primer seisin, to mitigate the loss of feudal dues sustained by the crown through the legal device called 'uses' for willing away lands, which bill he expected them to pass, otherwise he would 'search out the extremity of the law,' and not offer again so favourable a compromise. In spite of this threat the commons rejected the bill. They were, however, compelled to sit again after Easter, while Henry referred their 'supplication' to the bishops in convocation, who returned a very temperate reply. Parliament was at the same time asked for aid to fortify the borders against the Scots, on which two members gave expression to the general discontent, declaring that the Scots could do no harm without foreign aid, and that if the king would take back his wife and cultivate friendly relations with the emperor the peace of the country was secure. Henry was much displeased, rebuked the commons for meddling with the divorce question, which was purely a matter of ecclesiastical law, and hinted that it depended upon him to redress their grievances against the church. On 30 April he sent for the speaker, and handed him the answer of the bishops for the house to consider, saying that he thought it would hardly satisfy them.

On 11 May he again sent for the speaker and twelve of the commons, and expounded to them a new grievance he had discovered against the church. Spiritual men were but half his subjects; they took an oath of obedience to the pope as well as to himself, and the two oaths were inconsistent with each other. He had already taken one step the day before to remedy the matter by laying before the convocation of Canterbury certain articles designed to deprive the church thenceforth of all power of synodical action without his express permission. And as the House of Commons was thus instigated to interfere with their liberties the clergy saw that it was useless to resist. On the 15th they made a full submission, and thus the freedom of the church of England came to an end. More, who had long been dissatisfied with the king's proceedings, straightway resigned the great seal and retired from public life.

A month before this Friar Peto had preached before Henry at Greenwich, warning him that he was imperilling his crown by putting away his wife and endeavouring to marry Anne Boleyn. To correct the mischief one of the royal chaplains was set to preach in the same place next Sunday, and contradicted Peto. On this another friar named Elstowe at once replied in Peto's behalf, and in Henry's presence denied the statement that all the universities were in favour of his divorce. Henry was intensely angry, and had both the friars arrested. But although he had his own preachers to set forth the nullity of marriage with a brother's widow, he did not convert the people to his views. When he moved about they would clamorously urge him to take back Catherine, and the women spoke insultingly of Anne Boleyn. The pope, too, was taking notice of his scandalous proceedings, and, not content with two briefs already issued to restrain him from a second marriage while his suit remained undecided, sent him yet a third, dated 15 Nov.

1532, commanding him to desist from cohabiting with Anne, as he was then doing, and to take back Catherine, on pain of excommunication. But Henry, wishing to show the pope that he had a strong ally in Francis, arranged for an interview at Calais and Boulogne in October, and when they met, Francis agreed to remonstrate with his holiness. Anne Boleyn, too, now created Marchioness of Pembroke, was at this interview, and it was feared by some that Henry would have married her at once.

The death of Archbishop Warham in August 1532 had, indeed, made Henry's object somewhat easier of attainment. The king nominated a pliable successor, Cranmer, and, in spite of the disregard he had so persistently shown for the holy see, ventured to request the pope to pass the new archbishop's bulls without insisting upon payment of first-fruits. He had, however, a practical argument in favour of the request, which was of considerable weight. Parliament had already decreed that all payment of first-fruits to Rome should cease. This was a measure passed ostensibly in the interests of the bishops and clergy, to relieve them from grievous impositions at the very time when other enactments were passed to restrain their liberties. It went easily through the lords, but was strongly objected to in the commons, where it narrowly escaped shipwreck, though the Duke of Norfolk endeavoured to persuade the papal nuncio that it had been passed entirely against the king's will, to prevent a mass of treasure going yearly out of the realm. Its operation, however, was to be suspended during the king's pleasure, and a continuance of the payment might still be permitted if the pope's conduct gave the king satisfaction. Henry's demand was much debated in the papal court; but at length (22 Feb. 1533) the bulls were sped in the way that he desired.

Just before this, on 25 Jan., Henry had secretly gone through the ceremony of marriage with Anne Boleyn, a fact which was not divulged till Easter, when she was known to be with child. On 5 April a decision was obtained in convocation (not carried, however, without some dissent) against the power of dispensing for marriage with a brother's widow. Parliament was also induced, after considerable opposition, to pass an act abolishing appeals to the court of Rome. The commons were afraid if the kingdom were laid under interdict that the wool trade with the Low Countries would be stopped; but their scruples were got over, and they passed the bill. Cranmer then, as archbishop, obtained leave to determine the king's matrimonial cause, and on 23 May at Dunstable he declared Henry's marriage with Catherine to be invalid. Five days later, at Lambeth, he gave sentence that the marriage already contracted between the king and Anne Boleyn was valid. Anne was then crowned as queen on Whitsunday, 1 June. Thereupon sentence of excommunication was passed against Henry at Rome, 11 July, while he, having nothing more to expect from the pope, had two days before confirmed the act abolishing annates by letters patent. He moreover caused Bonner to intimate to his holiness, who was then in France, an appeal to the next general council, although he had hitherto treated with contempt the pope's own intimation of such a council. He called Catherine 'Princess-dowager of Wales,' and when Anne Boleyn, in September, gave birth to a daughter (afterwards Queen Elizabeth), he deprived his other daughter, Mary, of the title of princess, treating her as a bastard. In November he caused Elizabeth Barton [q.v.], the 'Nun of Kent,' as she was popularly named, to be arrested, along with several others who had listened to her denunciations of his conduct towards Catherine and her hostile prophecies; and though his own judges declined to find them guilty of treason, he had an act of attainder passed against them in parliament early next year.

Anticipating now an adverse decision at Rome in the long-pending divorce suit, Henry endeavoured to neutralise its effect beforehand by repudiating the authority from which it came. His council decreed that henceforth the pope should be called only 'bishop of Rome,' and parliament, having reassembled in January 1534, arranged a new scheme for the appointment of bishops without reference to the holy see, together with a new system of ecclesiastical appeals, which were to be heard in the last instance by the court of chancery or commissioners appointed under the great seal. Other acts followed for the abolition of all imposts levied by the see of Rome and for the complete abrogation of the pope's authority. The last of these enactments had not yet passed the House of Lords when the pope on 23 March at length pronounced the marriage with Catherine valid, and all the proceedings before Cranmer null. But the sentence came too late to affect either legislation or judicial acts in England. Another most important statute passed was the act of succession, entailing the crown upon the children of Henry and Anne Boleyn, and compelling all the king's subjects to swear to its tenour. About a fortnight after its enactment this oath was refused by More and Fisher, who were thereupon committed to the

Tower, the latter having just before been attainted by parliament of misprision in connection with the Nun of Kent. Along with them also was imprisoned Dr. Nicholas Wilson, formerly the king's confessor.

Even yet the severance from Rome was not complete, and before the news of the papal sentence arrived a desperate effort seems to have been made in parliament to induce the pope still further to defer its issue. All the enactments against the papal authority were to be provisional, so far that the king might annul or modify them before Midsummer day if the pope did what was desired of him. With this proviso parliament was prorogued on 30 March to meet again in November and complete the work. Meanwhile the king did his best to strengthen his alliance with France, and to strike terror into his subjects at home by the execution of the Nun and her adherents (20 April). Even Bishops Gardiner and Tunstall and Archbishop Lee expected to be committed to the Tower. Preachers were appointed to revile the pope and exalt the king's cause, and all other political preaching was silenced, while every clergyman in the land and every monk within his monastery was compelled to sign a declaration that the 'bishop of Rome' had no more authority in England than any other foreign bishop. And lest the religious orders, whose members had nothing to lose, should prove intractable, all the four orders of friars were placed by royal authority under the control of two men who could be depended on as visitors, Dr. George Browne [q. v.], prior of the Augustinian hermits, and Dr. John Hilsey [q. v.], provincial of the Black Friars.

Mere suasion and sophistry, however, were not enough. In June two cart-loads of friars were packed off to the Tower, and later in the year it was found advisable to suppress one order of friars entirely, the reformed order of Franciscans called the Observants. The recusants were transferred to other houses, locked up as prisoners, and placed in chains. Even Queen Catherine and the Princess Mary were warned that they stood in danger of death if they refused to acknowledge the statute which made the one a widow and the other a bastard; but neither would obey, and against them at least the king did not dare carry out his threats. In November parliament met again, and first of all confirmed the act of convocation declaring the king supreme head of the church, a title which was on 15 Jan. following formally added to the royal style. The oath taken to the succession act was ratified, and penalties inflicted on refusal. Those first-fruits and tenths of benefices which had been withheld from the pope were granted to the king, and a complete valuation of ecclesiastical property was ordered to secure their due exaction. A very severe law was passed against treason, which was made to include calling the king heretic, and even wishing to deprive him or Anne Boleyn or their heirs of the royal dignity. Henry was also voted a new subsidy, and bills of attainder against Fisher, More, and the Earl of Kildare became law.

Next year (1535) all this legislative tyranny came into full operation. So insupportable was the prospect that secret messages were sent by leading noblemen to the imperial ambassador to tell him that thousands would welcome an invasion by the emperor to relieve the country from oppression. The emperor, however, did not see his way to interfere, and in April the first judicial proceedings were taken against deniers of the royal supremacy. Prior Houghton of the London Charterhouse, with the heads of two other houses of the same order, a monk of Sion named Dr. Reynolds, and John Hale, vicar of Isleworth, were condemned and butchered with a brutality even beyond that of ordinary executions for treason. A few weeks were allowed to elapse to see what impression their fate would make on Fisher and More and the other monks of the London Charterhouse. The two former were questioned in the Tower whether they would accept the royal supremacy, and were arraigned for refusing. Three of the Charterhouse monks tried along with Fisher were hanged and quartered on 19 June; Fisher himself was beheaded on 22 and More on 6 July. The bishops were at the same time enjoined to preach the royal supremacy every Sunday and feast day and to cause the pope's name to be erased from books of every kind.

Fisher had been created a cardinal by the new pope, Paul III, shortly before his death, and his execution was the worst affront Henry had given to the holy see. The pope immediately wrote to the different princes of Europe intimating his intention to deprive Henry of his kingdom, and asking their aid to give effect to the sentence. His anger, however, was ineffectual. Francis I fully acknowledged Henry's impiety and barbarity, but could not afford to give up such an ally until he had recovered Milan. The emperor, then engaged in the conquest of Tunis, knew too well that any action on his part would make England combine with France against him. Henry, whose diplomacy had taught both princes to recognise the need of his friendship, was meanwhile anxious to win over the protestants of Germany, and invited

Melancthon to England. He would certainly have come, as Luther advised him to do, notwithstanding the disgust with which even protestants regarded Henry's acts, but he was forbidden by the elector of Saxony. Henry accordingly sent over divines to Germany to see how far united action was possible on matters of religion between him and the Smalcaldic League. Events, however, in the course of a few months enabled him to dispense with their assistance.

During the latter half of 1535 Henry vindicated his new supremacy over the church by appointing a royal visitation of the monasteries, of the universities, and of the church at large, inhibiting the bishops at the same time from exercising their functions until each had obtained from him a license to discharge them. The studies at Oxford and Cambridge were remodelled, and a mass of information, of very doubtful credibility, was collected as to the filthy and abominable lives of the inmates of a large number of the monasteries, as well as the superstitions which they encouraged. Strict injunctions, quite impossible of observance, were also laid down by the visitors (whose own characters would not bear much inspection) for the future regulation of these houses, with the express object of compelling applications to Thomas Cromwell [q. v.], as the king's vicegerent, for dispensations. In the following spring the parliament, which had first met more than six years before, signalised its last session by giving the king the possessions of every monastery which did not possess a revenue of 200*l.* a year.

On 8 Jan. 1536 Catherine of Arragon died, and Henry, who had been seriously afraid that the emperor would make war on England in her behalf, expressed his delight at the event by dressing in yellow. Anne Boleyn did likewise. Fears were now entertained for the Princess Mary, who was hated by Anne Boleyn, besides being in danger of the law for refusing to acknowledge the statute whereby she was made a bastard; and secret plans were laid by the imperial ambassador, in concert with persons in the Netherlands, for enabling her to escape abroad. Anne Boleyn's influence, however, was already on the wane. On 2 May she was arrested, and a jury of peers found her guilty of incest with her own brother and criminal intercourse with other courtiers. She was beheaded on the 19th, and her supposed accomplices two days before [see ANNE, 1507–1536]. Her removal was expected to lead to the restoration of the Princess Mary to her place in the succession. On the day (20 May) after Anne's execution the king was formally betrothed to Jane Seymour; the marriage was privately performed ten days later. As for the Princess Mary, the king agreed to take her again into favour only on condition that she would acknowledge the nullity of his marriage to her mother, and ask his pardon humbly for having so long withstood him. These repulsive conditions the unhappy young woman felt compelled to accept.

On 8 June a new parliament met and finally extinguished papal authority in England. A new act of succession was also passed, declaring the issue of both Henry's former queens illegitimate, and entailing the crown upon his issue by Jane Seymour. A most unusual provision was added, enabling the king himself, in default of such issue, to dispose of the crown by will, and it was said that he intended putting his bastard son, the Duke of Richmond, into the succession before Mary. The duke, however, died on 23 July 1536, five days after that brief parliament had been dissolved. Convocation at the same time drew up a set of articles of religion, and declared against the right of the pope to summon a general council without the assent of Christian princes.

In the beginning of October 1536 a rebellion broke out in Lincolnshire, when the commissioners for levying the subsidy came to Caistor. Hatred of oppressive taxation was joined to dislike of innovation in religion and of the suppression of monasteries, which had already made some progress. The Duke of Suffolk was sent down in haste to Lincolnshire, while the Earl of Shrewsbury, anticipating the king's commands, ordered loyal subjects to meet him at Nottingham and march against the rebels. The king himself also proposed to take the field. The rebels, after being warned by Lancaster herald to disband, showed a disposition to submit, and the muster which the king had intended to take at Ampthill had been already countermanded, when it was found that the insurrection, now called 'the Pilgrimage of Grace,' had spread in a more threatening shape to Yorkshire [see ASKE, ROBERT]. The Duke of Norfolk, who had been sent northwards, felt it necessary to make terms with the rebels on 27 Oct., and promise them a hearing for their complaints on their sending up two deputies to the king. Henry received these men, and after much delay dismissed them with a diplomatic answer, and a conference of the leaders on both sides was arranged at Doncaster for 5 Dec. There also the northern clergy assembled in a sort of convocation to consider the state of religion. The king was warned both by Norfolk and Suffolk that it would be absolutely necessary to grant a

general pardon, and while he complained of their timid counsels, he authorised them to proclaim one. He also invited Aske to confer with him.

Aske came to court on assurance of pardon, and on representing to the king the causes of discontent, was dismissed with a promise that Henry would go down to the north, have the queen crowned at York, and cause a free parliament to be held there at Whitsuntide for the redress of grievances, while convocation should sit at the same time to settle questions affecting the church. With this message Aske endeavoured to pacify the people. They, however, had grave doubts of the king's good faith, and in January 1537 Sir Francis Bigod [q. v.] and John Hallam [q. v.] conspired to seize both Hull and Scarborough. The attempt was a failure, but new commotions broke out in Westmoreland. These disturbances, which were crushed out one by one, gave the king an excuse for recalling his offered pardon, and very many were executed. Henry and his council then drew up a scheme for keeping the borders more thoroughly under control, and giving pensions to men who might be trusted to repress disorders. Norfolk was shocked to find on the list the names of some notorious thieves and murderers; but he received a reprimand for his scruples from the king, who said he was surprised the duke was more opposed to thieves and murderers than to traitors when the former had done good service to the king.

In February Thomas Fitzgerald, tenth earl of Kildare [q. v.], and his five uncles, taken in Ireland, were hanged together at Tyburn, and in the course of the year Norfolk's brother Thomas Howard died in the Tower of London, to which he had been committed for having made a secret contract of marriage with the king's niece, Lady Margaret Douglas, afterwards the mother of Darnley.

On 12 Oct. Queen Jane gave birth to a prince, afterwards Edward VI, and died on the 24th at Hampton Court. Henry remained a widower for the unusual period of more than two years, but not without frequent talk of marrying a fourth wife. At first he seemed anxious to wed Mary of Guise, and was angry when he was told that she had been already given to his nephew, James V of Scotland. Afterwards he had some thoughts of Christina, duchess of Milan, whose portrait he commissioned Holbein to paint for him. These, however, were but political devices to preserve the balance of power between the two rivals, Charles V and Francis I, lest they should combine with the pope against him. The state of his health, which at least in the spring of 1538 was already serious, might have afforded sufficient reason for avoiding another marriage. He had a fistula in one leg, his face at times growing quite black and he himself speechless from pain. His illness, no doubt, was aggravated by anxieties both domestic and foreign; for if other princes should be banded against him the loyalty of his own subjects was not to be depended on. And Francis I and Charles V were at that very moment drawing towards each other. By the mediation of the pope they made a ten years' truce together in June 1538, and had a personal interview in the following month.

Whatever he might do to meet the danger, Henry certainly had no thought of endeavouring to propitiate the see of Rome. He caused images and shrines everywhere to be demolished and pilgrimages to be suppressed. He moreover resumed the work of dissolving the monasteries, which he had no difficulty in carrying beyond the limit authorised by parliament. For a moment, too, he showed again some inclination to an alliance with the German protestants, whose usefulness in case the emperor should think of attacking him was evident, and some of their divines came to England in the summer on his invitation, to discuss matters of faith with a view to a common agreement. But nothing came of these conferences, and Henry showed himself every day more zealous for ancient doctrine. In November 1537 he issued a proclamation for anabaptists to quit the kingdom. In the same month he signally illustrated his position as head of the church by hearing personally an appeal from the Archbishop of Canterbury by a heretic named John Lambert [q. v.], otherwise called Nicholson, who denied the corporeal presence in the Sacrament. From the account of an eye-witness, preserved, and certainly not weakened in effect, by Foxe (*Acts and Monuments*, ed. Townsend, 1838, v. 230–6), he seems to have shamefully browbeat the accused. Cromwell, on the other hand, in a contemporary despatch, reports with admiration 'how benignly his Grace essayed to convert the miserable man' (Collier, *Eccl. Hist.*, ed. 1852, iv. 428). Neither report can be regarded as altogether trustworthy. The hearing lasted five hours, and several of the bishops argued with the accused from noon till the debate closed by torchlight. At last the king bade Cromwell, as his vicegerent, pronounce sentence, and within a few days the man was burned in Smithfield.

Towards the close of the year Henry's anxieties increased. The spoliation of the rich shrine of St. Thomas of Canterbury had renewed the indignation felt against him at

Rome, and Charles V and Francis I being now at amity, the pope at length fulminated, or at all events signed, the sentence of excommunication against him, which had been three years suspended. Henry, however, had already taken measures in anticipation of this blow to secure himself against such of his own subjects as might possibly be put in his place if he were deprived of the kingdom. Henry Pole, lord Montague, was grandson and eldest representative of George, duke of Clarence. Henry Courtenay, marquis of Exeter [q. v.], was a grandson of Edward IV. They were both arrested; found guilty of treason by a jury of their peers for having corresponded with Montague's brother, Cardinal Reginald Pole [q. v.], and were beheaded (9 Dec. 1538). Sir Geoffrey Pole, another brother of Montague's, also thrown into prison, bought his pardon by a confession which involved his family. The Countess of Salisbury, Lord Montague's mother, was thrown into the Tower, to undergo two years later a barbarous execution. Sir Nicholas Carew [q. v.] was also arrested, and was executed on 3 March 1539. Parliament, which met on 28 April, soon followed up these cruelties by a sweeping act of attainder against many other persons.

The king still felt far from secure, and ordered all possible precautionary measures against invasion. The people, on the other hand, were assured that old principles of religion stood in little danger, when parliament to maintain them passed the severe penal statute of the Six Articles, which caused Latimer and Shaxton to resign their bishoprics. But Cromwell was already planning a new way to secure the king, not by the preservation of old principles of religion, but by Henry's marriage to Anne of Cleves [q. v.] Although a theological agreement with the German protestants had not been established, a political alliance between them and the king of England promised advantage to both sides as a means of holding the emperor in check, and the match with Anne of Cleves was by Henry's own confession accepted by him simply and solely to defeat the threatened combination against him.

The treaty for this marriage was signed at Windsor 24 Sept. 1539. The last strongholds of papal authority within the realm were a few of the remaining monasteries, and their suppression was nearly completed. During 1538 and 1539 almost all the great abbeys surrendered, and early in 1540 not a single monastery remained. Anne of Cleves landed at Deal on 27 Dec. 1539, and Henry with five of his privy chamber came to see her at Rochester on New-year's day, 1540. They were all in disguise, but the king showed her a token from himself and took a first embrace. He remained with her that day and till the following afternoon, when he returned by Gravesend and the river to Greenwich, where the marriage took place on 6 Jan. Charles V was at that very time the guest of Francis I at Paris, but the emperor stood now quite as much in fear of a protestant alliance against him as Henry had done of a catholic alliance against England. Nor would Henry perhaps have done much to disturb the relations between Charles and Francis by a mission of the Duke of Norfolk to France immediately after, but that the emperor, having reached his own countries, repudiated some important pledges to his ally and won the friendship of the Duke of Cleves by offering him the Duchess of Milan in marriage. Thus Henry's great object of keeping the two rivals on the continent at variance was attained once more, the policy of Cromwell was no longer serviceable, and within England itself a catholic reaction grew stronger every day.

The final results were the arrest and execution of Thomas Cromwell and the king's divorce from Anne of Cleves. Both events took place in July. On the 30th also Robert Barnes, D.D. [q. v.], Jerome, and Garrard were burned as heretics at Smithfield for their Lutheran tendencies, while Thomas Abell [q. v.], Richard Fetherstone [q. v.], and Powell were hanged, disembowelled, and quartered in the same place for the old offence of maintaining the validity of the king's first marriage. The parliament which sat, after prorogation from last year, from 12 April to 24 July, had attainted all the six. Its chief business besides was to grant the king, notwithstanding all the confiscations of monastic property, a very heavy subsidy, which it did with much reluctance.

Henry then married Catherine Howard [q. v.], who was shown as queen on 8 Aug. 1540. He was now free from serious anxieties, and his buoyant spirits returned. He adopted a new rule of life, rising even in winter between five and six, hearing mass at seven, and riding about on horseback till ten, by which he found himself much benefited in health. In the beginning of March following (1541) he was seized with a tertian fever, and the old fistula in his leg caused him some trouble, but he soon grew better and appeared as robust as usual. His spirits, however, were depressed by the discovery of a conspiracy for a new insurrection in the north, organised by Sir John Nevill. He declared that he had an unhappy people to govern, whom if he could he would reduce to such poverty that they should not be able to rebel. Some of the con-

spirators were hanged at Tyburn on 27 May, and the Countess of Salisbury was on the same day beheaded within the Tower. Sir John Nevill was sent down to York to suffer there.

Partly with a view to allaying sedition by his presence and partly in the hope of meeting James V of Scotland, whom he had invited to an interview at York, Henry now arranged a progress into the north. But before he set out the Tower was cleared of its prisoners, and a number of further executions took place, among the victims being Lord Leonard Grey [q. v.] and Thomas Fiennes, ninth lord Dacre of the South [q. v.] Another prisoner, John Dudley, lord Lisle, afterwards duke of Northumberland [q. v.], late deputy of Calais, was pardoned. The French ambassador, writing of this time of tyranny, says that men knew not of what they might be accused; they were condemned unheard; parliament had virtually made over all its functions to the king, and the leaders of parties plotted against each other.

Henry set out on his progress on 30 June. It was delayed by floods in Lincolnshire, and he only reached York in September. The different towns on his way vied with each other in offering him gifts and declaring their loyalty. But the Scottish king very prudently declined to meet him. On his return to Hampton Court in November he was shocked to learn that the queen had not been chaste before she married him, and that she had since been untrue to him even during the progress. Her accomplices were tried and executed before her in December, and she herself was brought to the block on 13 Feb. following (1542).

Parliament meanwhile had assembled, and among other things enacted that Ireland should be henceforth a kingdom. Henry was accordingly proclaimed king of Ireland as well as of England on 23 Jan. The island had by this time been brought into fairly complete subjection, almost all the Irish chieftains having made formal submission to the king, some of them in England in the king's own presence. With all this success, however, Henry continued to demand excessive subsidies or extortionate loans. He had also been nursing a quarrel with Scotland since the refusal of James to meet him at York, and things were tending to war both with that country and with France. Disturbances on the Scottish borders brought matters to a point; and Henry, issuing a long manifesto, in which he revived the claim of feudal superiority over the northern kingdom, sent Norfolk to invade it. Norfolk crossed the Tweed, 21 Oct., and laid waste the country till he was compelled for want of provisions to return to Berwick. Next month the Scots were routed at the Solway Moss, and James V died broken-hearted in December, leaving his infant daughter Mary heiress of the kingdom.

The prisoners taken at the Solway Moss, several of them noblemen of high standing, were sent up to London and paraded through the streets from Bishopsgate to the Tower. But on the news of King James's death Henry determined to make use of them to further a new policy in Scotland. He proposed to unite that country to the English crown by marrying his son Edward to the infant Mary as soon as the parties should be of sufficient age. The prisoners were accordingly treated with kindness, and allowed to return to their country on a solemn engagement to favour the treaty and to procure the delivery of Mary into Henry's hands to be brought up in England, or, if the Scottish parliament refused this, to assist Henry in subjugating their own country, or else to return to captivity. At the same time the Earl of Angus and Sir George Douglas, who had been many years resident in England, having been banished from Scotland as rebels, returned thither pledged to promote the same object. But the Scottish parliament, while agreeing to the marriage, refused to allow their queen to be brought up in England. By the skill of Sir George Douglas a compromise was effected, and treaties were actually drawn up on 1 July 1543 for the peace and marriage on terms ostensibly much more favourable to the Scots. But Scotland was unhappily rent by faction, and by the influence of Cardinal Beaton and the French party the treaties were soon set aside.

Meanwhile Henry had on 11 Feb. 1543 concluded an alliance with the emperor against France. Heretic as he was, and excommunicated by the pope, both Charles and Francis had, ever since Cromwell's fall, desired his friendship, each against the other; and though it had been apparent for years that he was inclining to the emperor rather than to France, yet until the emperor was willing to make a satisfactory alliance with him he had studiously affected friendship with the French, and pretended to be ready to marry the Princess Mary to the Duke of Orleans. Henry, however, now withdrew his ambassadors from France, and later in the year sent a detachment under Sir John Wallop in aid of the emperor, so that in the latter part of 1543 he found himself once more at war both with Scotland and France; and at war with both of them he remained till within a few months of his death.

In a brief interval of peace, however, he married, 12 July 1543, his last wife, Catherine

Parr [q. v.]. On 7 July 1544 he made her regent in his absence, when on the point of crossing the Channel to conduct the war in person. His brief campaign was signalised by the capture of Boulogne (14 Sept.); immediately after which he was deserted by his perfidious ally the emperor, who made a separate peace with France on the 19th. Henry suspended operations for the winter, and recrossed the Channel on the 30th. England was now placed at a disadvantage in maintaining the war single-handed against France; but the national spirit rose with the danger, and though Henry's subjects were called upon for loans, subsidies, and benevolences with a frequency heretofore unknown, they contributed for the most part with little grudging. The king, moreover, adopted one of the worst means of lightening his financial burdens—debasement of the currency, an evil which was not remedied till the days of Queen Elizabeth, and only partially then. But he also coined his plate and mortgaged his estates to meet the exigencies of a war which in two years cost him 1,300,000*l.* England, however, was unable to strike an effective blow at her enemy; and one of her finest vessels, the Mary Rose, sank by accident (20 July 1545) off Portsmouth under the king's own eyes, while the French, almost that very day, made good a temporary landing in the Isle of Wight. But, on the whole, nothing was gained by either side, and on 7 June 1546 France agreed to make peace with England, leaving her in possession of Boulogne for eight years longer, and agreeing to pay a large sum for arrears of past pensions and war expenses.

As for Scotland, the one constant enemy of Henry's policy in that country was Cardinal Beaton, and Henry favoured the plot which resulted in his assassination. In May 1544 an English force under the Earl of Hertford, supported by a fleet in the Firth of Forth, burned Leith and Edinburgh, and laid waste the neighbouring country. But this did not tend to make the Scots more tractable, and in the early part of 1545 a raid by Lord Evers on the Scottish border, in which he desecrated the tombs of the Douglases at Melrose, was revenged by the signal defeat of the invaders at Ancrum Muir (27 Feb.) In April Henry, through the Earl of Cassilis, again attempted to dictate a peace to the Scottish lords, but his terms were rejected, and in September Hertford laid waste the borders about Dryburgh and Melrose. At last, on 30 May 1546, Cardinal Beaton was murdered, and the castle of St. Andrews seized by conspirators in league with England; and as this gave Henry's party the command of a seaport and a strong castle, he had now a footing in Scotland from which he could not easily be driven.

The chief domestic matters of interest during those last years of his reign were matters of religion. Numerous colleges, chantries, and hospitals found it prudent to surrender, and in the session of November 1545 parliament placed the endowments of all such foundations at the king's disposal as an additional aid to meet his war expenses. A power of unlimited confiscation was thus placed in the king's hands; which, however, it seems he was expected to exercise with some regard for the interests of religion and learning. So Henry himself understood the matter, as he told parliament himself in a speech with which he closed the session on 24 Dec. 1545, and he thanked them for such a marked expression of their confidence. He then added that he could not but grieve that his subjects, who showed so much kindness towards himself, were not in charity with one another, but the names heretic, anabaptist, papist, hypocrite, and Pharisee were freely banded about, and he gave them a sort of sermon on the thirteenth chapter of the first epistle to the Corinthians, urging them to amendment. Above all they must not judge their own causes, or rail at bishops, but if they knew that a bishop or preacher taught corrupt doctrine, 'come,' he said, 'and declare it to some of our council, or to us to whom is committed by God the high authority to reform and order such causes.'

Some doubt seems to be thrown on the authenticity of this speech by the fact that it is not recorded in the 'Journals of the House of Lords;' but it comes from Hall's 'Chronicle,' a source which can generally be relied on. It was Henry's last speech in parliament, where he never again appeared in person, and it seems too striking and characteristic to be an invention; but in any case it affords singular evidence of the utter inefficiency of the severe act of the Six Articles to effect its avowed purpose of 'abolishing diversities of opinion.' Persecutions and burnings for heresy were frequent during the next year, the last of Henry's reign [cf. Askew, Anne].

Henry's infirmities were now increasing. Heavy and unwieldy, he could no longer walk or stand, and the fistula in his leg had become more serious. All who stood near the throne foresaw his speedy death and the horrors of a minority, and were naturally anxious about their own position in the coming reign. Suddenly, on 12 Dec. 1546, the Duke of Norfolk and his son Henry Howard, earl of Surrey, the poet, were made prisoners. Evidence had been collected against them

beforehand that they were speculating upon a regency, and gentlemen were despatched into Norfolk before his apprehension got wind to take possession of the duke's house at Kenninghall, and to examine his friends there. The duke confessed that he was guilty at least of technical treason, especially in not having revealed the conduct of his son, who had altered the quarterings of his shield in a manner suitable only to an heir-apparent of the crown. But a far more hideous charge was brought against Surrey himself—that he had recommended his own sister, the Duchess of Richmond, the widow of the king's son, to become the king's mistress, by which she might obtain an influence in political matters similar to that of Madame d'Étampes in the court of Francis I. This charge seems to have been confirmed by the duchess herself, and is by no means the only evidence of the deep depravity of the court of Henry VIII. Parliament was summoned to meet in January 1547 for the purpose, among other things, of passing an act of attainder against Norfolk. On the 13th, the day before it met, Surrey was tried by a special commission at the Guildhall, and, being found guilty, was beheaded two days later on Tower Hill. Against Norfolk the bill of attainder passed both houses on the 27th, and was awaiting the royal assent when the king died at Westminster at midnight on 28 Jan. Henry, Foxe tells us, had been 'loth to hear any mention of death.' At the last Sir Anthony Denny obtained permission to send for Cranmer, but when the archbishop arrived the king was speechless. Cranmer asked him to give some token of his trust in Christ, and the dying man pressed his hand. Henry was buried at Windsor.

Henry's unique position among English kings is owing to the extraordinary degree of personal weight that he was able to throw into the government of the realm. Strictly speaking he was not an unconstitutional sovereign; all his doings were clothed with the form of legality. But the whole machinery of state, both legislative and executive, moved simply in accordance with his pleasure, and, however unpopular might be his government at home or his policy abroad, no one could venture to impugn his acts or could doubt his consummate statesmanship. The sentiment of loyalty, moreover, which was held to be superior to all ties of natural affection, was much stronger in those days than it has been in later times.

Besides the two leading acts of the Reformation, the establishment of the royal supremacy and the suppression of the monasteries, Henry was responsible for some smaller changes whose results were permanent. On Wolsey's fall he seized into his own hands the endowments of the cardinal's projected colleges at Ipswich and Oxford, completed the latter on a less munificent scale than was designed for it, and then assumed the honours of a founder, calling it Henry VIII's College instead of Cardinal's College. It is now known as Christ Church. Between 1540 and 1542 he erected six new bishoprics (Westminster, Oxford, Peterborough, Bristol, Gloucester, and Chester) out of some of the endowments of the suppressed monasteries. The first of these bishoprics continued only for ten years, and was dissolved by Edward VI. He also drew up a scheme, the draft of which remains in his own handwriting (*MS. Cotton.* Cleopatra, E. iv.), for a still further increase of the episcopate, and he obtained an act of parliament in 1536 for establishing a number of suffragans. In 1531 he began, for the gratification of Anne Boleyn, to lay out St. James's Park, which was approached by a long gallery across the street from Whitehall. This appears to have been done mainly by an exchange of lands with the abbey of Westminster and Eton College; but numbers of houses were demolished for the purpose without adequate compensation to the owners.

As an author Henry was by no means contemptible. His book against Luther ('Assertio Septem Sacramentorum,' published in 1521) was a scholastic performance of a rather conventional type; but it was the coinage of his own brain, and he had discussed its arguments, in the progress of the work, both with Wolsey and with More. It seemed, moreover, to Luther himself of sufficient weight to draw from him a somewhat angry though contemptuous rejoinder. Of course, in the composition of such a treatise Henry could easily command the aid of the best scholarship of the day, at all events to improve the style. To what extent he was thus aided we cannot tell. But we have the testimony of Erasmus to his own facility in Latin composition; and it is quite certain that in the numerous letters, manifestos, and treatises, both Latin and English, put forth in his name during his reign, his own hand is very often traceable. His skill in theological subtleties, no less than in threading the mazes of diplomacy, enabled him to take up a position that could not be successfully challenged, and secure himself alike against popes, emperors, and kings in the midst of a dangerous revolution stirred mainly by himself. The first articles of religion were printed in 1536 as 'Articles devised by the King's Majesty.' Next year appeared a more elaborate treatise entitled 'The Institution of a Christian Man,'

dom he would have the claims of Matilda and her son fairly tried in his court before bestowing it on any other claimant. His refusal of a demand made by David at the close of 1137 for Henry's immediate investiture as Earl of Northumberland was one of the grounds of David's great expedition into Yorkshire in 1138, which ended in the rout of the Scots at the battle of the Standard (22 Aug.) At the opening of the battle Henry commanded the men of Cumberland and Teviotdale, who formed the second division of the Scottish host; at its close he led the remnant of his father's bodyguard in a last desperate charge, and hardly escaped with his life to rejoin his father at Carlisle. Next spring Stephen and David made peace, and Northumberland was granted to Henry. He afterwards accompanied Stephen to the siege of Ludlow, where he was caught and nearly dragged off his horse by a grappling-iron, and only rescued by the strength and bravery of Stephen. During this sojourn in England he fell in love with and married Ada or Adelina, daughter of William de Warren, earl of Surrey (ORDERICUS VITALIS, ed. Duchesne, *Hist. Norm. Scriptt.* 918 B; *Chron. Mailros*, a. 1139). Next year, on another visit to the English court, his life was again in danger, this time from the jealousy of Earl Ranulf of Chester, who claimed his earldom of Carlisle. He died on 12 June 1152 (*Chron. S. Crucis Edinb.* p. 31, Bannatyne Club). English and Scottish writers with one accord raise a lamentation over his untimely death, and picture him as a model of all that is excellent in a knight, a prince, and a man. Two of his sons, Malcolm and William, became successively kings of Scots; from the third, David, earl of Huntingdon, the houses of Bruce and Balliol inherited in the female line their claims to the crown of Scotland.

[Henry of Huntingdon, ed. Arnold (Rolls Ser.); Richard and John of Hexham, ed. Raine (Surtees Soc.); Æthelred of Rievaux's Relatio de Bello Standardi, in Hist. Angl. Scriptt. Decem, ed. Twysden, and also, with Richard of Hexham, in Chron. of Stephen and Henry II, vol. iii. ed. Howlett (Rolls Ser.)] K. N.

**HENRY** (1155–1183), second son of Henry II and Eleanor of Aquitaine, was born in London on 28 Feb. 1155, and on 10 April was recognised as heir to the crown in case of his brother's death, an event which took place next year. His betrothal to Margaret, daughter of Louis VII of France, was proposed in 1158 and ratified in October 1160, when he did homage to Louis for Normandy; and on 2 Nov. King Henry caused the two children to be married at Neubourg. The boy's education was entrusted to his father's chancellor, Thomas Becket, who took him to live in his house, and treated him as an adoptive son. Early in 1162 Henry II determined to secure, as far as possible, the succession of his heir by having him crowned king; under the care of Thomas, therefore, the child was sent to England, and there received the fealty of the barons. The making of a crown for him was even put in hand (*Pipe Roll*, 8 Henry II, p. 43); but his coronation was delayed by the vacancy of the see of Canterbury, to which the right of crowning an English king specially belonged; and the filling of this vacancy by the appointment of Thomas Becket (June 1162) was followed by a change in the relations between Thomas and the king, which compelled Henry to postpone still further the realisation of his scheme. Before the close of 1163 the boy was removed from Thomas's household, and in January 1164 he was with his father at the council of Clarendon. His appearance there was probably intended as a manifestation of his inchoate right to a share in his father's regal dignity, which had already been acknowledged in the homage rendered to him by the Welsh princes and the Scot king at Woodstock in July 1163. At the peace of Montmirail in January 1169 he was invested by Louis VII with Anjou, Maine, and Brittany; shortly afterwards, as Count of Anjou, he officiated in Paris as seneschal to the French king; he also did homage to Louis's son, Philip Augustus, and received the homage of his own brother Geoffrey for Brittany, which Geoffrey was to hold under him. At last, on 14 June 1170, he was crowned at Westminster by the Archbishop of York; and on 27 Aug. 1172 he and Margaret were, to satisfy Louis, crowned together at Winchester by the Archbishop of Rouen. During the last two years the absence of Henry II, first in Normandy and then in Ireland, had left the 'young king'—as his son is henceforth called—sole wearer of the crown in England; but the real powers of government remained with the justiciars. The discontented barons had done their utmost to excite young Henry's resentment at this withholding of the regal authority to which he deemed himself entitled by his coronation; their suggestions were backed by those of Louis, whom he visited in November 1172; and on his return he called upon his father to give him full possession of some part of the lands which fell to him. The demand was refused. In opposition to his father he also actively resisted the election of Richard, prior of Dover, after Becket's death to the see of Canterbury (DEMIMUID, *Jean de Salisbury*, pp. 265 sq.) Later the

young king refused to ratify a grant of lands to his brother John, and fled by night from his father's court to that of his father-in-law. Louis received him as sole lawful king of the English, and all Henry's enemies broke at once into war. The young king joined the Count of Flanders in preparing a fleet for the invasion of England; but the fleet never sailed, the barons were crushed; young Henry's attempt to thwart his father's wishes respecting the appointment of a new primate by an appeal to Rome only resulted in the consecration of the elder king's favoured candidate by the pope himself; and in the autumn of 1174 father and son made peace. For nearly six years young Henry kept quiet. On All Saints' day 1179 he was present at the coronation of Philip Augustus at Reims, and as Duke of Normandy carried the crown in the procession. His tenure of the duchy was, however, merely nominal, and he still failed to understand that his father, in keeping him thus in dependence at his side, was really reserving him for higher things than his brother Richard, of whose independent position as actual ruler of Aquitaine he was bitterly jealous. The barons of Aquitaine, struggling unsuccessfully against Richard's control, wrought upon this jealousy for their own ends; Richard himself increased it by an encroachment upon land which the young king claimed as part of his Angevin heritage; and at the end of June 1182 young Henry joined the rebels at Limoges. The elder king's appearance on the scene, however, was followed by an immediate pacification, and this again by a fresh demand from his eldest son to be put in possession of his heritage, a fresh refusal, another flight of the young king to France, and his return on the promise of an increased allowance in money. At Christmas Richard's refusal to do homage to his elder brother caused another quarrel; the young king and Geoffrey followed Richard into Aquitaine, under pretence of 'subduing his pride' according to their father's orders, but in reality to head a rising of the whole country against both Richard and Henry. For six weeks Henry II besieged the rebels in Limoges; twice his eldest son came to him with offers of submission, but each time the offer was a feint; at last young Henry's shameless plunder of the townsfolk, and of the shrine of their patron St. Martial, opened their eyes to his real character, and on his return from an expedition to Angoulême they drove him back with insults from their gates. In the midst of a plundering raid upon the monastery of Grandmont and the shrines of Rocamadour, he was struck down by fever; he took refuge at Martel 'in the house of Stephen, surnamed the Smith,' and thence sent a message imploring his father to come and speak with him once more. The friends of Henry II, suspecting treachery, persuaded him not to go, but only to send a precious ring in token of his forgiveness. The young king had already made open confession of his sins; he now dictated a letter to his father, beseeching him to pardon all his fellow-rebels, to make atonement for the sacrileges which he had committed, and to bury him in the cathedral church of Rouen. Early on 11 June 1183, after repeating his confession, he begged to be wrapped once more in his cloak marked with the cross, which, rather in petulance than in piety, he had taken at Limoges; then he gave it to his friend William Marshal, charging him to bear it to the holy sepulchre in his stead. He next bade his followers strip him of his soft raiment, clothe him in a hair-shirt, drag him out of bed by a rope round his neck, and lay him on a bed of ashes; there he received the last sacraments, and there, kissing his father's ring, he died. In the selfish, faithless, unprincipled character displayed throughout young Henry's life, redeemed though it was by his deathbed repentance, it is difficult to discover the secret of the attraction which won him the friendship of such a man as William Marshal. It is hard to understand the grounds even of his general popularity, to which all the historians of the time bear witness, and which was curiously illustrated by a quarrel for the possession of his corpse. The people of Le Mans seized it on its way to Normandy and buried it in their own cathedral church, whereupon the citizens of Rouen threatened to come and reclaim it by force, and Henry II was obliged to order it to be disinterred and conveyed to Rouen for re-burial according to his son's last request. To the unthinking multitude the young king's charm probably lay in a stately, handsome person, a gracious manner, and a temper whose easy shallowness contrasted favourably, in their eyes, with the terrible earnestness of Richard. Henry and Margaret had but one child, who was born and died in 1177.

[Gesta Regis Henrici, Roger of Hoveden, Ralph de Diceto, Gervase of Canterbury, ed. Stubbs; Materials for History of Becket, ed. Robertson; Thomas Agnellus, De Morte Henrici Regis Junioris, in Stevenson's edition of Ralph of Coggeshall, all in Rolls Series; Robert of Torigny, ed. Delisle (Soc. de l'Hist. de Normandie); Geoffrey of Vigeois, in Labbe's Nova Bibliotheca MSS. Librorum, vol. ii.] K. N.

HENRY OF CORNWALL (1235–1271), more generally called, from his father's German connections, HENRY OF ALMAINE, was the

eldest son of Richard, earl of Cornwall, afterwards king of the Romans, by his first wife, Isabella, daughter of William Marshall, third earl of Pembroke, and widow of Gilbert of Clare, seventh earl of Gloucester [q. v.] He was born on 1 Nov. 1235 (*Ann. Tewk.* in *Ann. Mon.* i. 98), and was baptised at his father's favourite seat at Hailes, near Winchcomb in Gloucestershire, by Ralph of Maidstone, bishop of Hereford. In 1240 his mother died, and when his father in the same year went on crusade young Henry was left to the care of his uncle, Henry III (MATT. PARIS, iv. 44). In 1247 he accompanied his father on his journey to France, which included an interview with St. Louis and a pilgrimage to Pontigny (*ib.* iv. 645–6). In 1250 he also went with his father and stepmother, Sanchia, in their mysterious and magnificent progress throughout France, and visited Innocent IV at Lyons (*ib.* v. 97). He also accompanied his father on the latter's visit to Germany to receive the German crown. The party embarked from Yarmouth on 27 April 1257, and landed at Dordrecht on 1 May (*Liber de Ant. Leg.* p. 26). On Ascension day (17 May) Henry witnessed his father's coronation at Aachen, and next day was solemnly knighted by his father, and a banquet given in his honour of such splendour as to rival the coronation feast (MATT. PARIS, v. 641, vi. 366). His German advisers pointed out the impolicy of his surrounding himself with so many Englishmen, and King Richard sent Henry home about Michaelmas along with the majority of his English followers (*ib.* v. 653; *Ann. Dunst.* p. 203).

Henry's political career begins with his return to England, where his father had now granted him Knaresborough and some other possessions (JOHN OF WALLINGFORD in *Mon. Germ. Scriptt.* xxviii. 511). At the parliament of Oxford in June 1258 he was one of the twelve (or rather eleven) elected on the king's side to draw up with twelve baronial representatives the provisional constitution (*Ann. Burton.* p. 447). Yet after the king and his son Edward had sworn to the provisions of Oxford which they drew up, Henry joined the Lusignans in an obstinate opposition to them. He did not, however, accompany the king's half-brothers on their secession to Winchester, but contented himself with refusing to take the oath to the provisions until he had got the permission of his father, on whom he was entirely dependent (MATT. PARIS, v. 697). Forty days were given him to consult King Richard (*Ann. Burton.* p. 444). He must have finally given way, and soon began to incline to the popular party.

On St. Edward's day 1260 Henry acted as proxy for Leicester as seneschal at the royal feast at Westminster (*Fœdera*, i. 402). In 1262 he started again with his father for Germany, but soon came back accompanied by his nephew Gilbert, the new earl of Gloucester (*Cont.* GERVASE, ii. 215, 216). He now became a regular partisan of Montfort's (BÉMONT, *Simon de Montfort*, p. 199), and was looked upon by Simon as a youth of unusual promise. In October he was in England, and the justiciar, Philip Basset [q. v.], was directed to work with him in defeating the designs of Montfort; but, perhaps by way of precaution, Henry was himself summoned to attend the king at Paris in November, and a gift of a hundred marks for his expenses was offered if he came (*Fœdera*, i. 422). On 10 March 1263 he was back in England along with Earl Warenne and Henry de Montfort (*Cont.* GERVASE, ii. 219). In April he was at a council of barons at London (WYKES, p. 133; *Ann. Dunst.* says Oxford, but cf. BÉMONT, p. 199), and then joined in spoiling the estates of Peter of Aigueblanche, the foreign bishop of Hereford. In June he pursued John Mansel [q. v.] on his flight to France, and was arrested at Boulogne and imprisoned by Ingelram de Fiennes at the suggestion of Mansel (*Cont.* GERVASE, ii. 222). This angered the barons greatly, and Simon de Montfort insisted on his release as a condition of the peace then being negotiated. Henry III agreed to this, and Henry of Almaine, released through the good offices of St. Louis, returned to England (*Ann. Dunst.* p. 223). On 10 July King Richard thanked his brother for his exertions on Henry's behalf (*Fœdera*, i. 427). On 23 Aug. Henry was again in England, and sent with Simon and Walter de Cantelupe [q.v.], bishop of Winchester, to treat with Llewelyn of Wales (*ib.* i. 430). In September he was again sent to France (*Cont.* GERVASE, ii. 224). In October he was present at the great meeting of the partisans of both sides at Boulogne (*Chron. Dover*, MS. Cotton, Julius D. V., in GERVASE, ii. 225).

Henry now began to waver. He told his uncle Simon that he could no longer fight on his side against his father and uncle the king, but said that he had resolved never to take up arms against him. Leicester answered that he feared his inconstancy more than his arms (RISHANGER, *Chronicle*, pp. 12–13, Rolls Ser.; cf. RISHANGER, *De Bellis*, p. 17, Camden Soc.) Yet after his return from Boulogne Henry actively joined Edward, under whose strong influence he remained for the rest of the war against Leicester. He received from Edward a grant of the manor of Tickhill. He was with Edward when he attempted in vain

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In the early morning of Friday, 13 March 1271 (12 March, *Ann. Winton.* p. 110), the kings of France and Naples were at mass in the church of the Franciscans. Henry was also attending service at one of the parish churches of the town situated opposite his lodgings (*Fœdera*, i. 501, 'Processus Papæ contra G. de Monteforte'). This was probably the church of San Silvestro (*Ann. Winton.*; OXENEDES, p. 239; *Flores Historiarum*, p. 350, ed. 1570, and *Cont.* JOHN DE TAYSTER, LANDINO, VELUTELLO). But some authorities send Henry to church in the cathedral of S. Lorenzo (RISHANGER, TRIVET, GUILLAUME DE NANGIS, PRIMAT). Wykes makes it the church of the confraternity of S. Biagio (see for these churches BUSSI, *Istoria di Viterbo*). The most authoritative sources speak very vaguely of 'a certain church or chapel' (e.g. letter of Philip III to the king of the Romans in *Lib. de Antiquis Legibus*, p. 133; WYKES, p. 237; *Ann. Osney*, p. 243; HEMINGBURGH, i. 331; G. VILLANI; OBERTI STANCONI, &c., *Ann. Januenses*).

Henry was kneeling at prayer before the high altar when a band of armed men burst violently into the church. At their head was Guy de Montfort, who as he entered cried out in a loud voice, 'Traitor, Henry of Almaine, thou shalt not escape' (*Fœdera*, i. 501). He was followed by his brother Simon and his father-in-law Rosso. Taken utterly by surprise Henry was seized with a sudden panic, and rushed for sanctuary to the altar, clinging to it with his hands, and crying for mercy. He was fiercely attacked, and soon despatched with a multitude of wounds, the fingers of the hand that was clutching the altar being nearly cut off. Two clerks were also wounded in the confusion. 'I have had my revenge,' cried Guy, as he hurried from the church. 'How so,' replied one of his knights, 'your father was dragged about' (G. VILLANI in MURATORI, xiii. 261, gives the very words in French in the midst of his Italian narrative). Guy then returned to the church, and dragged the body of his cousin by the hair right through the church to the piazza opposite, where it met with barbarous ill-treatment. The murderers then took horse, and found a refuge in Rosso's castle in the Maremma ('in Montemfisconum,' *Ann. Placentini Gibellini*; *Mon. Germ. Scriptt.* xviii. 550).

This cold-blooded murder excited universal horror, the more so as Henry was not even present at the death of Earl Simon, and had laboured for the reconciliation and return of his sons (*Ann. Norm.* in *Mon. Germ. Scriptt.* xxvi. 517). It was to little purpose that Philip of France wrote in terms of deep sympathy to King Richard, and Charles of Anjou sought to exculpate himself with Edward from the misdeeds of his vicar (*Lib. de Ant. Leg.* pp. 133–4; *Fœdera*, i. 488). Men generally blamed them for their weakness or their sluggishness. It was not until Edward, now king of England, appeared in Italy that strong measures were taken by Gregory X against the murderers (*Fœdera*, i. 501). But Simon was already dead, though Guy atoned for his crime by a long imprisonment and a miserable end. Dante put him in the seventh circle of hell, surrounded by a river of boiling blood (*Inferno*, xii. 118–20; cf. Commentary of Benvenuto of Imola in MURATORI, *Antiq. Ital.* i. 1050 B). The men of Viterbo caused the story of the slaughter to be painted on the wall, and a copy of Latin verses inspired by the picture is preserved (RISHANGER, p. 67, Rolls Ser.)

Henry of Almaine was a good soldier and a man of ability, though somewhat fickle and inconstant. His character was so attractive that both Simon de Montfort and Edward I had conceived the highest hopes of him. The more perishable parts of his body were buried at Viterbo 'between two popes' (*Ann. Hailes* in *Mon. Germ. Scriptt.* xvi. 483). His bones and heart were conveyed to England, arriving in London on 15 May. The heart, encased in a costly vase, was deposited in Westminster Abbey, near the shrine of the Confessor, where it became an object of popular veneration. Later Italian writers, misunderstanding Dante's reference ('Lo cuor che 'n sul Tamigi ancor si cola'), have ludicrously inferred that it was put on the top of a column over London Bridge. Henry's bones were, by King Richard's direction, buried on 21 May at Hailes, his birthplace, next those of his stepmother, Sanchia, in the noble Cistercian abbey which his father had now erected there. The obsequies were carried out by the London Franciscans (*Lib. de Ant. Leg.* p. 134).

[Matthew Paris, Chronica Majora, ed. Luard; Annales Monastici, especially Tewkesbury, Dunstable, Waverley, Winchester, and Wykes; Rishanger; Robert of Gloucester, Continuation of Gervase and Shirley's Royal Letters (all these in Rolls Series); Rishanger, De Bellis, and Liber de Antiquis Legibus (Camden Soc.); Rymer's Fœdera, vol. i. (Record edit.); Hemingburgh and Trivet (Engl. Hist. Soc.); Chron. de Lanercost (Maitland Club). The majority of the texts of the English writers are collected by Pauli and Liebermann in vols. xxvii. and xxviii. of Pertz's Monumenta Germaniæ, Scriptores, including extracts from several minor writers not otherwise easily accessible; in the same way vol. xxvi. of the Monumenta Germaniæ contains the chief passages from the French writers, of which Guillaume de Nangis, also in Société de l'Histoire de France,

is important for the murder; in vol. xviii. of the same great collection are important references from Italian Annals, of which Oberti Stanconi, Ann. Januenses, pp. 268–77, Ann. Placentini Gibellini, pp. 550, 557, and Ann. Parmenses Minores, p. 682, are the most important with G. Villani in Muratori, Rerum Italicarum Scriptores, xiii. 261. Of modern books the most useful are Gebauer's Leben Herrn Richards erwählten römischen Kaysers, Leipzig, 1744, which, however, cannot always be depended upon. Blaauw's Barons' War, second edition, especially pp. 336–53; and Bémont's Simon de Montfort. Slight topographical indications can be obtained from Bussi's Istoria di Viterbo (Rome, 1742), and Miranda's Richard von Cornwallis und sein Verhältniss zur Krönungstadt Aachen (Bonn, 1880).]

T. F. T.

HENRY OF LANCASTER, EARL OF LANCASTER (1281?–1345), second son of Edmund, earl of Lancaster, called Crouchback [see LANCASTER, EDMUND, EARL OF], the second son of Henry III, was born about 1281, his mother being Edmund's second wife, Blanche of Artois, queen-dowager of Navarre. In the winter of 1292–3 he and his elder brother, Thomas, earl of Lancaster [see THOMAS, 1278–1322], were the constant companions of John of Brabant (afterwards duke), who was then residing in England. On the death of his father in 1296 he inherited the castles and lordships of Monmouth, Kidwelly, and Carwathlan, together with all that his father held on the Welsh side of the Severn. He served with Edward I in Flanders in 1297 and 1298, and was a captain in the third division of the army which invaded Scotland in the summer of 1298, being then a knight. At Falkirk he rode a horse given him by the king. On his return from the expedition he married Maud, daughter and heiress of Sir Patrick Chaworth. He was summoned to parliament as baron in February 1299, and in that year, in 1300, 1303, and 1305 served in Scotland. In the letter of the barons to Boniface VIII in 1301 he is described as Lord of Monmouth. At the coronation of Edward II on 25 Feb. 1328 he carried the rod with the dove. In 1315 he, in common with the other lords of the Welsh marches, joined the Earl of Hereford in putting down the rebellion of Llewelyn Bren, and in 1318 was ordered to bring his Welsh retainers to Newcastle to serve against the Scots. He was opposed to the Despensers, for the greediness of the younger threatened the lords marchers generally; but he does not seem to have had any violent feelings against the king, and was not involved in his brother's treason. In 1324 he was created Earl of Lancaster, Earl of Leicester, and steward of England, dignities which had been held by his brother. It is evident that he was indignant at his brother's fate, and was resolved to avenge it, and was not appeased by these honours. He assumed the arms of his brother instead of his own, as though, so the king's friends said, he denied that they were condemned by the late earl's attainder. Moreover, he built a cross for his brother's soul outside the town of Leicester. The Bishop of Hereford [see ADAM OF ORLTON] wrote to ask him to plead for him with the king, and he replied in a letter full of sympathy and encouragement. This became known to the king, who, in May 1324, was anxious to convict him of treason, and called on him to answer for these offences. He defended himself successfully, and the matter was dropped, for he was regarded as the foremost man in the kingdom. When the queen (Isabella) landed with an armed force in September 1326 he at once joined her, marched with her to Bristol, took part in declaring the king's son guardian of the kingdom, and on the next day (27 Oct.) sat in judgment on and condemned the elder Despenser. He was then sent into Wales to pursue the king, and took him and the younger Despenser [see under EDWARD II]. He assisted at the trial of Despenser at Hereford on 24 Nov., and, having been charged with the custody of the king, took him to Kenilworth, for he was appointed constable of the castle on 27 Nov. Other castles and honours, formerly held by Earl Thomas, were put in his charge before the end of the year. He was one of the commissioners sent to inform the king of his deposition. Edward remained in his keeping until 5 April 1327, and found him a humane gaoler.

Lancaster knighted the young king at his coronation, was his nominal guardian, and the chief member of the council of government. On 23 April he obtained a writ acknowledging that the king had received his homage for all the lands held by the late earl, and ordering the payment to him of certain back rents (*Fœdera*, ii. 704). In the Scottish war of this year Lancaster was sent with the Earl of Kent and other lords to Newcastle to strengthen the border. They were unable to check the ravages of Douglas, and were forced to remain inactive while he wasted the country almost to the walls of the town. Lancaster attended the parliament held at Leicester in November, and prevailed on the clergy in convocation to make a grant. In spite of the high place which he held in the council and as guardian of the king, he found himself without power, and was denied access to the king by the queen-dowager and Mortimer. The latter's conduct was bringing disgrace on the country,

and Lancaster was soon in active opposition. When the parliament was held at Salisbury in October 1328, he and some other lords met in arms at Winchester and refused to attend. He then retired to Waltham. At this crisis Robert Holland, a favourite with the queen-dowager and Mortimer, who had betrayed Earl Thomas, and had done much damage to Earl Henry's lands, fell into the hands of his enemies, and was beheaded by his captor. His head was sent to Lancaster.

Many lords approved of Lancaster's attempt to overthrow Mortimer, and chief among them were the king's uncles, the Earl of Kent and Thomas, earl of Norfolk, the marshal. A meeting of bishops and barons was held in St. Paul's on 19 Dec. At the time the king and Mortimer were ravaging the lands of Lancaster and his party, and were on the point of declaring war against them. A message was therefore sent to the king, praying him to desist. Lancaster remained at Waltham until 1 Jan. 1329, when he went up to London, held a parley with the discontented bishops and barons at St. Paul's, and met the marshal, who was lodging at Blackfriars, and was reconciled to him, for there had been enmity between them on account of Holland's death and other matters. The next day Lancaster formed a confederacy of magnates and of some of the chief citizens at St. Paul's, and a schedule of complaints and demands was drawn up. On the 4th, however, the royal army entered Leicester, which belonged to the earl, and laid waste the surrounding country. Lancaster and some of his party, including six hundred Londoners, marched to meet it, and advanced as far as Bedford. There he found, however, that the Earls of Kent and Norfolk had made their peace with Mortimer, and as his troops were disorderly he could not venture to meet the king's army. Archbishop Mepeham interceded for him, and on the 11th or 12th the king accepted his submission, inflicting on him a fine of 11,000*l.*, which was never paid. In the following December he was sent on an embassy to France in company with the Bishop of Norwich, and was there until after 5 Feb. 1330 (*ib.* pp. 775, 779). About this time a failure in his sight, which had been troublesome in 1329, ended in blindness, and probably on account of this infirmity he is described as already an old man (Geoffrey le Baker, pp. 43, 46). Nevertheless he attended the parliament held at Nottingham on 19 Oct.; he had brought Edward to see the necessity of ridding himself of the insolence of Mortimer; blind as he was he evidently took part in devising the means by which Mortimer was to be seized, and the next morning when he heard that his enemy was taken shouted for joy. Mortimer's overthrow was followed on 12 Dec. by the grant of a full pardon to Lancaster and his companions for their expedition to Bedford (*Fœdera*, ii. 802). The earl's blindness, which he bore with patience, forced him to retire from active life; he gave himself wholly to devotion, and in 1330 began to build a hospital near the castle at Leicester, in honour of the annunciation, for fifty infirm old men, a master, chaplains, and clerks. His foundation was completed on a grand scale by his son [see Henry, Duke of Lancaster]. He also gave an angel of the salutation to Walsingham, which was said to be of the value of four hundred marks. His name occurs in some public documents of a later date, for he still held the office of steward of England. But it is unlikely that he took any personal part in affairs (*ib.* 1083, 1084; Froissart, i. 347, 350, evidently confuses him with his son). He died on 22 Sept. 1345, and was buried on the north side of the high altar of the church of his hospital; the effigy on his tomb had no coronet. Lancaster was courteous and kind-hearted, of sound judgment, religious, and apparently of high principle.

By his wife Maud he had a son, Henry of Lancaster [q. v.], who succeeded him, and apparently two other sons who died in childhood, and six daughters: Maud, who married first William de Burgh, earl of Ulster [q. v.] (*d.* 1332), and secondly, Ralph de Ufford, heir of Robert, earl of Suffolk (*d.* 1345), whom she survived; Blanche, married Thomas, lord Wake of Lydell; Jane, married John, lord Mowbray; Isabel, prioress of Amesbury; Eleanor, married first John, lord Beaumont (*d.* 1342), and secondly, in 1346, Richard, earl of Arundel; Mary, married Henry, lord Percy.

[Ann. Paulini, i. 317, 319, 342–4, Gesta Edw. III, ii. 99, Vita Edw. II, ii. 280–4, Vita et Mors Edw. II, ii. 308, 313, 315, all in Chronicles Edw. I and Edw. II, Rolls Ser.; Expenses of John of Brabant, Camden Misc., ii. 1 sqq. (Camden Soc.); Scalacronica, pp. 152, 153 (Maitland Club); Geoffrey le Baker, pp. 21, 25, 27, 29, 42, 43, 46, ed. E. M. Thompson; Knighton, cols. 2546, 2552–4 (Twysden); Murimuth, pp. 46, 49, 58 (Engl. Hist. Soc.); Rymer's Fœdera, ii. 36, 704, 775, 779, 802, 1083, iii. 50, 65, 81, Record ed.; Stubbs's Const. Hist. ii. 358, 369–72; Dugdale's Baronage, p. 782; Doyle's Official Baronage, ii. 311; Leland's Itin. i. 17; Nichols's Leicestershire, i. ii. 329.] W. H.

HENRY of Lancaster, first Duke of Lancaster (1299?–1361), son of Henry, earl of Lancaster (1281?–1345) [q. v.], and his

Countess Maud, was born about 1299, and was called 'of Grosmont,' possibly from the place of his birth. He is said to have gone while a young man to fight as a crusader in Prussia, Rhodes, Cyprus, and Granada, to have been so renowned a captain that he was known as 'the father of soldiers,' and the noblest youths of France and Spain were anxious to learn war under his banner (CAPGRAVE, p. 161). He served with distinction in the Scottish war of 1333, especially at the taking of Dalkeith. In 1334 his father made over to him the towns and castles of Kidwelly and Carwathlan, with other lands in Wales, and on 3 Feb. following he was summoned to parliament as Henry de Lancaster. On 15 April 1336 Edward III, who was his cousin, appointed him to command an army against the Scots (*Fœdera*, ii. 936); the king went to Scotland in person, and Henry, who was then a knight-banneret, was with him at Perth, and on 12 Dec. was named as a commissioner for the defence of England against the French (*ib.* p. 953). On 16 March 1337 Edward created him Earl of Derby, one of the titles borne by his father, who was still living, as the heir of Earl Thomas, and assigned him a yearly pension from the customs. In November he was sent, along with Sir Walter Manny, to attack the garrison of the Count of Flanders in Cadsant. There he showed himself a gallant knight, for on landing he advanced so near to the fortifications that he was struck down. Sir Walter Manny saw his danger, and shouting, 'Lancaster for the Earl of Derby!' rescued him (FROISSART, i. 137, 140). When the king sailed from the Orwell for Antwerp in July 1338, Derby sailed from Great Yarmouth in command of the troops conveyed by the northern fleet, and joined the king's ships in the Channel (*Fœdera*, ii. 1050). He remained with the king, and in October 1339 commanded, under Edward in person, the third battalion of the army at La Flamengrie or Vironfosse [see under EDWARD III]. Edward was anxious to be again in England, and in December offered to leave Derby in Flanders as a hostage for his return, for he was deeply in debt. However, the earl accompanied him to England in the following February (*ib.* pp. 1100, 1115), and on 24 June took part in the sea-fight before Sluys, where he behaved with much gallantry (FROISSART, ii. 37). When Edward returned to England on 30 Nov. he left the earl in prison in Flanders as a security for his debts, and took measures to procure his release through the intervention of the Leopardi Company. Derby was detained for some months, and had moreover lent the king his jewels, which were pledged for 2,100*l.* (*Fœdera*, pp. 1143, 1159, 1176). On 10 Oct. 1341 he was appointed captain-general of the army against the Scots. The English had by this time lost nearly the whole country, and this expedition failed to check the progress of the reconquest; Stirling had already been lost, and Edinburgh Castle was soon lost also. A truce for six months was made in December. The earl spent Christmas at Roxburgh, and while there challenged Sir William Douglas, the knight of Liddesdale [q. v.], to tilt with him; Douglas was vanquished. He also persuaded Sir Alexander Ramsay of Dalhousie to accept his challenge to joust, twenty a side, and in all his exploits gained glory and honour. On 3 April 1342 he was appointed along with others to arrange a peace or a truce with the Scots. In October Derby accompanied the king on his fruitless expedition to Brittany. In the spring of 1343 he was sent on embassies to Clement VI at Avignon, and to Alfonso XI of Castile. While in Spain he and his fellow-ambassador, the Earl of Salisbury, did good service against the Moors at the siege of Algeciras (*Chronicle of Alfonso XI*). On his return to England, about 1 Nov., he went northwards to negotiate with the Scots. At the famous tournament held by the king at Windsor in February 1344 he performed the part of steward of England, his father's office, and joined in the oath for the establishment of a 'round table.' In March he received full powers to treat with the kings of Castile, Portugal, and Arragon, in conjunction with Richard, earl of Arundel (*Fœdera*, iii. 8).

On 10 May 1345 Derby was appointed lieutenant and captain of Aquitaine, an office which he held until 1 Feb. 1347, and on 22 Sept. succeeded his father as Earl of Lancaster and of Leicester, and steward of England. He sailed from Southampton for Gascony, probably in the middle of June, in company with Sir Walter Manny, and with a force of five hundred knights and esquires, and two thousand archers. His orders were to defend Guienne, and if he thought well, to attack Périgord and Saintogne. Having landed at Bayonne, and spent about a week there and fifteen days at Bordeaux, he set out towards Bergerac, where a number of lords on the French king's side were assembled under the count of Lille-Jourdain to keep the passage of the Dordogne. Pressing on, Lancaster gained the suburbs of the town after a sharp struggle, and the next day, 24 Aug., took the place by assault. He then captured many towns and fortresses in Upper Gascony, failing, however, to take Périgueux, in spite of a plot to deliver it to him. Auberoche

surrendered without a blow, and the earl advanced to Libourne, which then belonged to the English (M. Luce has pointed out Froissart's error on this matter). Hearing that the Count of Lille-Jourdain and all the Gascon lords of the French party were besieging the garrison which he had left in Auberoche, he hastened thither without waiting to be reinforced by the Earl of Pembroke, who was in garrison at Bergerac, and, though his force consisted only of about three hundred lances and six hundred archers, gave battle on 21 Oct. to the French lords, who are said to have had more than ten thousand men. He won a splendid victory, and treated his many prisoners with courtesy (FROISSART, iii. 62–73, 292–5). He afterwards seems to have divided his forces into two bodies, which acted at once on the Garonne and the Lot, occupying Aiguillon, and taking Meilhan, Monsegur, La Réole, which offered a stout resistance, Castelmoron, and Villefranche (*ib.* pp. 91, 92). The king ordered that thanksgivings for these successes should be made in England in May 1346. The coming of the Duke of Normandy with a large army into Gascony prevented the earl from making further advances, and he was fully occupied for some months in sending help to Aiguillon, to which the duke laid siege before the middle of April, in cutting off the besiegers' supplies, and in such other operations as the small force at his disposal rendered possible. When the duke knew that King Edward had landed in Normandy, he was anxious to make a truce with the earl, and as this was refused raised the siege of Aiguillon on 20 Aug. Lancaster being thus rid of the duke's army marched into Agenois, took Villeréal and other towns and castles, occupied Aiguillon, and strengthened the fortifications. Marching again to La Réole, he gathered the Gascon lords of the English party, and after dividing his forces into three bodies led one into Saintogne, and on 12 Sept. occupied Sauveterre, and a week later arrived at Châteauneuf on the Charente, and strengthened the bridge there, and then advanced to St. Jean d'Angély and took it. Having carried Lusignan by assault, he summoned Poitiers on 4 Oct., and his summons being rejected stormed the town; his men made a great slaughter, sparing neither women nor children, and took so much rich booty that it was said that they made no account of any raiment save cloth of gold or silver and plumes. After staying eight days at Poitiers he returned to St. Jean d'Angély (Letter from Lancaster, AVESBURY, pp. 372–6), where he entertained the ladies splendidly. The campaign ended, and he returned to London on 13 Jan. 1347. Towards the end of May he took over supplies and reinforcements to the king, who was besieging Calais, and remained there during the rest of the siege with a following of eight hundred men-at-arms and two thousand archers. When King Philip attempted to raise the siege in the last days of July, the earl held the bridge of Nieuley over the Hem, to the south-west of the town, so that the French could not get to the English camp except by the marshes on the Sangate side, and while occupied on this service he was one of the commissioners appointed to meet the two cardinals who tried to arrange a peace (*ib.* p. 393; FROISSART, iv. 51). His expenses during the siege amounted to about 109 marks a day, and in return the king granted him the town and castle of Bergerac, with the right of coinage, and gave him the prisoners of war then at St. Jean d'Angély.

Lancaster took a prominent part in the tournaments and other festivities which were held after the king's return to England, and was one of the original knights or founders of the order of the Garter [see under EDWARD III]. On 25 Sept. 1348 he received full powers to treat with the French at Calais about the truce, and on 11 Oct. to treat with the Count of Flanders, and was with the king at Calais in November, when the truce with France was prolonged, and a treaty was made with Louis de Mâle. He was engaged in further negotiations with France during the spring of 1349 (*Fœdera*, iii. 173, 175, 178, 182; GEOFFREY LE BAKER, pp. 98, 102). On 20 Aug. the king created him Earl of Lincoln, on the 21st appointed him captain and vicegerent of the duchy of Gascony, and on 20 Oct. captain and vicegerent of Poitou, giving him a monopoly of the sale of the salt of the bay and of Poitou generally (*Fœdera*, iii. 189, 190). In November he crossed over to Gascony with Lord Stafford and others to strengthen the province against the attacks of John of France. He took part in the sea-fight called 'Espagnols-sur-mer' in August 1350 [see under EDWARD III], and rescued the ship of the Prince of Wales, attacking the huge Spanish ship with which she was engaged. On 6 March 1351 he was made Duke of Lancaster, and his earldom of Lancaster was made palatine, the earliest instance of the creation of a palatine earldom under that name. The only ducal creation before this had been that of the Prince of Wales as Duke of Cornwall. Two days later Lancaster was appointed captain and admiral of the western fleet (COURTHOPE; *Fœdera*, iii. 215). About Easter he made a raid from Calais, attacked Boulogne, but was unable to take it because his scaling-ladders were too

short, spoiled Thérouanne, Etaples, and other places, burnt 120 vessels of different sizes, and, after riding as far as St. Omer, returned to Calais with much booty. He received powers as an ambassador to Flanders and Germany, and set out in command of a company of nobles to fight as a crusader in Prussia. While he and his band were in 'high Germany' they were detained, and he was forced to pay a ransom of three thousand gold pieces. On arriving in Prussia he found that a truce had been made between the Christians and the heathen. After tarrying awhile with the king of Poland (Casimir the Great) he returned to England after Easter 1352. He soon afterwards received a challenge from Otto, son of the Duke of Brunswick, a stipendiary of the French king. On his way to the crusade he had been informed at Cologne that Otto had engaged to waylay him and deliver him to King John. On his return to Cologne he complained of Otto's intended attack before the Marquis of Juliers and many lords and others. Otto thereupon sent him a letter, giving him the lie, and offering to meet him at Guisnes or elsewhere, as the French king should appoint. Having accepted the challenge, and procured a safe-conduct from the French king, he crossed to Calais a fortnight before Christmas 1352 with fifty men-at-arms and a strong company of foot, and as he was marching to Guisnes was met by the marshal of France, who conducted him to Hesdin. There he was met by James, son of Louis, duke of Bourbon, with a valiant company, who accompanied him to Paris, where he was enthusiastically received. King John treated him graciously, and he lodged with his kinsman, the king of Navarre. The day before the combat the French nobles made a fruitless endeavour to arrange the quarrel. The lists were appointed in the presence of the king and his lords, and each combatant swore on the sacrament to the truth of his cause. But after they mounted their chargers Otto trembled so violently that he could not put on his helmet or wield his spear, and at last by his friends' advice declared that he forebore the quarrel, and submitted himself to the king's orders. The duke protested that, though he would have been reconciled before he entered the lists, he now would not listen to any proposals. Otto, however, would not fight, and the king, after making him retract his words, held a feast at which he caused the two enemies to be reconciled. The duke refused the king's offer of rich treasures, and accepting but a thorn from the Saviour's crown of thorns, which he took back with him for his collegiate church at Leicester. He returned to England, and went to St. Albans, where the king was spending Christmas, and Edward received him with much rejoicing (Knighton, cols. 2603–5; Baker, pp. 121, 122, 287, 288).

On 6 Nov. 1353 Lancaster was appointed a commissioner to treat with France, and on 26 Jan. 1354 received full powers to form an alliance with Charles of Navarre (*Fœdera*, iii. 269, 271). On 28 Aug. he was sent as chief of an embassy, which included the Bishop of Norwich and the Earl of Arundel, to take part in a conference before Innocent VI at Avignon, where the pope endeavoured to mediate a peace between England and France. He rode with two hundred men-at-arms, and when he arrived at Avignon on Christmas eve was met by a procession of cardinals and bishops and about two thousand horsemen, and so great a crowd assembled to behold him that he could scarcely make his way across the bridge. He remained seven weeks at Avignon, and during all that time whoever came to his quarters was liberally regaled with meat and drink, for he had caused a hundred casks of wine to be placed in the cellar against his coming. With the pope and the cardinals he was very popular (Knighton, col. 2608; Baker, p. 124). At Avignon Charles of Navarre, who had been forced to flee thither by the French king, complained of his wrongs, swearing that he would willingly enter into an alliance with the king of England against the king of France. Lancaster promised that, if the king would, the alliance should be made, and that he would send troops and ships to Guernsey and Jersey to help him. When the conference was over Lancaster returned home, not without some danger from the French. With Edward's approval he fitted out a fleet of thirty-eight large ships at Rotherhithe, each with his streamer, and having on board the king's sons, Lionel of Antwerp and John of Gaunt, and three earls. On 10 July the king went on board, and the squadron sailed to Greenwich. Contrary winds delayed the expedition until news came that Charles of Navarre was reconciled to the French king [see under Edward III]. Lancaster crossed with the king to Calais, and in November took part in the raid which Edward made in Artois and Picardy. He returned with the king when they heard of the taking of Berwick, and served in the winter campaign in Scotland, apparently leading a detachment of troops in advance of the main body, and penetrating further into the country. During May 1356 he collected a force to help the king of Navarre, who was again at enmity with the French king. His army assembled at Southampton, and part of the troops sailed on 1 June; it was thought a marvellous

thing that the ships landed them at La Hogue and were back at Southampton again in five days. In company with John of Montfort, the youthful claimant of the duchy of Brittany, the duke sailed for La Hogue and landed on the 18th. At Cherbourg he was joined by Philip of Navarre and Geoffrey Harcourt; their united forces numbered nine hundred men-at-arms and fourteen hundred archers. They marched to Montebourg, and thence on the 22nd to Carentan, by St. Lo to Torigny on the 24th, by Evrecy to Lisieux on the 28th, and on the next day to Pont Audemer, for a special object of the campaign was to relieve that and other towns belonging to the king of Navarre which were besieged by the forces of the French king. On the approach of the duke's army the siege was raised, and he remained there until 2 July to strengthen the fortifications; he next marched to Bec Herlewin, and thence by Conches, where he fired the castle, to Breteuil, and so to Verneuil, where he did some damage. Hearing that the French king was coming against him with a large army he retreated to Laigle on the 8th, and when heralds came to him bringing him a challenge to battle from King John he replied that he was ready to fight if the king interrupted him. He continued his retreat by Argentan and Torigny, and returned to Montebourg on the 13th with large booty and two thousand horses, which he had taken from the French (Avesbury, pp. 462–8; Knighton, col. 2612). He next marched towards Brittany, having on 3 Aug. been appointed captain of the duchy by the king, with the concurrence of John of Montfort (*Fœdera*, iii. 335). He made an attempt to effect a junction with the Prince of Wales in the latter part of the month, but was out-manœuvred at Les Ponts de Cé, near Angers [see under Edward the Black Prince]. In Brittany he campaigned successfully on behalf of the widowed duchess and her son, and on 3 Oct. formed the siege of Rennes, which was defended by the Viscount de Rohan and other lords for Charles of Blois. The siege lasted until 3 July 1357, when the duke was reluctantly forced to abandon it in consequence of a truce. During 1358 and a large part of 1359 Lancaster was probably much in England, but he sent Sir Robert Knolles and other captains to uphold the cause of the king of Navarre in Normandy. On 5 April 1359 David II of Scotland [see Bruce, David] created him Earl of Moray.

About 1 Oct. Edward sent the duke to Calais to keep order among the rabble of adventurers who were gathered there to await the king's arrival and the beginning of a new campaign. In order to keep them employed the duke led them on a raid. He marched past St. Omer, remained four days at the abbey of St. Éloy, turned towards Peronne, marched leisurely along the valley of the Somme, his followers wasting the country; attacked the town of Bray, but failed to take it, and was at Toussaint when he heard of the king's arrival at Calais. He led his host to meet the king, accompanied him to Rheims, and while the army lay before that city on 29 Dec. led a party against Cernay, about eight leagues distant, took the town and burnt it, and after doing damage to other places in the district returned to the camp. When Edward determined after Easter 1360 to leave the neighbourhood of Paris and lead his army into the Loire country, he appointed Lancaster and two others to command the first division. At Chartres the duke persuaded him to listen favourably to the French proposals for peace, and took the leading part in arranging the treaty of Bretigni, which was concluded in his presence on 8 May. At the feast which followed he and the king's sons and other lords served the kings of England and France bareheaded. On 8 July he joined the Prince of Wales in conducting the French king to Calais; on 22 Aug. he was appointed Edward's commissioner in France, and on 24 Oct. was at Calais when the treaty was ratified. He died at Leicester of the pestilence on 13 May 1361. He was buried with much pomp on the south side of the high altar of his collegiate church at Leicester, in the presence of the king and many prelates and nobles, for his death was felt to be a national calamity. By his wife Isabel, daughter of Henry, lord Beaumont, he had two daughters: Maud (*d.* 1362), who married first Ralph, eldest son of Ralph, earl of Stafford, and secondly, in 1352, with the king's approval, during her father's absence in Poland, William, count of Holland, son of the Emperor Lewis of Bavaria; and Blanche, who married John of Gaunt [q. v.]

Henry of Lancaster was esteemed throughout Western Europe as a perfect knight; he was brave, courteous, charitable, just, and at once magnificent and personally temperate in his habits. He had a thorough knowledge of public affairs, was a wise counsellor, and was loved and trusted by Edward III beyond any other of his lords. Like his father, Earl Henry, he was religious, and during his last days is said to have been much given to prayer and good works, and to have written a book of devotions called 'Mercy Gramercy.' In this he set down first all the sins which he could remember to have committed, asking God's mercy on account of them, and then all the good things which he had received, adding a

thanksgiving for them. To the hospital founded by his father at Leicester he added a college with a dean and canons, called Newark (Collegium novi operis), or the collegiate church of St. Mary the Greater. He also gave ornaments to the value of four hundred marks to Walsingham. He resided in London at the Savoy, which he inherited, and there built a stately house at a cost of fifty-two thousand marks, gained during his campaign of 1345. A portrait of him from the Hastings brass at Elsing, Norfolk, is given in Doyle's 'Official Baronage,' ii. 312.

[Geoffrey le Baker, ed. Thompson; Knighton, ed. Twysden; Murimuth and Robert of Avesbury, ed. Thompson (Rolls Ser.); Capgrave, De Illustr. Henricis (Rolls Ser.); Walsingham, vol. i. (Rolls Ser.); Froissart, i–v. ed. Luce (Société de l'Histoire de France); Jehan le Bel, ed. Polain; Cronica del rey Don Alfonso el Onceno, cc. 297, 298, 340, in Cronicas y Memorias, vii. 544, 546, 624, ed. 1787; Rymer's Fœdera, II. ii. III. i., Record ed.; Nicolas's Hist. of the Navy, vol. ii.; Longman's Edward III; Dugdale's Monasticon, vi. 1397; Dugdale's Baronage, pp. 784–90; Doyle's Official Baronage, ii. 312; Nichols's Leicestershire, I. ii. 329–51, App. No. 18, pp. 109–112; Leland's Itin. i. 17.] W. H.

**HENRY FREDERICK**, PRINCE OF WALES (1594–1612), eldest son of James VI of Scotland (I of England), by his queen, Anne, second daughter of Frederick II and sister of Christian IV of Denmark, was born in the castle of Stirling, between two and three in the morning of 19 Feb. 1593–4. The birth of an heir to the throne caused special rejoicing throughout Scotland, and his baptism took place on 30 Aug. with much pomp and ceremony. He was created Duke of Rothesay, great steward and prince of Scotland, on 30 Aug. 1594. On 28 Jan. 1594–1595 'Margaret Mastertoun, maistres nureis to the Prince,' received her certificate of discharge (*Reg. P. C. Scotl.* v. 200), and shortly afterwards the prince was entrusted to the hereditary guardianship of the Earl of Mar, Arabella, countess-dowager of Mar, who had had the charge of the king himself, being specially entrusted with his keeping. The arrangement was displeasing to the queen, who, influenced it was supposed by the Chancellor Maitland, Lord Thirlstane, endeavoured to have the prince transferred to Edinburgh, under the charge of Scott of Buccleugh. This the king refused, and at last the queen agreed to change her residence from Edinburgh to Stirling, so as to be near the prince. On 24 July 1595 the king gave Mar a warrant, in which he stated: 'In case God call me at any time, see that neither for the Queen nor estates their pleasure you deliver him' (the prince) 'till he be eighteen years of age, and that he command you himself' (BIRCH, *Prince Henry*, p. 13). About July 1599 the prince was transferred from the care of the Countess of Mar—described as 'waste and extenuat by her former service' (*Reg. P. C. Scotl.* vi. 18)—and placed under the tutorship of Adam Newton; attendants of rank, the chief of whom was the Earl of Mar, were also assigned him. The same year the king printed his 'Basilicon Doron,' which he had composed for the special instruction of the prince. The early letters of the prince cannot be accepted as a strict test of his progress in education or of his mental ability, except in regard to penmanship, which is remarkably good. They bear internal evidence of having been inspired by his tutor; and the king himself expressed a desire to have a letter that may be 'wholly yours, as well matter as form, as well formed by your mind as drawn by your fingers' (BIRCH, *Prince Henry*, p. 36). Shortly before the death of Queen Elizabeth, Pope Clement VIII offered, on condition that James would transfer the education of the prince 'to his appointment,' to assist him with such sums of money as would secure his establishment on the English throne, but James declined the proposal. On the death of Elizabeth James wrote the prince, who now became Duke of Cornwall, a letter advising him not to let the news make him 'proud or insolent; for,' said he, 'a king's son and heir were ye before, and no more are ye now.'

When the king set out for England on 4 April 1603, he ordered the queen to follow him within about twenty days, and to leave the prince meanwhile at Stirling. The queen, anxious not to let slip possibly her last opportunity of getting the prince out of the hands of the house of Mar, proceeded, however, immediately to Stirling, so as to carry the prince with her to England. Those in charge, mindful of the king's former warrant to Mar, 'gave a flat denial' to her request (CALDERWOOD, *Hist. Church of Scotland*, vi. 230). This occasioned the queen such bitter disappointment that she fell into a fever, which caused a miscarriage. On learning what had happened James despatched Mar to bring the queen to England, but she refused to leave unless accompanied by the prince, whereupon the king sent the Duke of Lennox with a warrant to Mar to deliver up the prince to the duke, who again was to deliver him up to the council. The council, 'to pleasure the queen,' then gave him up to her to be brought into England, certain noblemen—of whom Mar was not one—being appointed to attend upon her on the journey.

On 1 June they set out for England, and on the last day of the month arrived at Windsor. At the celebration of the feast of St. George at Windsor, on 2 July, the prince was invested with the order of the Garter, on which occasion the English courtiers are said to have been specially impressed by his 'quick, witty answers, princely carriage, and reverend obeisance at the altar.' On account of the increase of the plague the prince was the same month removed from Windsor to Oatlands, Surrey, where 'he took house to himself.' He also occasionally resided at Hampton Court. During the visit of the Constable of Castile to England in 1604 a proposal was made, at the instance of the queen, for the marriage of the prince to the Infanta Anne, eldest daughter of Philip III, and at that time heiress to the Spanish throne; but the king of Spain demanded that he should be sent to Spain to be educated as a catholic, and the negotiations proved futile. They were renewed again in 1605, and also in 1607, but without any definite result. In August 1605 the prince matriculated at Magdalen College, Oxford (Wood, *Fasti*, i. 316).

In a letter of 31 Oct. 1606 De la Boderie, the French ambassador, writes of the prince: 'None of his pleasures savour the least of a child. He is a particular lover of horses and what belongs to them, but is not fond of hunting; and when he goes to it it is rather for the pleasure of galloping than that which the dogs give him. He plays willingly enough at tennis, and at another Scots diversion very like mall [golf, no doubt]; but this always with persons older than himself, as if he despised those of his own age. He studies two hours, and employs the rest of his time in tossing the pike, or leaping, or shooting with the bow, or throwing the bar, or vaulting, or some other exercise of that kind; and he is never idle' (quoted in Birch, pp. 75–6). The prince was clearly fonder of outdoor exercise than of study. The ambassador adds: 'He is already feared by those who have the management of affairs, and specially the Earl of Salisbury, who appears to be greatly apprehensive of the prince's ascendant; as the prince, on the other hand, shows little esteem for his lordship.' The prince had also the reputation of being very decorous in his behaviour, strict in his attendance on public worship, and punctilious in regard to the manners of all those in attendance on him or in his service. He ordered boxes at his several houses, 'causing all those who did swear in his hearing to pay money to the same, which were after duly given to the poor' (Cornwallis, *Account of Prince Henry*, 1751 edit. p. 22). He took a special interest both in naval and military affairs, endeavouring thoroughly to master the art of war in all its branches. On 10 June 1607 he was admitted a member of the London Merchant Taylors' Company. In 1608, when the prince's servant and friend Phineas Pett was accused of misdemeanors in connection with the navy, the prince stood by him during the inquiry, and on his being declared innocent expressed the opinion that his accusers 'worthily deserved hanging.' The prince was equally outspoken in regard to the treatment of his friend Sir Walter Raleigh, declaring, in reference to Raleigh's imprisonment, that no man but his father would keep such a bird in such a cage.

On 4 June 1610 Henry was created Earl of Chester and Prince of Wales, after which he held his court at St. James's, which was set apart for his residence. It soon became much more frequented than that of his father, who is said to have peevishly exclaimed, in reference to his son's popularity, 'Will he bury me alive?' In April 1611 an application was made to the king of England on behalf of the Prince of Piedmont, eldest son of the Duke of Savoy, for the hand of the Princess Elizabeth, on condition that a marriage were also arranged between the Prince of Wales and the eldest daughter of the duke; but the proposal was received coldly in England. Sir Walter Raleigh wrote in opposition to it. It was not desired by the prince himself, although he veiled his disinclination to it to avoid irritating his father. Latterly, on a choice being submitted to him between the Savoyard princess and the eldest daughter of the regent of France, he gave an undecided answer, hinting that he would prefer not to be bound to either. All the while he nourished a secret plan of accompanying his sister to Germany, where it was his intention to choose a wife for himself. Matters, however, were destined to go no further; for on 10 Oct. 1612 he was seized with a severe illness. During the autumn he had been afflicted with lassitude, and occasionally severe headaches, but apparently gave insufficient heed to these symptoms. Even after being seriously ill he played at tennis in chilly weather with insufficient clothing. Next day he was unable to rise from his bed, and after various fluctuations he succumbed on 6 Nov. (cf. for narrative of the illness Cornwallis, *Account*, extracts from which are printed in Peck, *Desiderata*; and also T. T. Mayerne, *Opera Medica*, 1701; a translation of Mayerne's account is included in Dr. Norman Moore's pamphlet). He was buried in Westminster Abbey 8 Nov. The course of the illness puzzled the physicians, who, beyond declaring

it to be fever, were unable further to determine its nature. A general opinion prevailed that he had been poisoned, some even hinting that he owed his death to the king's jealousy of his popularity, while other rumours pointed to Somerset, who was said to have been a rival with the prince for the affections of the Lady Essex. These surmises have been set at rest by the pamphlet of Dr. Norman Moore 'On the Illness and Death of Henry, Prince of Wales,' in which it is conclusively demonstrated that the case was one of typhoid fever.

The sudden illness and death of such a promising and popular heir to the throne caused a profound sensation throughout the kingdom, and occasioned an extraordinary number of elegies and lamentations, in prose and verse (see list in NICHOLS, *Progresses of James I*, pp. 504–12). 'The lamentation made for him was so general,' wrote Sir Simonds D'Ewes, 'as men, women, and children partook of it.' Bacon described him as slow of speech, pertinent in his questions, patient in listening, and of strong understanding. Bishop Goodman, in his 'Diary' (ed. Brewer, i. 250–251), states that 'he did sometimes pry into the king's actions, and a little dislike them, . . . and truly I think he was a little self-willed.' Henry was at least honest and courageous. Probably his abilities were considerably greater than those of his brother Charles; but he was equally headstrong, and there is every reason to suppose that he possessed quite as strict and stern notions in regard to kingly prerogatives.

Portraits by Mierevelt, C. Jonson, G. Honthorst, Paul Van Somer, and G. Jamesone were exhibited at the Stuart Exhibition in 1889, together with two miniatures and a painting of the prince and Anne of Denmark by an unknown artist (*Catalogue*, pp. 24, 26–8, 32, 70). A portrait by Mytens is engraved in Doyle's 'Official Baronage,' and a second portrait by Van Somer is in the National Gallery; at Windsor there is a miniature by Isaac Oliver, which has been engraved by Houbraken. There are other numerous engraved portraits (BROMLEY, *Catalogue of Engraved Portraits*, p. 47).

[An Account of the Baptism, Life, Death, and Funeral of the most incomparable Prince Henry Frederick, Prince of Wales, by Sir Charles Cornwallis, knt., his Highness's treasurer, reprinted 1751; Birch's Life of Henry, Prince of Wales, 1760; Doyle's Official Baronage, s.v. 'Cornwall;' Sir James Melville's Memoir (Bannatyne Club); D'Ewes's Journal, ed. Halliwell; Moyse's Memoirs (Bannatyne Club); Coke's Detection; Goodman's Court of James I, ed. Brewer; Osborne's Secret Hist. of James I; Nichols's Progresses of James I; Calderwood's Hist. Church of Scotland; Register Privy Council of Scotland; Calendars of State Papers during reign of James I; Dr. Norman Moore's Illness and Death of Henry, Prince of Wales, in 1612, an historical case of Typhoid Fever, 1882; Burton's Hist. of Scotland; Gardiner's Hist. of England; Jesse's Memoirs of the Court of England during the Time of the Stuarts.] T. F. H.

HENRY, DUKE OF GLOUCESTER (1639–1660), styled sometimes HENRY OF OATLANDS, third son of Charles I of England and Henrietta Maria, was born at Oatlands, Surrey, on 8 July 1639. In his infancy he was committed to the care of the Countess of Dorset, but on the surrender of the city of Oxford in April 1646, he was placed, along with his brother the Duke of York and his sister the Princess Elizabeth, under the charge of the Earl of Northumberland (CLARENDON, *Hist. of the Rebellion*, ed. 1819, iii. 94). They were sent to the earl's house at Sion, and when the king their father came to Hampton Court, had liberty to attend on him when he pleased (*ib.* p. 109). The Duke of Gloucester, the youngest of the three, was specially enjoined by the king 'never to be persuaded or threatened out of the religion' (*ib.*), but it is uncertain whether Charles feared that the puritans or the catholics would seek to convert him. The king also entreated him 'never to accept or suffer himself to be made king whilst either of his brothers lived, in what part soever of the world they might be' (*ib.* p. 110). After the escape of the Duke of York, while under the care of the Earl of Northumberland, Gloucester and the Princess Elizabeth were transferred to the keeping of the Countess of Leicester. The two had a last interview with their father on the day preceding his execution (29 Jan. 1648–9) [see ELIZABETH, 1635–1650] (HERBERT, *Two last Years of Charles I*). In June following they were sent to Penshurst, a seat of the Earl of Leicester in Kent, orders being given by parliament 'that they should be treated without any addition of titles, and that they should sit at their meat as the children of the family did.' Lovel, a gentleman of royalist sympathies, was also permitted to be Gloucester's tutor, and accompanied him also to Carisbrooke Castle in the Isle of Wight, whither the children were sent in August 1650. Elizabeth died at Carisbrooke (8 Sept. 1650); Gloucester remained there till the close of 1652, when Cromwell gave him permission to go abroad, 500*l.* being granted to defray the expenses of the journey. He set sail for Holland, and afterwards, at the special request of his mother, joined her in Paris. When his elder brother, Charles, left Paris for Germany in 1653, he proposed to take Gloucester with him, but

the queen urged the advantages of Paris in perfecting his education after his long confinement in England, and Charles allowed him to remain, on the express condition that no attempt were made to pervert him from his religion. About the beginning of 1654 Gloucester was, however, committed by the queen to the care of her almoner, the Abbé Montague, at his abbey near Pontoise, and during the temporary absence of his tutor Lovel he was pressed by the abbé to consider the claims of the catholic religion. Gloucester deeply resented this 'mean and disingenuous action.' Soon afterwards the queen avowed her responsibility, and joined her entreaties to those of Montague. Gloucester was obdurate, and it was resolved to send him to a jesuits' college. The news reached Charles, who despatched the Marquis of Ormonde to Paris to bring Gloucester to him at Cologne. Ormonde enabled him to recover his liberty and to return to Paris. Gloucester then assured the queen that he intended at all hazards to adhere to the protestant religion, and she bade him 'see her face no more' (CARTE, *Life of Ormonde*, iii. 641). His horses were turned out of her stables, the sheets were torn from his bed, food was denied him, and he was thus driven from the palace. He went to Lord Hatton's house for two months, until Ormonde could borrow sufficient money to carry them to Cologne (*ib.* p. 644). Gloucester remained at Cologne with Charles till 1656, when they removed to Bruges. There Gloucester was admitted a member of the confraternity of Archers of St. George. In December he became colonel of 'the Old' English regiment of foot in the Spanish army, and volunteered for active service with the Spaniards in 1657 in the Low Countries. He fought side by side with his brother the Duke of York at Dunkirk (17 June 1658), where both displayed great gallantry. When Dunkirk fell, he escaped capture by collecting some of the scattered troops, and made a desperate charge through the enemy (CLARENDON, *Hist. of the Rebellion*, ed. 1819, iii. 856). Gloucester had his sword struck out of his hand, and while Villeneuve, master of horse to the Prince de Ligne, alighted from his horse and recovered it, Gloucester covered him with his pistol. Charles knighted him, 26 Feb. 1657–8; made him a privy councillor, 27 Oct. 1658, and created him Earl of Cambridge and Duke of Gloucester, 13 May 1659, although he had borne the latter title from his birth. At the Restoration he accompanied Charles to England, 5,000*l.* being voted him by parliament to defray his expenses. On 13 June 1660 he was made high steward of Gloucester, and on 3 July ranger of Hyde Park. Shortly afterwards he was seized with small-pox, then prevalent in London, and died on 13 Sept. 1660. On the 21st his body 'was brought down to Somerset House to go by water to Westminster' (PEPYS, *Diary*). He was buried in the same vault as Mary Queen of Scots and Arabella Stuart. Clarendon wrote enthusiastically of him as the finest youth, 'of the most manly understanding that I have ever known' (*Clarendon State Papers*, vol. ii.), and as 'a prince of extraordinary hopes, both from the comeliness and gracefulness of his person and the vivacity and vigour of his wit and understanding' (CLARENDON, *Hist.* iii. 703). Burnet says 'he was of a temper different from that of his two brothers. He was active and loved business, was apt to have particular friendships, and had an insinuating temper, which was generally very acceptable' (*Own Time*, ed. 1826, p. 116). Reresby mentions that he was 'far from insensible to female charms.' 'His death,' according to Burnet, 'was much lamented by all, but more particularly by the king, who was never in his whole life seen so much troubled as he was on that occasion.' Sir John Denham grandiloquently apostrophises him as 'more than human Gloucester.'

A portrait (in armour), by William Dobson, belongs to the Hon. A. Holland Hibbert; another, by Lely, to the Duke of Northumberland. A portrait of him as a boy of from ten to twelve, with his tutor M. Lovel, is in possession of the widow of the late Archdeacon Groome at the Manor House, Pakenham, Bury St. Edmunds. A sketch of the same portrait is in the Bodleian. A painting by Luttichuys was engraved by C. v. Dalen, jun., and by Faithorne. Other engravings are attributed to Gaywood, Cooper, Hollar, Vaughan, Vertue, and White.

[Clarendon's Hist. of the Rebellion; Cal. Clarendon State Papers; Carte's Life of Ormonde; Burnet's Own Time; Diaries of Pepys and Evelyn; Reresby's Memoirs, ed. Cartwright; Memoirs of James II; Jesse's Memoirs of the Court of England during the Time of the Stuarts.] T. F. H.

**HENRY FREDERICK**, DUKE OF CUMBERLAND AND STRATHEARN (1745–1790), born 27 Oct. 1745, was fourth son of Frederick, prince of Wales, by Augusta, daughter of Frederick II, duke of Saxe-Gotha, and therefore grandson of George II and brother of George III. He was educated by his mother, who allowed him to mix with no sort of society save that of dependents, and when released from her control he became notorious for excesses. In 1765, on the death of his uncle, the well-known Duke of Cumberland, George III made Prince Henry ranger of

Windsor Great Park; and when, in 1766, he attained his majority, he was created Duke of Cumberland and Strathearn and Earl of Dublin. In the year following he was nominated a privy councillor and K.G.

His life was always irregular. In 1770 his brothers had to assist him in finding 10,000*l.*, which Richard Grosvenor, first earl Grosvenor [q. v.], recovered against him for having criminal conversation with the Countess Grosvenor. In 1771 he completely alienated the king by marrying Anne, daughter of Lord Irnham (afterwards Earl of Carhampton) and widow of Andrew Horton of Catton in Derbyshire, clandestinely at the bride's house in Mayfair. Mrs. Horton was the sister of Lieutenant-colonel Luttrell, the opponent of Wilkes, and the notoriety of the affair induced Junius, if the letter signed 'Cumbriensis' be his, to congratulate the parties concerned in no very delicate terms. It is not absolutely certain that this marriage was the first he had contracted, as a lady named Olive Wilmot was alleged to be his wife, and a claim to the dignity of a princess was advanced in 1868 by an Olive Wilmot, a supposed descendant of the marriage, but the suit was not proceeded with. The Duke of Cumberland's marriage, combined with the sudden acknowledgment in 1772 by his brother, the Duke of Gloucester, that he had been married to the Dowager Countess of Waldegrave since 1766, led the king to plan the Royal Marriage Act, which was carried in 1772.

Cumberland, henceforth avoided by the king's friends, had to fall back upon the society of his wife's relations. His mother, when dying, wished to reconcile the brothers, but George III would not give way, and the duke, according to Walpole, was not allowed to see her. However, the duke's influence over the young Prince of Wales (afterwards George IV) was so marked that the king tried to become more intimate; but in 1781 he complained to the Duke of Gloucester that when he went hunting with the duke and the young prince, neither of them would speak to him. Cumberland died, without issue, 18 Sept. 1790, at Cumberland House, Pall Mall. His body lay in state and was buried in the royal vault in Henry VII's Chapel at Westminster. His widow lived until 1803, and was allowed by the king to keep Cumberland Lodge in Windsor Park until her death. Portraits of the duke and duchess by Gainsborough are in the dining-room at Buckingham Palace.

Although coarse and brutal in his everyday life, the Duke of Cumberland was not without taste. He was fond of music, and a patron of Mrs. Billington; after his death, both his collection of musical instruments and library were sold by auction.

[Last Journals of Horace Walpole, i. 16, 29, &c.; Walpole's Letters, v. 347; Foster's Peerage, 1882, vol. xcix.; Wraxall's Memoirs, iv. 321; Jesse's Memoirs of the Life and Reign of George III, passim; Papendick's Court and Private Life in the Time of Queen Charlotte, &c., ed. 1887, ii. 239, &c.; Letters of Junius, ed. Wade, ii. 387; Lecky's Hist. of Engl. in the Eighteenth Cent.; Macaulay's Essays, ed. 1880, p. 772; Jameson's Private Picture Galleries, p. 70; London Gazette, 1790, pp. 573, 593, 597; Era, 12 July 1868, p. 6.] W. A. J. A.

**HENRY BENEDICT MARIA CLEMENT**, Cardinal York, styled by the Jacobites Henry IX (1725–1807), second son of the Chevalier de St. George, styled by his adherents James III [q. v.], and of the Princess Clementina, a daughter of Prince James Sobieski, was born at Rome about eleven o'clock of 5 March 1725 (*Lockhart Papers*, ii. 148). At an early age he took orders in the Roman church, but was known to the Jacobites as Duke of York. He is referred to by Gray the poet in 1740 (*Works*, ii. 89) as 'having more spirit than his elder brother,' Charles Edward [q. v.], who himself said of him: 'I know him to be a little lively, not much loving to be contradicted.' He went to Dunkirk in 1745 to join the troops assembling in his brother's support. 'A Genuine intercepted Letter from Father Patrick Graham, Almoner and Confessor to the Pretender's son in Scotland, to Father Benedict Yorke, Titular Bishop of St. David's at Bath,' was published by authority in the same year, and shows that Henry Benedict came to England to take part in the rebellion (cf. *Notes and Queries*, 1st ser. xi. 477). Soon returning to Italy, he was made bishop of Ostia, Velletro, and Frascati, vice-chancellor of the Roman church, archpriest of the Basilica of the Vatican, and prefect of the Fabric of St. Peter's. On 3 July 1747 he was created cardinal by Benedict XIV, an event which had a prejudicial effect on the support accorded to the Jacobite cause in England and Scotland. Horace Mann relates that the Cardinal York, or of York (as he was called from his titular dukedom), 'pretends to wear ermine on his cappa as a sign of royalty, and consequently to take place of Cardinal Ruffo and all the other cardinals, by whom he insists on being visited' (Doran, *Mann and Manners*, i. 263). On 19 Nov. 1759 he was made archbishop of Corinth by Clement XIII, and on 13 July 1761 was transferred to the bishopric of Tusculum. From this time his favourite residence was the Villa Muti at

Frascati. When the Countess of Albany in 1777 separated from his brother, Charles Edward, and took refuge in a convent in Rome, she was kindly treated by the cardinal, who received her into his house, and allowed her lover, Alfieri, to have access to her. On his father's death on 1 Jan. 1766, he had a medal struck with the inscription, 'Henricus M[agnus] D[ecanus] Ep. Tvsc. Card. Dux. Ebor. s. r. e. v. Canc.' On the death of his brother—who had never been recognised as king of England by the papal authorities—on 31 Jan. 1788, the cardinal caused a medal to be struck with the inscription, 'Henricus Nonus Magnæ Britanniæ Rex' on the one side, and on the reverse 'Non voluntate hominum sed Dei Gratia.' Another medal, also dated 1788, bears on the obverse: 'Hen. IX. Mag. Brit. Fr. et Hib. Rex. Fid. Def. Card. Ep. Tusc.;' and on the reverse 'non desideriis hominum sed voluntate Dei, An. MDCCLXXXVIII.'

On the outbreak of the French revolution the resources of the cardinal were greatly narrowed by the loss of two rich livings—the abbeys of St. Auchin and St. Amand—which the king of France had granted him, and also of the pension which had been conferred on him by the court of Spain. But he willingly sacrificed the remains of his fortune to enable Pope Pius VI to meet the tribute demanded by Napoleon, parting with the greater part of the family jewels, including a ruby valued at 50,000*l.* Crippled in fortune, he continued to reside at Frascati. In 1799 his residence was sacked by the French, all his property seized, and he narrowly escaped with his life. Old and infirm, he fled to Padua, and thence to Venice, supporting himself by the proceeds of his silver plate until reduced to the verge of destitution. In these circumstances the Cardinal Borgia induced Sir John Hippisley to lay his case privately before the English government, and George III at once sent him 2,000*l.*, to be renewed within six months 'should he continue disposed to accept it.' The gift was gratefully acknowledged by the cardinal. Subsequently he returned to Frascati, where he died, 13 July 1807. By his death the line of James II came to an end. To the Prince of Wales, afterwards George IV, the cardinal bequeathed the crown jewels which James II had carried with him to France in 1688. The correspondence of the exiled Stuart family, formerly in the possession of Cardinal York, was purchased by George IV for the Royal Library, Windsor. In 1819 the prince regent commissioned Canova to design the well-known monument for the chapel of the Virgin at St. Peter's, Rome, with half-length portraits in mezzo-relievo of the cardinal and of the cardinal's father and brother. Though deficient in force of character, the cardinal appears to have possessed more tact and prudence than either his father or brother. His disposition was genial and amiable, and, if not highly cultured, his tastes were elevated. He formed a splendid collection of art treasures and a valuable library.

A whole-length life-size portrait of the cardinal as a boy belongs to the Earl of Orford. Several miniatures of many members of his family, including one of himself, belong to the Earl of Galloway. Other portraits belong to the Duke of Hamilton and to Lord Braye. A fifth is at Blair's College, Aberdeen (*Cat. Stuart Exhibition*, 1889, pp. 58, 60, 62). Gavin Hamilton (1730–1797) [q. v.] painted a portrait which belonged to Mr. Drummond of Edinburgh (*Notes and Queries*, 4th ser. iii. 418). In the National Gallery there are three portraits respectively by N. Largillière, Pompeo Batoni, and Carriera Rosalba.

[Life appended to Orazione per la Morte di Enrico Cardinale Duca de York, da D. Marco Mastrofini, Rome, 1807; Collection of Miscellaneous Papers on the Cardinal York, bound in one vol. in the British Museum; Letters from the Cardinal Borgia and the Cardinal York, 1799–1800; Doran's Mann and Manners at the Court of Florence; Horace Walpole's Letters; Jesse's The Pretenders and their Adherents; Oliphant's Jacobite Lairds of Gask.] T. F. H.

**HENRY**, Saint (*fl.* 1150), an Englishman by birth, was bishop of Upsala in the reign of Saint Eric (IX), king of Sweden (1150?–1160). The statements of some Swedish historians, that he went to Sweden in the train of his fellow-countryman, Nicholas Breakspear, whom Pope Eugene III sent as legate to Scandinavia in 1148, and that he was consecrated by Nicolas in 1148 or 1152, seem to be mere conjectures; his earliest biographer simply says that he and the king were the two great lights who lighted their people in the way of true religion, righteousness, and peace; that he assisted Eric in his reforms, both secular and ecclesiastical; that he accompanied him in an expedition against the heathen Finns, which resulted in their total defeat and subjection, in the baptism of many converts, and the foundation of churches in Finland; that when the king returned home in triumph the bishop remained to water the seed which he had thus sown, till his zeal in enforcing the church's penitential discipline won him the crown of martyrdom at the hands of a man whom he had laid under ecclesiastical censure for homicide. Eric's conquest of Finland is placed by different

authorities at dates r ing from 1150 to 1157; the date of Henry's martyrdom, therefore, remains in a like uncertainty. The name of his slayer, Lalli, seems to be preserved in a Finnish proverb (*Scriptt. Rer. Svecic.* vol. ii. pt. i. p. 332). No authority is known for the statement of Vastovius that St. Henry was canonised by Adrian IV in 1158; but he was undoubtedly recognised in the fourteenth century, if not earlier, as the apostle of Finland, and one of the patron saints of Sweden. Two festivals were kept in his honour, that of his martyrdom on 19 Jan., and that of his translation on 18 June; the latter commemorated the removal of his relics from their original burial-place at Nousis, near Abo, to the cathedral church of Abo itself, built after the foundation of a bishopric in that town, A.D. 1300, and dedicated to St. Henry. The relics, enclosed in an iron chest which had replaced the silver shrine made for them by the first bishop of Abo, were still there in the middle of the seventeenth century.

[Our earliest extant authority is the Vita et Miracula S. Henrici, which cannot have been written till near the middle of the thirteenth century; it is printed in Vastovius's Vitis Aquilonia and in the Acta Sanctorum, 19 Jan. ii. 613–14, and also, from another manuscript, in Benzelius's Monumentorum veterum Ecclesiæ Sveogothicæ Prolegomena, and in Scriptores Rerum Svecicarum, ed. Fant, &c., vol. ii. pt. i. The last-mentioned editors have collected some traditions relating to the saint; other accounts of him are summarised and sifted in H. G. Porthan's notes to P. Juusten's Chronicon Episcoporum Finlandensium.] K. N.

**HENRY** OF ABENDON (*d.* 1437), warden of Merton College, Oxford, was presumably a native of Abingdon, Berkshire. He was elected fellow of Merton College in 1390, and was ordained deacon 22 Feb. 1398 by Robert de Braybroke, bishop of London. He was presented to the living of Weston Zoyland, Somerset, in 1403. He became a doctor of divinity, and in 1414 was one of the delegates from the university to the council of Constance, where he defended the claim of Oxford to priority over Salamanca and of England over Spain, in the latter case with success. In 1421 he was elected warden of Merton College. During his wardenship the chapel was completed in 1425 by the addition of the tower and transepts; a new peal of five bells was also provided, partly at his expense, and his name was put on the tenor or great bell; the peal was recast in 1656 (ANTHONY À WOOD, 'Life,' p. xxvii, in Bliss's edition of the *Athenæ*). In December 1432 he received permission to go to the council of Basle as one of the representatives of the clergy (*Fœdera*, x. 532, orig. ed.) He was a prebendary of Wells, and in 1436 received the vicarage of West Monkton, Somerset. He died towards the end of 1437. Tanner cites Wood as his authority for ascribing to him 'Quæstiones in primum librum Sententiarum;' a 'Replicatio primi libri Sententiarum contra magistrum Henricum de Abyndon de Collegio Merton' is extant (*C. C. C. Oxford MS.* 116). Abendon was the donor of Merton College MS. 154, which contains the commentary of Hugh de St. Caro on Ecclesiasticus and a treatise on confession and absolution; he directed it to be chained in the library for the use of the scholars.

[Tanner, Bibl. Brit.-Hib. p. 394; Weaver's Somerset Incumbents; Brodrick's Memorials of Merton College (Oxf. Hist. Soc.); Coxe's Cat. MSS. Coll. Aulisque Oxon. i. 64.] C. L. K.

**HENRY** OF BLOIS (*d.* 1171), bishop of Winchester, fourth son of Stephen, count of Blois, and Adela, daughter of William the Conqueror, and brother of Theobald, count of Blois and Champagne, and of King Stephen, was brought up from childhood in the monastery of Clugny, and was in 1126 invited to England by his uncle, Henry I, who procured for him the abbacy of Glastonbury. In October 1129, when he could not have been more than twenty-eight, he was elected to the see of Winchester, and was consecrated at Canterbury on 17 Nov. From both the pope and the king he received permission to hold his abbey along with his bishopric, and he continued to do so until his death. During his forty-five years' administration at Glastonbury he showed himself an active and exemplary ruler; he maintained discipline, and increased the prosperity of the abbey, recovering for it several estates which had fallen into other hands. He built there a palace called the Castle, a gateway, the cloister, the refectory, and the rest of the domestic buildings, besides the bell-tower of the church, which seems in other respects to have almost been completed by his two predecessors. At Winchester and in other places in his diocese he also built much and splendidly. Sufficiently learned, noble, rich, liberal, and magnificent, he soon became the most powerful of the English bishops. Like his uncle, King Henry, he was fond of zoology, and formed a collection of beasts and birds, some of them of curious kinds. His temper was calm and his will resolute; he was eloquent and courageous. Throughout his life his policy was determined by his desire to promote what he held to be the interest of the church; he was thoroughly imbued with the Clugniac spirit, and used the vast

power which he acquired to uphold and magnify the position of the clergy. He was ambitious for himself, and did not hesitate to employ worldly means in the pursuit of his aims; like other prelates of his time, he was, it was said, half monk and half knight (*De Contemptu Mundi*, p. 315). Yet he was highly esteemed by such men as Peter the Venerable and Archbishop Becket: his life was pure, and John of Salisbury speaks warmly of his universal liberality towards the church (*Ep.* ii. 164).

On the death of Henry I, Henry of Blois made strenuous but fruitless efforts to persuade William of Pont l'Arche, the treasurer at Winchester, to give him up the castle, in order that he might secure the royal treasure for Stephen. Stephen, whose success depended largely on his brother's influence, went at once to Winchester after his election in London. Henry met him at the head of the principal citizens, and received him as king. When William of Corbeuil, archbishop of Canterbury, hesitated to perform the coronation rite, he offered himself as surety that his brother would preserve the liberty of the church, and so procured him the crown. He joined Stephen at the siege of Exeter, and persuaded him to reject the terms offered by the besieged, for he saw by their wasted faces that they would soon be forced to surrender at discretion [see under BALDWIN DE REDVERS]. On the death of Archbishop William in 1136 he hoped to succeed to the see of Canterbury, and is said to have actually been elected (ORDERIC, p. 908). In Advent he left England to obtain the papal sanction to his translation, sent messengers to Innocent II, and spent the rest of the winter in northern France. Innocent refused his consent, and Theobald was elected in December 1138. Henry was deeply mortified: it is said that the pope's refusal was due to the influence of Stephen and his queen, and that Henry's later desertion of his brother's cause was due to his anger at their interference. It is probable that Stephen was unwilling to see him acquire greater power, but his change of sides was decided by other causes. The pope thought highly of him, and on 1 March 1139 appointed him legate in England. This appointment, which he did not at once make known, was greatly to the prejudice of the see of Canterbury, for it gave him higher authority than the metropolitan. One of his early acts as legate was to send back to their old house the body of canons which the convent of Christchurch had planted at Dover. He had for some time been engaged in building. In 1138 he pulled down the palace of the Conqueror, which stood near his church, and with the materials built the strong castle known as Wolvesey House, and further built the castles of Farnham, Merdon, Waltham, Dunton, and Taunton. He also began the hospital of St. Cross outside Winchester.

The imprisonment of the bishops of Salisbury and Ely excited his strong disapproval. If they had done wrong, they should, he said, have been judged according to the canons, nor should their possessions have been seized without the sentence of an ecclesiastical council. In company with the archbishop he implored Stephen not to make a breach between the crown and the church. As legate, he called a council of the church to meet at Winchester on 29 Aug., and commanded the attendance of the king. He was looked upon as the 'lord of England' (GERVASE, i. 100). After the council had heard his commission as legate read, he charged Stephen, who appeared by proctors, with treachery and sacrilege, and bade the archbishop and bishops deliberate on the matter, adding that neither his relationship to the king nor the risk of losing lands or life should hinder him from carrying out their sentence. Stephen was compelled to appear in person and receive the rebuke of the church. The council was dissolved on 1 Sept. Immediately afterwards the legate with a large body of knights joined his brother, who was besieging the empress in Arundel Castle. It was said that he had already made terms with the Earl of Gloucester, the chief supporter of the empress, but this was probably untrue (*Gesta Stephani*, p. 56). He advised the king to let the empress join the earl at Bristol, so that he might act against both at the same time; his advice is said (without proof) to have been treacherous. Stephen agreed, and the legate and the Count of Meulan were sent to conduct Matilda in safety. At Christmas Henry went to the court held at Salisbury, and there urged the appointment of Henry, son of his eldest brother, William de Sully, to the vacant see of Salisbury. His recommendation was rejected, and he left the court in anger (ORDERIC, p. 920). Soon after Whitsuntide 1140 he arranged negotiations for peace, and went to Bath, where, in company with the archbishop and the queen, he appeared for Stephen. Peace was not made, and the declaration of the representatives of the empress that she would submit her cause to the judgment of the church, while the king was unwilling to adopt such a course, probably increased the legate's alienation from his brother. In September he crossed to France, and conferred with Louis VII, with his brother, Count Theobald, and with

many members of the monastic orders on English affairs, returning about the end of November with further proposals for peace, which were in favour of the empress rather than of the king. When Stephen rejected them, he probably decided to join the empress's party as soon as a good opportunity for doing so arose.

After the battle of Lincoln the empress sent proposals to him on 16 Feb. 1141, and on Sunday 1 March he went, according to agreement, to confer with her outside Winchester. She offered that, if he would receive her and be faithful to her, she would be guided by him in all the greater affairs of the realm, and especially in all preferments to bishoprics and abbacies, and the chief men of her party guaranteed that she should keep this engagement. On this he swore fealty to her, and the next day led her to the cathedral, where she was received by him and other bishops with much solemnity, as though she was about to receive coronation, the legate pronouncing a blessing on her friends and excommunication against her enemies. On 7 April he held a council at Winchester, to which came Archbishop Theobald, all the bishops, and many abbots. With them he had private conferences, and the next day made a speech in which he advocated the claim of the empress, declared that Stephen had broken his promise to honour the church, dwelt on his bad administration and his violence towards the bishops, and announced that on the previous day the clergy, to whom it chiefly pertained to elect and consecrate their prince, had chosen Matilda as lady of England and Normandy. All present either applauded or at least refrained from dissent, and he then adjourned the session until the arrival of the citizens of London on the following day. When they came they prayed that Stephen might be released from captivity. Henry repeated his oration of the day before, and added that it did not become them to favour Stephen's party. A clerk then handed him a petition from the queen on her husband's behalf. He declared it unfit to be read, but the clerk read it, and he answered him as he had answered the Londoners. Matilda soon offended him by refusing to allow his nephew, Eustace, the continental possessions of Stephen. He left her court; had an informal interview with his sister-in-law, the queen, at Guildford; yielded to her entreaties, and, without consulting the other bishops, absolved Stephen's party from excommunication, and declared that he would do his best to procure the king's liberation. The Earl of Gloucester went to Winchester, and vainly tried to arrange the quarrel, and the empress marched at once to Winchester. As she entered the city the bishop leapt on his horse and rode in haste into Wolvesey Castle. The empress invited him to come and speak with her; he returned answer, 'I will make myself ready,' and sent to summon all the king's party to his aid. Meanwhile the empress besieged his palace and his new fortress with a large army, in which were David, king of Scotland, Robert of Gloucester, and other earls and barons. Before long Stephen's lords came to his aid, and with them the queen, and the Flemish mercenaries, and a force of Londoners. Then, in turn, the bishop and his allies besieged the besiegers. Outside Winchester the queen 'with all her strength' laid waste the country, and intercepted provisions, so that 'there was great hunger therein' (*Anglo-Saxon Chron.* a. 1140), while from Wolvesey Tower burning missiles were, by the bishop's orders, shot down on the houses of the burghers, who were on the side of the empress. The city was fired, the 'Nuns' minster was burnt, and even Hyde Abbey beyond the walls was destroyed. Fire and famine brought the empress's army to despair. Robert of Gloucester prepared to retreat, and on the evening of 14 Sept. the bishop ordered that peace should be proclaimed and the gates opened. The empress escaped, but as Earl Robert was issuing from the city with his force, the bishop gave the signal for attack, and he was overpowered and taken prisoner. Winchester was sacked by the Londoners and others of the king's party, apparently with the bishop's goodwill (*Cont.* Flor. Wig. ii. 134). Since he became bishop he had been on bad terms with the Hyde convent, and he ordered the treasure of the house which could be gathered after the fire to be brought to him. A famous cross, with the image of the Lord wrought with much gold, silver, and precious stones, and given to the church by Canute [q. v.], was melted, and the metal brought to the bishop was put at sixty pounds of silver and fifteen pounds of gold. On 7 Dec. the legate held another council at Westminster, at which the king was present. He stated that he had received the empress under compulsion, and that she had since infringed the rights of the church and had plotted against him; he commanded all to obey the king, and denounced all who upheld the Angevin countess as excommunicate. Either fear or reverence kept all the clergy silent, but a layman sent by the empress spoke sharply on his mistress's side, and contradicted the legate to his face. Henry kept his temper, and would not give way.

Henry's power largely rested on his lega-

tine office, which would terminate with the life of the pope. Anxious to place it on a firmer basis, he formed a scheme for the exaltation of his bishopric to metropolitan rank. Six sees (Salisbury, Exeter, Wells, Chichester, Hereford, and Worcester) were to be withdrawn from the province of Canterbury; a seventh suffragan was to have his see in Hyde Abbey; and the seven sees were to form a new province under him. It is doubtfully said that he went to Rome on this matter (cf. *Annales de Winton*, p. 53), and that in 1142 the pope actually sent him a pall (RALPH DE DICETO, i. 255). In Lent 1142 the legate held a council in London, in which an attempt was made to check the evils of the civil war. A canon was published forbidding any violation of the right of sanctuary in a church or churchyard or any violence to a clerk or monk under a special penalty, and declaring that the husbandman and his plough were everywhere to be as safe as though in a church. In the summer of 1143 Henry joined his brother in turning the nunnery at Wilton into a fortress to be a check on Salisbury, which was on the side of the empress. On 1 July Earl Robert fired the town and routed the king's troops, so that he and the bishop barely made good their escape.

Henry also acted with his brother in the matter of the archbishopric of York. On the death of Archbishop Thurstan in 1140 he promoted the election of his nephew Henry de Sully, then abbot of Fécamp, but the election was quashed by the pope because the abbot would not give up his monastery. Another of the legate's nephews, William Fitzherbert [q.v.], son of his sister Emma, was then chosen, and the legate sent him to Rome for confirmation. A strong party in the York chapter protested against the election. Nevertheless the legate had his will; he held a council at Winchester in September 1143, at which a bishop and two abbots took an oath that the election was free and canonical, and on the 26th he consecrated his nephew, the Archbishop of Canterbury refusing his assent. Two days previously Innocent II died, and with his death Henry's legatine commission came to an end. He set out for Rome in the hope of obtaining a renewal of it from the new pope, Celestine II. The pope, however, appointed Archbishop Theobald, and Henry spent the winter in retirement in his old monastery at Clugny. Celestine died in the following spring, and Henry went to Rome to apply for the legateship to Lucius II. The empress sent representatives to oppose. Lucius set aside the charges which they brought against him, but declined to make him legate. It is said that while he held the legatine office he introduced the custom of appeals to Rome; but the passage on which this statement is founded seems to refer to appeals to himself as legate (HENRY OF HUNTINGDON, p. 282). Appeals to Rome were made in earlier times, though they certainly became more frequent during the reign of Stephen (*Const. Hist.* iii. 349). Henry continued to uphold the right of his nephew William to the archbishopric of York, which was vigorously disputed, and after William was deposed in 1147 took him into his house and treated him as archbishop. His influence at Rome was wholly at an end, for Eugenius III and Bernard, abbot of Clairvaux, favoured Archbishop Theobald, and treated the bishop's efforts in behalf of his nephew as part of the quarrel about the legation, while, as the attempt to establish William at York was bitterly opposed by the Cistercian houses in the north, Henry's policy was specially displeasing to the Cistercian pope and his great adviser. The monks of Hyde Abbey appealed to Rome against him on account of the general injuries which he had done their house and of the destruction of their cross, and Bernard upheld their cause. In 1148 Henry advised Stephen to forbid Archbishop Theobald to attend the papal council at Rheims on 21 March, and he was therefore suspended. The Count of Blois, however, interceded for him, and the sentence was relaxed on condition of his appearing at Rome within six months; this he failed to do, and was therefore under the papal sentence. Theobald returned to England, and at the king's request was reconciled to Henry, who in 1151 went to Rome, travelling in much state. At Rome he had to meet the charges brought against him by the Abbot Bernard, by the monks of Hyde, and many others. He obtained absolution, not, it is said, without payment of a large sum, and efforts were made by his friends to prevail on the pope to grant him either a legatine commission or the exemption of his see from metropolitan jurisdiction; but Eugenius refused, for it was believed, though unjustly, that he had prompted his brother against the church. Still at his request Eugenius bade Henry Murdac, who was then in possession of the see of York, absolve Hugh of Puiset, the treasurer of York and the bishop's nephew, who was doing good service for his uncle by guarding his castles in his absence. Bishop Henry purchased statuary in Italy for his house at Winchester; he had cultivated tastes and liked the society of learned men. He came back by sea with his purchases, and on his way stopped to visit the shrine of

St. James at Compostella, and did not arrive in England until after September 1152. The civil war was dying out, and he sincerely repented of the part which he had had in fomenting it. Accordingly he did all in his power to promote peace, and was active in forwarding the treaty made between Stephen and Duke Henry at Wallingford, and concluded in November 1153 at Winchester, where he received the duke with honour. At the following Easter he entertained his nephew, Archbishop William, at Winchester on his return from Rome before going to his province, for Henry Murdac was then dead.

Stephen died on 25 Oct., and on 19 Dec. Henry assisted at the coronation of Henry II. He is said to have recommended Thomas Becket to the king for the office of chancellor. In 1155 he left England without the king's permission, having sent on his treasure secretly before him. Henry seized on his castles, pulled down the tower of Wolvesey, and destroyed the castles at Merdon and Bishops Waltham. The king's intention of taking his castles from him was no doubt the cause of his leaving the kingdom. He stayed a welcome guest at Clugny, and proved himself, according to Peter the Venerable, the greatest benefactor that the house ever had; for, at the request of Pope Hadrian IV, he paid off the whole debt which was then pressing on the convent and supported the 460 monks for a year. He was urged to return by Archbishop Theobald, probably in 1157, and was back in England in the spring of 1159, but returned to Clugny, and was there in the early part of 1162. On 3 June he consecrated Thomas as archbishop of Canterbury, and before the ceremony began demanded and obtained from the king's representative a full release from all claims which might be made on Thomas in connection with the chancellorship. This is perhaps the origin of the story told by Giraldus that he set before Thomas the necessity of choosing whether he would serve an earthly or a heavenly king. He was present at the council of Clarendon in January 1164, and after the council must have had converse with the archbishop, who withdrew for a while to Winchester. At the council of Northampton in October he was reluctantly obliged to pronounce judgment against Thomas in the suit of John the Marshal, and when the king proceeded to demand a statement of Thomas's accounts as chancellor boldly opposed the demand. The next day he advised Thomas not to listen to those who were recommending him to make an absolute submission. Such a course would, he urged, put the church under the arbitrary control of the crown, and he further pointed out that Thomas had been released from all secular claims at his consecration. When, on a later day of the session, the bishops tried to persuade the archbishop to yield, Henry appears to have shown him some special mark of friendship; he afterwards declared that Thomas had a right to carry his cross when entering the king's hall, and when he heard that the archbishop had left the country wished him God's blessing. Soon after this he seems to have been under the king's displeasure, and Pope Alexander III wrote to Thomas that he heard that it was probable Henry would resign his bishopric on account of the injuries which he had received from the king. Thomas wrote to Henry a letter of sympathy in which he blamed him for having removed a cross. This was probably the Hyde cross which Henry restored in 1167. He did not approve of the line taken by the archbishop while in exile, joined in the bishops' defence of the king in 1166, and appealed against him before the legates in November 1167. Nevertheless he retained his loyalty towards him; he sent him assistance, steadfastly refused to hold communion with those whom he excommunicated, and was regarded by him as 'a wall of the house of Israel.' During these his later years he was humble and religious, and about 1168 gave away all his goods in charity, leaving himself and his household bare means of subsistence, and devoting himself to prayer and acts of penitence. Three stories are told of his diocesan government. One, which apparently belongs to about 1159, relates how, after he had vainly tried to make his clergy use silver instead of pewter chalices, he overcame their meanness by making them present their contributions to him in respect of an aid in silver chalices which he gave back to them; while at another time, when other bishops were levying money from their clergy, he gathered his together and, telling them that he did not care to increase his hoard, demanded only prayers and masses. The third story represents him as merciful towards the erring (GIRALDUS CAMBRENSIS, vii. 47–9). When he heard of the martyrdom of Archbishop Thomas, he grieved that he, though so much older, was still left on earth.

Bishop Henry was dying when the king returned to England on 6 Aug. 1171. The king at once visited him, and the bishop rebuked him severely for the archbishop's death. On the 8th he died, 'full of days' (DICETO, i. 347). There seems no reason to doubt that he was buried in front of the high altar of his cathedral church, where the remains of a bishop with a crozier and ring were discovered some years ago. During his lifetime

Peter the Venerable had written to ask him to order that he should be buried at Clugny, and, as there does not appear to be any record of his burial, some have supposed that this was done; but there is no reason to doubt that the bones found at Winchester are the relics of the bishop. He founded the hospital of St. Cross, near Winchester, for thirteen aged men and for providing a hundred poor persons with a daily dinner. His foundation was enlarged by Cardinal Henry Beaufort [q. v.] He was also a benefactor to Taunton Priory, founded by his predecessor, William Giffard [q. v.] (Hugo, *Hist. Taunton Priory*, p. 4). In his cathedral Henry built a treasure-house and enriched the church with many relics, and probably also gave the richly carved font which still exists. He also collected the bones of the great persons buried in the church and placed them in painted chests.

[For a favourable view of Henry's character see John of Hexham, ed. Raine, p. 146 (Surtees Soc.); Chron. Prioris Vosiensis, Labbe, Bibl. Nov. ii. 309; Peter the Venerable, Migne clxxxix. 204, 229, 243, 277; Giraldus Cambr., Vita S. Remigii, c. 27, ed. Brewer, vii. 43–9 (Rolls Ser.); Ann. Winton, ed. Luard, p. 60 (Rolls Ser.); and for other side Liber de Hyda, Introd. and passim. An excellent estimate in Norgate's Angevin Kings, i. 347 sqq.; and less favourable in Kitchin's Winchester, p. 95 (Historic Towns Ser.) For work at Glastonbury, John of Glastonbury, pp. 160–70, ed. Hearne. Orderic, pp. 908, 920, Duchesne; Gervase; Ralph de Diceto; Hen. of Huntingdon (all Rolls Ser.); William of Malmesbury, Hist. Nov.; Flor. of Worc. Cont.; Gesta Stephani; Will. of Newburgh (all Engl. Hist. Soc.); Vita Abb. Becc., Giles's Lanfranc, i. 338–9; John of Salisbury, iii. 164, ed. Giles. For relations with Archbishop Thomas, see Materials for Life of Becket (Rolls Ser.); and specially Will. of Canterbury, i. 9; Alan of Tewkesbury, ii. 327; Will Fitz-Stephen, iii. 50; Herb. of Bosham, iii. 303, and Letters, v. 71, 255, vi. 45, 138, 272; Garnier, pp. 19, 54, ed. Hippeau.] W. H.

**HENRY** of Eastry (*d.* 1331), prior of Christ Church, Canterbury, doubtless came from the village of Eastry, between Canterbury and Sandwich, the manor of which belonged to the monks of Christ Church, and which sent a constant supply of recruits to that house. The Henry of Eastry who in 1279 was presented to the vicarage of Littlebourne, Kent, by the abbot of St. Augustine's is not, however, likely to have been a monk of a rival foundation like Christ Church (Peckham, *Letters*, iii. 1001, 1016). The future prior became a monk in early youth, and was remarkable for his zeal for scriptural learning. In September 1285 the retirement of Prior Thomas Ringmer, who having quarrelled with the Christ Church monks sought a stricter rule in the Cistercian house of Beaulieu, was followed by the election of Eastry himself as prior on 10 April 1268 (*Cott. MS.* Galba E. iv. f. 35 *b*).

Eastry remained prior of Canterbury for forty-six years. He was respected by the monks as a useful and prudent head. He relieved the convent from the crushing burden of three thousand marks of debt, and laid out very large sums on improving the estates and ornamenting the cathedral. He adorned the choir of Christ Church by 'very beautiful stonework subtly carved.' He gave his church many precious vestments and ornaments. He repaired the chapter-house, rebuilt or repaired the chapels on most of the manors of the see, and added large rents, lands, and woods to its resources, while enriching the library with costly books treating of a great variety of subjects. A list of his numerous buildings and repairings is given in his 'Memoriale' (*ib.* iv., 'nova opera in ecclesia et in curia,' f. 101; 'nova opera in maneriis,' f. 102 *b*). His zeal for the rights of his church led him to deny the crown's right to the custody of the church during a vacancy. He revived the old claims of the priors to exercise spiritual jurisdiction over the province of Canterbury during vacancies in the archbishopric. He quarrelled with the citizens of Canterbury and with the rival abbots of St. Augustine, and came pretty well out of both contests. He had more difficulties in the course of a bitter quarrel with a faction of his monks (*Hist. MSS. Comm.* 5th Rep. i. 438). He obtained from 'Bassianus of Milan, count-palatine of the empire,' a grant of the right to appoint three imperial notaries of his own nomination. But the crown forbade such exercise of power on the ground that the emperor had no jurisdiction in England (Somner, *Antiq. Cant.* pt. i. App. lii. a. b. c.) In 1297 he followed Archbishop Winchelsey in refusing to pay Edward I's taxes, but Edward took possession of the monastery, sealed up the granaries and stores, and starved Eastry and his brethren into submission (*Hist. MSS. Comm.* 5th Rep. i. 433). Eastry remained on friendly terms with Winchelsey, who, before returning to England after his exile, appointed him his vicar-general.

Eastry's relations to the weak and incompetent Archbishop Reynolds gave him peculiar political importance. Eastry was reputed to be a man of great wisdom and foresight, and he was consulted by Reynolds in his chief difficulties. His letters to Reynolds form a large and the most important part of the first volume of the 'Literæ

Cantuarienses,' or 'Letter Books of Christ Church,' published in 1887 by Dr. Sheppard in the Rolls Series. Some of Reynolds's letters to Eastry are calendared in Hist. MSS. Comm.'s 5th Rep. i. 447. The most important bear on the archbishop's conduct during the last period of the reign of Edward II. Eastry gave him judicious, if vague and worldly advice. Probably Eastry was no very great friend of the king's, for in 1322 he had written to Henry of Lancaster (1281?–1345) [q.v.] urging him to continue the efforts which his brother Earl Thomas had made before his execution to obtain the canonisation of Archbishop Winchelsey (*Lit. Cantuar.* i. 71). Eastry could sometimes be independent, for in 1325 he strongly urged Reynolds to end the scandal which the unsettled state of Winchelsey's estates twelve years after his death was exciting among the people (*ib.* i. 135). But in the great question he temporised, and showed a nervous anxiety that his letters should be burnt when read and shown to no one but their recipient. In February 1325 he suggested to Reynolds a plausible excuse for not accompanying the queen on her ill-omened journey to France (*ib.* i. 137). He would not say whether he thought the king or his son ought to go over to France to do homage (*ib.* i. 145). He supplied the archbishop with early news of what was going on abroad (*ib.* i. 181), but his greatest anxiety at the time seems to have been to get rid of the expense of keeping the queen's pack of hounds which she had left at Canterbury, to remove which he humbly besought the favour of the Despensers at the time when he was hinting that the archbishop should break with the queen's party. He shrank on pretext of illness from an interview with Reynolds (*ib.* i. 190), whom he urged not to fight on Edward's behalf, but rather to mediate, and aim at a compromise. If Edward persisted in fighting he advised Reynolds to take refuge in his cathedral (*ib.* i. 196). But as soon as the party of the queen got the upper hand he wrote to her wishing her 'good and long life and grace on earth, and glory in heaven' (*ib.* i. 197). He practically commended Reynolds for his speedy desertion to the queen, though excusing himself from personal attendance at the parliament which deposed Edward (*ib.* i. 203). He, however, suggested to Reynolds the advisability of sending a solemn deputation of the three estates to Kenilworth to induce the imprisoned king to face his parliament (*ib.* i. 205). This measure was subsequently adopted, doubtless on Reynolds's proposal. Eastry was accused by some of the archbishop's household of betraying his council. Eastry wrote to the next archbishop, Simon Meopham, in a curious tone of querulous patronage. Once he refused to give more advice, as his last confidential letter was picked up in Eastry Church (*ib.* i. 287). When rebuked by the archbishop he only answered by more good advice (*ib.* i. 303). In a letter of January 1330 he becomes positively insolent (*ib.* i. 304–5).

Eastry had long suffered from the infirmities of age. In 1324 he begged Reynolds to allow the sub-prior to act for him (*ib.* i. 117), though soon after a skilful doctor cured him (*ib.* i. 120). In 1326 pains in the side prevented him from riding, and in 1329 he obtained from Flanders 'a little easy-going mule not tall and big' (*ib.* i. 190, 297). In 1329 and again in 1331 he requested power to appoint a general attorney (*ib.* i. 291, 355). He died suddenly on 8 April 1331 while celebrating mass. He was believed to be ninety-two years old. He was certainly nearly eighty.

Eastry's zeal for the interests of his house caused him to procure the examination, endorsement, and arrangement of all the ancient charters and muniments of Christ Church (*Hist. MSS. Comm.* 5th Rep. i. 427). The earliest existing registers of the convent were also compiled in their present form during Eastry's priorship (*ib.* 8th Rep. i. 316). It is from his own register that Dr. Sheppard has drawn his rich supply of Eastry's correspondence. There is also preserved in the British Museum a large and handsome manuscript called the 'Memoriale Henrici Prioris,' and described in the catalogue as a register of Eastry's; though the register properly so called is of course at Canterbury. It contains a great variety of different matters, including many charters and documents of general or local interest, records of the possessions of Christ Church and of the work of Eastry as prior, and 'various commonplaces concerning conscience, physiognomy, and many chapters of sacred and philosophical argument' (*Cotton. MS.* Galba E. iv.)

[Literæ Cantuarienses, vol. i. with Dr. Sheppard's Introduction; 5th, 8th, and 9th Reps. Hist. MSS. Comm.; Wharton's Anglia Sacra, 'Hist. Priorum Ecclesiæ Cantuar.,' i. 141; Somner's Antiquities of Canterbury, i. 144–7, App. lii. liv.; Stevens's Hist. of Ancient Abbeys, &c., i. 381; Dugdale's Monasticon, i. 88, 112, ed. Caley; Martin's Registrum Epist. J. Peckham (Rolls Ser.); Registrum sive Memoriale Henrici Prioris Monast. Christi Cantuar. in Cotton. MS. Galba E. iv. ff. 1–186.] T. F. T.

**HENRY** of Huntingdon (1084?–1155), historian, was born between 1080 and 1085, the son of Nicholas, a churchman, whom he styles 'stella cleri,' and who may possibly

have been the archdeacon of Huntingdon who died in 1110 (*Hist. Anglor.* vii. 27). His knowledge of the fen country makes it probable that it was there that he was born, and as he speaks of Aldwin, abbat of Ramsey, as 'dominus meus,' it has been surmised that he was born on some part of the abbatial domain (ARNOLD, *Introduction*, p. xxxi). His early years were certainly spent at Lincoln (he speaks of the diocese as 'episcopatus noster'), and his own words (*Epistola de Contemptu Mundi*, §1) give the idea that he was brought up in the household of Robert Bloet [q. v.], bishop of Lincoln from 1093 to 1123. He mentions one Albinus of Angers (*ib.* § 3) as his master. The new see of Ely was taken out of that of Lincoln in 1109, and in that or the following year he was made archdeacon of Huntingdon, an office he probably held till his death. In 1139 he accompanied Archbishop Theobald on his journey to Rome for the pall; on his way he visited the monastery of Bec, and there he made the acquaintance of Robert de Monte (de Torigny), the Norman historian, then a monk at Bec (ROBERT DE TORIGNY, i. 96, 97, ed. Delisle). Through him he became acquainted with the 'Historia Britonum' of Geoffrey of Monmouth.

At the request of Alexander [q. v.], bishop of Lincoln from 1123 to 1147 (*Hist. Anglor. Prolog.*), he undertook an English history, following Bede by the bishop's advice, and extracting from other chroniclers. The first edition of this work was carried down to 1129, and he continued to add to it at various times, the last edition being brought down to 1154, the year of Stephen's death, which could not long have preceded his own, as we find a new archdeacon of Huntingdon in 1155.

The early portion of Henry's 'Historia Anglorum' is taken from the usual sources, the 'Historia Miscella,' 'Aurelius Victor,' 'Nennius,' 'Bede,' and the 'Anglo-Saxon Chronicles;' he enlarges partly from oral tradition (as in the story of Cnut and the sea), and partly from his own invention. After 1127 he is probably original, and his narrative is written contemporaneously with the events he describes.

The later editions of the work contain two additional books, 'De Miraculis,' an account of the miracles of nineteen saints from St. Oswald to St. Wilfrid, and 'De Summitatibus,' consisting of the epilogue to his history, with three epistles; one addressed probably in 1131 to Henry I 'De serie regum potentissimorum qui per orbem terrarum hucusque fuerunt;' the second to Warine 'De regibus Britonum,' given by Robert de Monte (i. 97–111, Delisle), and the third to Walter (abbat of Ramsey according to Leland), 'De Contemptu Mundi, sive de episcopis et viris illustribus,' written probably in 1145. According to Leland (*De Scriptoribus Britannicis*, p. 198) he also wrote eight books of epigrams, eight books 'De Amore,' and eight books 'De Herbis,' 'De Aromatibus,' 'De Gemmis,' and a work 'De Lege Domini,' addressed to the Peterborough monks. Two books of epigrams by Henry are found at the close of a Lambeth MS. of his 'History,' but nothing is known of the other works mentioned by Leland.

Henry of Huntingdon's history was first published in Savile's 'Scriptores post Bedam,' London, 1596; this was reprinted at Frankfort in 1601, and again in Migne's 'Patrologia' in 1854 (vol. cxcv.) The portion as far as 1066 (excluding the third book as taken from Bede) was included by Mr. Petrie in the 'Monumenta Historica Britannica.' There is a complete edition by Mr. Thomas Arnold in the Rolls Series (1879). The 'Epistola ad Walterum de Contemptu Mundi' is given by Wharton, 'Anglia Sacra,' ii. 694; D'Achery, 'Spicilegium,' viii. 178 = iii. 512; Migne's 'Patrologia,' vol. cxcv.; and in Arnold's edition of the 'Historia,' Appendix, p. 297. One of the two extant books of 'Epigrammata' is printed in Wright's 'Anglo-Latin Satirical Poets and Epigrammatists of the Twelfth Century' (Rolls Series, 1872), ii. 163–74.

[Leland's De Scriptoribus Britannicis; Hardy's Introduction to the Monumenta Historica Britannica, where will be found a full discussion of Huntingdon's Chronology; Liebermann's Heinrich von Huntingdon, Forschungen zur Deutschen Geschichte, Göttingen, 1878, p. 265; Mr. Arnold's Introduction to his edition in the Rolls Series, where the dates and characteristics of the different editions are fully discussed. Capgrave's Life in the Liber de Illustribus Henricis (Rolls Series) is worthless.] H. R. L.

**HENRY** OF MARLBOROUGH or Marleburgh (*fl.* 1420), annalist, was, from his name, conjectured by Sir James Ware to have been a native of Marlborough in Wiltshire. Henry officiated as a chaplain in Dublin and its vicinity in the reign of Richard II. In the early part of the fifteenth century he was connected with the priory of the Holy Trinity, now Christ Church, Dublin. Under it he held the vicarages of Balscaddan and Donabate in the county of Dublin. Two Latin deeds, concerning house property in Dublin, were executed by Henry of Marleburgh at Dublin, 6 June 1418. The original documents in vellum are in the possession of the writer of the present notice. To them are attached the seal of Henry of Marleburgh, with his initials, and the official seal of the

Dublin mayoralty. Marleburgh compiled annals of England and Ireland in Latin (in seven books, extending from 1133 to 1421), under the title of 'Cronica excerpta de medulla diversorum cronicorum, præcipue Ranulphi, monachi Cestrensis, scripta per Henricum de Marleburghe, vicarium de Balischadan, unacum quibusdam capitulis, de cronicis Hiberniæ: Incepta anno Domini 1406, regis Henrici quarti post conquestum septimo.' The first part is mainly a transcript from previous English writers and Anglo-Irish annalists; the latter and more original portions of the annals, as printed, chiefly deal with affairs of the English settlers in Ireland. Excerpts in Latin from Marleburgh's compilation beginning in 1372 were published by Camden as 'Descripta e chronicis manuscriptis Henrici de Marleburgh' (1607). Archbishop Ussher referred to Henry's annals. Sir James Ware, in 1633, published 'Henry Marleburgh's Chronicle of Ireland,' fol., and it was reprinted at Dublin in 1809, 8vo. Marleburgh's death is recorded in the old obituary of the congregation of the priory of the Holy Trinity, Dublin, under date of 12 May, but without mention of the year. Manuscript copies of Marleburgh's annals are extant in the Bodleian (excerpts by Ware in MS. Rawlinson, B. 487), British Museum (MS. Cott. Vitellius, E. v. 197), and in the library of Trinity College, Dublin (No. 424 in Bernard's 'Catalogus MSS. Angl. et Heb.')

[Patent Rolls, Chancery, Ireland, Richard II, Henry IV, and Henry V; De Scriptoribus Hiberniæ, 1639; Historical Library, by Nicholson, 1724; Writers of Ireland, 1746; Martyrology of Christ Church, Dublin, 1844; Ussher's Works, 1848.] J. T. G.

HENRY the MINSTREL, or BLIND HARRY or HARY (*fl.* 1470–1492), Scottish poet, was author of a poem on William Wallace [q. v.], fortunately preserved in a complete manuscript (dated 1488) now in the Advocates' Library, Edinburgh. The copyist was John Ramsay of Lochmalonie, in the parish of Kilmany in Fifeshire. The biographical facts of Henry's life are only known from a brief notice in John Major's history (1521), and a few entries in the 'Accounts of the Lord High Treasurer' (1490–2). Major states that 'Henry, a man blind from his birth, composed the whole book of William Wallace in the time of my infancy, and collected the popular traditions in a poem in the vulgar tongue, in which he was skilled.' He adds, in the spirit of a critical historian: 'I credit such writings only in part, but the poet by reciting these histories before the nobles received food and clothing, of which he was worthy.' As John Major [q. v.] died in old age in 1549–1550, his infancy would fall within the period between 1470 and 1480, or possibly a little earlier. The statement of Buchanan, in the fragment of his own life, that Major was in extreme old age as early as 1524 is not consistent with the known facts of Major's life. The 'Treasurer's Accounts' first refer to Blind Harry on 26 April 1490, when he received 18*s.* by the king's command at Stirling. Similar payments were made on 1 Jan. and 14 Sept. 1491, ending with one on 2 Jan. 1492 at Linlithgow. This is the last mention of his name, and, as James IV usually continued till their deaths the annual payments to the minstrels who attended his court, it is probable the poet died before January 1493. He is mentioned by William Dunbar in the 'Lament for the Makaris' along with Sandy Traill, so that he must have been dead when that poem was written in 1507 or 1508. His own poem was probably composed in the reign of James III, as it was transcribed by Ramsay in the year when James was killed at Sauchie (11 July 1488). The poet speaks in his own person at its close, and may have dictated it to the transcriber. His vivid descriptions have been thought by some incompatible with total blindness, but Major's statement, the best evidence on the point, would be confirmed by his using another hand to write his poem. His surname is unknown, having been eclipsed by the familiar Harry, proving him, like Sandy Traill, Davy Lindsay, and other Scottish poets, to have been a popular favourite in his lifetime. He probably belonged to Lothian, for otherwise he would not have been known to Major in his infancy, which was passed in the neighbourhood of North Berwick. The dialect of his verses is that of Lothian, the best Scotch of that period, which had been adopted by the court and cultivated by earlier poets. There is little of personal allusion in the poem, which is entirely devoted to the description of Wallace, but a few inferences seem legitimate.

From the lines

> For my laubour ne man hecht me reward,
> Ne charge I had of king or other lord

(bk. xi. l. 1434), he appears to have composed the poem before he began to receive gratuities or pensions either from the nobles or the king.

The frequent references to his 'Autor' are explained by the lines:

> Eftyr the Pruff gevyn fra the latin Buk,
> Quhilk Maister Blayr in his tyme undertuk.

John Blair [q. v.] was a chaplain of Wallace; Sir Thomas Gray, parson of Liberton, and called by Harry 'priest to Wallace,' was also among his authorities. Both were contem-

poraries of Wallace (bk. xi. l. 1423). Andrew Wyntoun alludes to many books on Wallace having been written before his time, all now unfortunately lost, and Blair's was doubtless one of them. Bishop Sinclair of Dunkeld, called 'Bruce's bishop,' obtained John Blair's Latin book, according to Blind Harry, with a view of sending it to the pope, and confirmed the truth of its contents (bk. xi. l. 1417).

The poet apologises for departing on one point from Blair (bk. xi. l. 1446), and the reader is sensible throughout that the poet is translating rather than producing original matter. While he modestly styles his work a 'Rural Dyt' (i.e. poem) and himself a 'Burel man,' or countryman, he was far from illiterate. Besides a knowledge of Latin he shows an acquaintance with the historical romances of Troy, Alexander the Great and Arthur, and with the astronomy of his time. He also has a very precise knowledge of Scottish topography. He probably had been educated in the school of some monastery. Even apart from his blindness, which makes his poem a wonderful effort of memory, it is impossible to accept Mr. Tytler's description of him as 'an ignorant man, who was yet in possession of authentic and valuable materials' (*Scottish Worthies*, iii. 299). No doubt he added imaginary incidents to the authentic materials he possessed. But the tradition of nearly two centuries must have already expanded Blair's narrative. The tale that the English queen fell in love with Wallace and of his conflict with a lion in France are examples of such additions. The historical accuracy of the poem has been impugned by Lord Hailes and others, yet on some points it has been corroborated by records or histories discovered or published since it was written, as in the account of the treachery of Patrick Dunbar, earl of March [q. v.], at the siege of Berwick, the narrative of the taking of Dunbar, and the visit of Wallace to France. On the other hand the chronology is often impossible. Historical knowledge of Wallace, apart from Blind Harry, is limited to the period from the spring of 1297, when he slew Hazelrigg, sheriff of Ayr, to the battle of Falkirk on 22 July 1298, with a few incidents of the guerilla war he carried on after his return from France, his betrayal by Menteith, and his execution at London in 1305. But Blind Harry crowds the early life of his hero with deeds of daring otherwise unknown, though it is impossible to say that they are all unauthentic. He inserts, however, a battle at Biggar, where Wallace is made to defeat Edward before the battle of Stirling. Of this there is no trace in history, and Edward was not at that time in Scotland. Possibly it is a confusion with the battle of Roslin in 1303, but there is no proof that Wallace was present at that battle.

About the poetic merits of the poem opinions have widely differed, some critics placing it above Barbour's 'Bruce,' and others treating it as chiefly valuable for the ardent love of liberty it displays. If Blind Harry had not high poetical gifts he had a modest and simple style, and a natural eloquence more telling because never overstrained. Like Barbour, who in this he probably followed, his poem is an early example of rhymed heroic metre, and is singularly free from alliteration. The effect of its popularity can scarcely be over-estimated. Next to the deeds of their heroes the poems of Barbour and Blind Harry created Scottish nationality, and spread through all classes the spirit of independence.

The printed editions of the poem on Wallace are more numerous than of any other old Scottish book. Mr. D. Laing mentions in his preface to 'Gologras and Gawain' having seen fragments of one printed by Chepman & Myllar, but these are not known to exist. The earliest extant edition is that printed by Lekprevik at the expense of Henry Charteris in 1570. Charteris himself reprinted it in 1594 and 1601, and Andro Hart in 1611 and 1620. Thomas Findlayson, on the assumption that they had been long out of print, got an exclusive privilege for twenty years to print 'The Wallace,' along with 'The Book of King Robert the Bruce' and 'The Book of the Seven Sages' (*Acts of Privy Council*, 1610–12). A printer in Aberdeen issued an edition in 1630, and the local presses of Perth and Ayr published it in the following century. Later editions are numerous. The modern Scottish version of 1722, by William Hamilton of Gilbertfield [q. v.], though described by Irving as an 'injudicious and a useless work,' was reprinted thirteen times, and became more familiar than the original. Of this edition and a chap-book 'Life of Hannibal' Burns says 'they were the first books I ever read in private, and gave me more pleasure than any two books I have read since.' The best edition of the original was till recently that of Dr. Jamieson, 1820, but a more accurate text has been published for the Scottish Text Society by Mr. Moir of Aberdeen, 1885–6.

[Accounts of the Lord High Treasurer, 1475–1489, Scottish Records; Life of Wallace by John Carrick, 1820; Jamieson's Preface to edition of The Wallace; A Critical Study of Blind Harry, by James Moir, Aberdeen, 1888; Annals of Scottish Printing, by Dickson and Edmund, 1890.] Æ. M.

HENRY OF SALTREY (*fl.* 1150) was a Cistercian monk at Saltrey or Sawtrey in Huntingdonshire, a house founded in 1146 for monks brought from Warden Abbey. He was a friend of Gilbert of Louth [q. v.], from whom he learnt the story of the alleged descent of the knight Owen to purgatory. This story Henry committed to writing in a narrative styled 'Purgatorium Sancti Patricii,' and addressed the treatise to Henry, 'Abbas de Sartis' (i.e. of Wardon in Bedfordshire). The 'Purgatorium Sancti Patricii' became extremely popular, and numerous manuscripts exist; it was embodied by Matthew Paris in his 'Chronica Majora' (Rolls Ser.), ii. 192–203. Three early metrical translations into French are extant; the first of these, made by Marie de France early in the thirteenth century, is printed among her poems (ed. Roquefort, vol. ii.); the other two versions are nearly a century later, and are extant in manuscript (Cott. MS. Domit. A. iv. f. 258, and Harley MS. 273, f. 191 *b*). In English there are two versions, under the name of 'Owayne Miles:' (1) in the Auchinleck MS. at Edinburgh, which is probably a translation of one of the French versions, and was edited by Turnbull and Laing in their collection of early religious poems in 1837 (only thirty-two copies printed); (2) Cott. MS. Cal. A. II. f. 89, a fifteenth-century version, from which extracts are printed in Wright's 'St. Patrick's Purgatory,' pp. 64–78. The Latin original is printed in Massingham's 'Florilegium insulæ Sanctorum Hiberniæ,' Paris, 1624, pp. 84, 100; in Colgan's 'Trias Thaumaturga' (the second volume of his 'Acta Sanctorum,' Louvain, 1647), App. vi. ad acta S. Patricii; and in Migne's 'Patrologia,' clxxx. 974 sqq. A French version was printed without date or name of place in 4to, but probably at Paris by Jean Trepperel; a second edition which appeared at Paris, n. d., 8vo, was perhaps printed by Jean Trepperel the second or Alan Lotrian; later editions appeared at Paris 1548, and at Rheims 1842. Two manuscripts at Rome (Vatican MS. Barberini 270, ff. 1–25) and Basle (COOPER, App. A. to *Report on Fœdera*, p. 23) ascribe the authorship of the 'Purgatorium' to Gilbert of Louth, but this appears to be due to a misapprehension. The statement of Bale and Pits that Henry also wrote a book, 'De pœnis purgatorii,' is erroneous, as the alleged opening words show.

[Bale, ii. 77; Pits, p. 208; Tanner's Bibl. Brit.-Hib. p. 297; Visch's Bibl. Cist., Douay, 1647; Migne's Patrologia, clxxx. col. 971–4; Wright's Biog. Brit. Lit. ii. 321; Wright's St. Patrick's Purgatory; Graesse's Trésor de Livres, v. 511; Brunet's Manuel du Libraire, iv. 980.] C. L. K.

HENRY, JAMES (1798–1876), classical scholar and physician, born in Dublin on 13 Dec. 1798, was the eldest son of Robert Henry, woollendraper, College Green, Dublin, by his wife Katherine Olivia, whose maiden name was Elder. He was educated by Mr. Hutton, a unitarian, and by Mr. George Downes, and proceeded to Trinity College, Dublin, where he became scholar, 1817; classical gold medallist, 1818; B.A. 1819; M.A. and M.B. 1822; M.D. November 1832. His tutor at college was Dr. Mooney. Entering the medical profession, Henry obtained a large practice as a physician in Dublin, in spite of his unconventional ways and religious scepticism. He was often engaged in professional controversies. He said no doctor's opinion was worth a guinea, and only charged a five-shilling fee, which had to be paid in silver, as he would not carry about change for gold. He made no charge for medicines, and kept an apothecary at 100*l.* a year to prepare them. He gave up his profession in 1845, having acquired some fortune in addition to a large legacy. Henry began the serious study of Virgil's 'Æneid' about 1841. When a boy of eleven he had bought a Virgil for half-a-crown, and this copy he long after carried about in his left-hand breast pocket. From 1841 the study of Virgil became the absorbing object of his life. About 1846 he began to walk through Europe with his wife and his daughter, Katherine Olivia, making Virgilian researches. His wife died at Arco, Tyrol, but he continued to travel with his daughter, who had tastes like her father, and who assisted him with devotion in collating and other literary labours. They wandered on foot through all parts of Europe, hunting for manuscripts and rare editions of Virgil. They visited the libraries of Dresden, Florence, Heidelberg, Leghorn, &c., and crossed the Alps seventeen times, sometimes in snow. In November 1865 Henry and his daughter left Italy for Dresden, having made their last collation of the Vatican and Laurentian MSS. The daughter (born 20 Nov. 1830) died suddenly on 7 Dec. 1872, to the great grief of her father, who spent the last few years of his life in Dublin, chiefly working at Virgil in the library of Trinity College. Henry died at the residence of his brother, Dalkey Lodge, Dalkey, near Dublin, on 14 July 1876. His health was unimpaired till he had a stroke of paralysis three months before his death. In his coffin were deposited the ashes of his wife, whose body he had been compelled, against his wish, to cremate in the Tyrol.

There is an engraved portrait of Henry in his 'Poems, chiefly philosophical' (Dresden,

1856). His 'long white locks and his somewhat fantastic dress . . . were combined with great beauty and vivacity of countenance, and a rare geniality and vigour of discourse. There was a curious combination of rudeness and kindness . . . of severity and softness in him.' Henry married, about 1826, Anne Jane Patton, daughter of John Patton, co. Donegal. They had two daughters who died in infancy. Katherine Olivia was the third.

As a Virgilian commentator Henry was acute, original, and profoundly laborious. Conington (*Vergil*, ii. p. xiii, 4th edit.), among other scholars, praises him highly, and frequently quotes his notes. Henry examined every Virgilian manuscript of any importance, and came to believe in the good preservation of the text, objecting to emendations. He printed privately at Dresden in 1853, 8vo, 'Notes of a Twelve Years' Voyage of Discovery in the first six books of the Eneis,' and in 1873, vol. i. (pt. i.), London, of his 'Æneidea' (critical, exegetical, and æsthetical remarks on the 'Æneid,' with a collation of all the principal editions, &c.) Vol. i. (continued), Dublin, 1877, and vol. ii. Dublin, 1878 and 1879, were published by his literary executor, Professor J. F. Davies. Henry had left his remarkable commentary complete in manuscript, and the remaining portion is now in course of publication by Professor Palmer and Mr. Purser, fellows of Trinity College, Dublin. Nearly all Henry's writings were privately printed. He composed much verse —some of it distinctly original—and was the author of various vigorously written pamphlets, of which the most brilliant is 'Strictures on the Autobiography of Dr. Cheyne' [see CHEYNE, JOHN], in which he assails the 'fashionable physicians' of his day. Among his other writings may be mentioned: 'The Eneis, books i. and ii., rendered into English blank Iambic,' 1845, 8vo; 'Miliaria accuratius descripta' [Dublin, 1832], 8vo; 'Poems, chiefly philosophical, in continuation of my Book' [1853] and 'A Half-year's Poems' [1854], Dresden, 1856, 8vo; 'Thalia Petasata, a foot journey from Carlsruhe to Bassano' (verse), Dresden, 1859, 8vo; 'Unripe Windfalls' (prose and verse), Dublin, 1851, 8vo. (See also the list of his works in the *Academy*, 12 Aug. 1876, p. 163, and *Brit. Mus. Cat.*)

[Obituary in the Academy, 12 Aug. 1876, pp. 162, 163, by Professor J. P. Mahaffy; information kindly supplied by Dr. Henry's relative, Miss Emily Malone, from her own knowledge, and from that of friends and relations; Henry's Works; Brit. Mus. Cat.] W. W.

**HENRY, MATTHEW** (1662–1714), nonconformist divine and commentator, second son of Philip Henry [q. v.], was born prematurely on 18 Oct. 1662 at Broad Oak, in the chapelry of Iscoyd, Flintshire. As a child he was sickly, but somewhat precocious in learning. His first tutor was William Turner; but he owed most of his early education to his father. On 21 July 1680 he entered the academy of Thomas Doolittle [q. v.], then at Islington, and remained there till 1682. On 30 Oct. 1683, shortly after his coming of age, he entered on the estate of Bronington, Flintshire, inherited from Daniel Matthews, his maternal grandfather. On the advice of Rowland Hunt of Boreatton, Shropshire, he began to study law, and was admitted at Gray's Inn on 6 May 1685. In June 1686 he began to preach in his father's neighbourhood. Business took him to Chester in January 1687. While there he preached in private houses, and was asked to settle as a minister. He gave a conditional assent, and returned to Gray's Inn. On 9 May 1687 he was privately ordained in London by six ministers at the house of Richard Steel. Henry began his ministry at Chester on 2 June 1687. In a few years his communicants numbered 250. In September 1687 James II visited Chester, when the nonconformists presented an address of thanks 'for the ease and liberty they then enjoyed under his protection.' A new charter was granted to the city (the old one having been surrendered in 1684), giving power to the crown to displace and appoint magistrates. About August 1688 Henry was applied to by the king's messenger to nominate magistrates. He declined to do so. The new charter was cancelled by another, in which the names of all the prominent nonconformists were placed upon the corporation. They refused to serve, and demanded the restoration of the original charter, which was at length obtained.

A meeting-house was erected for Henry in Crook Lane (now called Crook Street). It was begun in September 1699, and opened on 8 Aug. 1700. In 1706 a gallery was erected for the accommodation of another congregation which united with Henry's. The communicants now rose to 350. In addition to his congregational work (including a weekly lecture) he held monthly services at five neighbouring villages, and regularly preached to the prisoners in the castle. He was an energetic member of the Cheshire meeting of united ministers, founded at Macclesfield in March 1691, on the basis of the London 'happy union.' He found time also for his labours as a commentator, which originated in his system of expository preaching. His study was a two-storeyed summer-house, still standing, to the rear of his residence in Bolland Court, White Friars,

Chester. He declined overtures from London congregations at Hackney and Salters' Hall in 1699 and 1702 respectively, from Manchester in 1705, and from Silver Street and Old Jewry, London, in 1708. In 1710 he was again invited to Hackney, and agreed to remove, though not at once. On 3 June 1711 he was in London, being the first sacrament day on which he had been absent from Chester for twenty-four years. Daniel Williams, D.D., whose will is dated 26 June 1711, named him as one of the original trustees of his educational foundations, but he did not survive to enter on the trust. He preached his farewell sermon at Chester on 11 May 1712. His ministry at Mare Street, Hackney, began on 18 May 1712. In May 1714 he revisited Cheshire. He died of apoplexy at Nantwich, in the house of the nonconformist minister, Joseph Mottershead [q. v.], on 22 June 1714, and was buried in the chancel of Trinity Church, Chester, the funeral being attended by eight of the city clergy. Funeral sermons were preached at Chester by Peter Withington and John Gardner; in London by Daniel Williams, William Tong, Isaac Bates, and John Reynolds; the last four were published. After his death his Hackney congregation separated into two. He married, first, on 19 July 1687, Katherine, only daughter of Samuel Hardware of Bromborough, Cheshire; she died in childbed on 14 Feb. 1689, aged 25, leaving a daughter, Katherine; secondly, on 8 July 1690, Mary, daughter of Robert Warburton of Hefferstone Grange, Cheshire, who survived him; by her he had one son, Philip (*b.* 1700, who took the name of Warburton, was M.P. for Chester from 1742, and died unmarried on 16 Aug. 1760), and eight daughters, three of whom died in infancy. His daughter Esther (*b.* 1694) was mother of Charles Bulkley [q. v.] Henry's portrait is in Dr. Williams's Library, Gordon Square, London, and was engraved by J. Jenkins (1828); the engraving by Vertue is from a pen-and-ink sketch, taken at a time when he had become very corpulent. His services to religion have been acknowledged on all hands; 'the very churchmen love him,' writes John Dunton. A public monument to his memory was recently erected in Chester.

Henry's 'Exposition of the Old and New Testament,' which for practical uses has not been superseded, was begun in November 1704. The first volume was published in 1708, fol.; that and four other volumes, bringing his labours to the end of the gospels, appeared in a uniform edition in 1710, fol. Before his death he completed the Acts r an unpublished sixth volume. After his death the Epistles and Revelation were prepared by thirteen nonconformist divines, whose names are given by John Evans (1767–1827) [q. v.] in the 'Protestant Dissenters' Magazine,' 1797, p. 472, from a memorandum by Isaac Watts. The complete edition of 1811, 4to, 6 vols., edited by George Burder [q. v.] and John Hughes, has additional matter from Henry's manuscripts. Henry's 'Exposition' has often been abridged; the edition of G. Stokes, 1831–5, 6 vols. 8vo, combines with it the stronger Calvinism contained in the notes of Thomas Scott. Among his other works, excluding sermons, are: 1. 'A Brief Inquiry into . . . Schism,' &c., 1689, 8vo (anon.); reprinted, 1690, 8vo, 1717, 8vo. 2. 'Memoirs of . . . Philip Henry,' &c., 1696, 8vo. 3. 'A Scripture Catechism,' &c., 1702. 4. 'Family Hymns,' &c., 1702, 8vo. 5. 'A Plain Catechism,' &c., 1702, 8vo. 6. 'The Communicant's Companion,' &c., 1704, 8vo. 7. 'Four Discourses,' &c., 1705, 8vo. 8. 'A Method for Prayer,' &c., 1710, 8vo; reprinted, 1781, 12mo; Edinb., 1818, 12mo. 9. 'Directions for Daily Communion,' &c., 1712, 8vo. 10. 'A Short Account of the Life . . . of Lieutenant Illidge,' &c., 1714, 12mo (anon.) His 'Works' were collected, 1726, fol.; 'Miscellaneous Writings,' 1809, 4to, were edited by Samuel Palmer, and re-edited, 1830, 8vo, by Sir J. B. Williams, with additional sermons from manuscripts.

[Funeral Sermons by Williams, Tong, Bates, and Reynolds, 1714; Tong's Account of the Life, &c., 1716; Palmer's Memoir, prefixed to Miscellaneous Writings; Memoirs, by Sir J. B. Williams, 1828 (valuable for its use of Henry's diaries); Ormerod's Cheshire, 1819, ii. 93 sq.; Lawrence's Descendants of Philip Henry, 1844; Urwick's Nonconformity in Cheshire, 1864, pp. 29 sq., 129 sq.; Nonconformist Register (Heywood's and Dickenson's), 1881, p. 264; Lee's Diaries and Letters of Philip Henry, 1882; Jeremy's Presbyterian Fund, 1885, p. 106.] A. G.

**HENRY, PHILIP** (1631–1696), nonconformist divine and diarist, eldest son of John Henry, keeper of the orchard at Whitehall, was born at Whitehall on 24 Aug. 1631. His father, son of Henry Williams, was born at Briton Ferry, Glamorganshire, on 10 July 1590, and 'took his father's Christen-name for his Sir-name, after the Welsh manner;' he rose to be page of the backstairs to the Duke of York, and was buried at St. Margaret's, Westminster, on 2 March 1652. His mother, Magdalen, daughter of Henry Rochdale, was baptised at St. Martin's-in-the-Fields on 19 Oct. 1599, and died on 6 March 1645. Philip Herbert, fourth earl of Pembroke [q. v.], in whose service his father had been, was his godfather. As a child he was

playmate to the princes Charles and James, and kept to his dying day a book given him by the latter. Archbishop Laud took notice of him for his readiness in opening the water-gate when Laud 'came late from council' to cross to Lambeth. His father took him to see Laud in prison, when the archbishop 'gave him some new money.' After preliminary schooling he was admitted in 1643 to Westminster School, and became a favourite pupil of Richard Busby [q. v.], who treated him very kindly. His mother, a zealous puritan, got leave for him to attend the early lecture at Westminster Abbey, but to Busby's diligence in preparing him for the communion he ascribes his definite adoption of a religious life on 'April 14 (or yer. abouts) 1647.' In the picture of Busby in the hall of Christ Church, Oxford, Henry is introduced by his side (in the 'Catalogue of the First Exhibition of National Portraits,' 1866, No. 943, the younger figure is said to be Matthew Henry).

In May 1647 Henry was elected to a studentship at Christ Church, Oxford, and went into residence on 15 Dec. He was admitted student on 24 March 1648, just before the parliamentary visitation, which to his regret removed Underwood, his tutor, substituting William Finmore (afterwards archdeacon of Chester), 'a person able enough, but not willing.' While at home on leave in January 1649 he saw Charles I, who 'went by our door on foot each day' to his trial, '& once hee spake to my father & sayd Art thou alive yet!' Of Charles's execution he gives the graphic account of a sorrowing eye-witness. He graduated B.A. in 1649 and M.A. on 10 Dec. 1652. His father's death left the family in great straits, which were relieved by the occasional bounty of friends.

Henry preached his first sermon at South Hinksey, Oxfordshire, on 9 Jan. 1653. On the introduction of Francis Palmer, afterwards professor of moral philosophy, he was engaged (30 Sept.) by John Puleston, justice of the common pleas, as tutor to his sons at Emral, Flintshire, and preacher at Worthenbury Chapel, in the parish of Bangor-is-coed, same county. In 1654 he was with his pupils at Oxford; from 1655 he was constantly at Worthenbury. The rector of Bangor was Henry Bridgeman [q. v.], but the living had been sequestered in 1646. Robert Fogg, the parliamentary incumbent, put in a caveat (14 Sept. 1657) against Henry's ordination as minister of Worthenbury, but afterwards withdrew it. Accordingly, having undergone a lengthy but rather superficial examination by the fourth Shropshire classis (constituted by parliament, April 1647), he was ordained with five others at Prees, Shropshire, on 16 Sept. 1657. No mention is made of his subscribing the 'league and covenant,' as ordered by parliament; he made a strongly Calvinistic confession, but said nothing about church government. His ideal was a modified episcopacy on Ussher's system. In 1658 a commission of ecclesiastical promotions took Worthenbury Chapel out of Bangor parish, making it with Worthenbury Church (a donative) a new parish, of which Henry was incumbent. He declined the vicarage of Wrexham, Denbighshire, in March 1659, refusing shortly afterwards a considerable living near London. He appears to have sympathised with the royalist rising under Sir George Booth in August 1659. Mrs. Puleston died in 1658, and the judge on 5 Sept. 1659. Roger Puleston, their eldest son, had no love for his tutor; they had even come to blows (16 Sept. 1656).

At the Restoration, which Henry, then newly married, welcomed as 'a publick national mercy,' Bridgeman resumed the rectory of Bangor, and Henry's position was simply that of his curate at Worthenbury Chapel. In September 1660 he was presented at Flint assizes with Fogg and Richard Steel for not reading the common prayer, and again at the spring assizes, without effect. He had taken the oath of allegiance, but refusing reordination he was incapable of preferment. On 24 Oct. 1661 Bridgeman, having failed to arrange matters, came to Worthenbury and read Henry's discharge 'before a rable.' Henry showed some feeling, but was allowed to preach farewell sermons on 27 Oct. The Uniformity Act, which took effect on 24 Aug. 1662, 'being the day of the year on which I was born . . . and also the day of the year on which by law I died,' made him a 'silenced minister.' He surrendered his house and annuity for 100*l.*, to avoid litigation, and left Worthenbury for Broad Oak, Flintshire, a property settled upon his wife.

Busby asked him some time afterwards, 'Pry'thee, child, what made thee a nonconformist?' His answer was, 'Truly, Sir, you made me one, for you taught me those things that hindered me from conforming.' This refers to principles of conscience, not to details of scruple. He consulted John Fell, D.D. [q. v.], then dean of Christ Church, about his difficulties. His main objection was reordination, which he reckoned simony. On 10 Oct. 1663 he was apprehended with thirteen others and imprisoned for four days at Hanmer, Flintshire, on suspicion of an insurrectionary plot. On 15 March 1665 he was cited to Malpas, Cheshire, for baptising one of his own children; at the end of the

month he was treated as a layman, and was made sub-collector of tax for the township of Iscoyd. The Five Mile Act of 1665 placed him in a difficulty, Broad Oak being four reputed miles from Worthenbury; on actual measurement it was found to be sixty yards over the five miles. However, he removed for a season to Whitchurch, Shropshire. All this time he was a regular attendant at the parish churches, his habit being to stand throughout the service; he forbore communicating simply on the ground of the kneeling posture. In February 1668 he preached by request in the parish church of Betley, Staffordshire, a circumstance of which distorted accounts were reported in the House of Commons. Not till the short-lived indulgence of 1672 did he resume his public ministry in his licensed house, still avoiding (like John Wesley) encroachment on church hours. On the withdrawal of the indulgence, he continued to preach without molestation till 1681, when he was fined for keeping conventicles. In 1682 he had a public discussion with quakers at Llanfyllin, Montgomeryshire, and was drawn into a debate on ordination at Oswestry, Shropshire, with William Lloyd, then bishop of St. Asaph, and Henry Dodwell the elder [q. v.] At the time of the Monmouth rebellion he was confined in Chester Castle for three weeks (July 1685) under a general order from the lord-lieutenant. He joined in a cautiously worded address (September 1687) to James II. In May 1688 he was placed on the commission of the peace for Flintshire, but declined to qualify. At the revolution he had great hopes of 'comprehension.' The terms of the Toleration Act he accepted; he would have preferred a toleration without subscription; there were points in the articles which, 'without a candid construction, would somewhat scruple mee, so would the Bible its. strictly taken & in the letter, in those places which seem contradictory, were it not for such an interpretation.' Hereafter he ministered at Broad Oak 'at publick time,' in an outbuilding near his house.

His last years were spent in assiduous pastoral labours, in spite of waning strength. He died at Broad Oak of a sudden attack of colic and stone, on 24 June 1696, and was buried on 27 June in Whitchurch Church, where a marble tablet was erected to his memory, bearing a Latin inscription by John Tylston, M.D., his son-in-law. In 1712, when the church was rebuilt, his body was removed to the churchyard, and the monument to the porch. In 1844 a tablet bearing an English version of the epitaph was placed in the north aisle of the church, the original monument being transferred to Whitewell Chapel, near Broad Oak. Funeral sermons were preached at Broad Oak by Francis Tallents of Shrewsbury, James Owen of Oswestry, and Matthew Henry. Henry's portrait, in the possession (1882) of Mrs. Philip Henry Lee, shows a plaintive countenance, with puritan skull-cap and band; an engraving is prefixed to the 'Life' by his son. He married, on 26 April 1660, at Whitewell Chapel, Katharine (*b.* 25 March 1629, *d.* 25 May 1707), only child of Daniel Matthews of Bronington, Flintshire, and had two sons, John (*b.* 3 May 1661, *d.* 12 April 1667), and Matthew [q. v.], and four daughters, all of whom married. A genealogy of his descendants, to 1844, was published by Miss Sarah Lawrence of Leamington.

Unless we count a page of respectable Latin iambics contributed to 'Musarum Oxoniensium 'Ελαιοφορία,' &c., Oxford, 1654, 4to, Henry published nothing. Sir John Bickerton Williams published from Henry's manuscripts: 1. 'Eighteen Sermons,' &c., 1816, 8vo. 2. 'Skeletons of Sermons,' &c., 1834, 12mo. 3. 'Exposition . . . upon the first eleven chapters of . . . Genesis,' &c., 1839, 12mo. 4. 'Remains,' &c., 1848, 12mo. 5. His diaries for twenty-two years (written in interleaved Goldsmith's Almanacs, with a crow-quill) were published in 1882. Like his manuscripts for the pulpit, they consist of brief notes and memoranda, invaluable for the light they throw on the inner life of the earlier nonconformity. They exhibit no humour, little evidence of learning or literature, but much curiosity about natural wonders. In 1656 he bought a library from a minister's widow for 10*l.*, and added few books to it. He believed in special providences, and invariably saw a divine judgment in the misfortune of an enemy of nonconformity. The veneration which hallows his memory is a tribute to his purity of spirit and transparency of character.

[Memoirs of the Life, &c., by Matthew Henry, 1698; corrected and enlarged by Sir J. B. Williams, 1825 (also in Wordsworth's Eccles. Biog. vol. vi. 1818); Public Characters of 1800–1, p. 339; Lee's Diaries and Letters of P. Henry, 1882 (see also Christian Life, 1883, pp. 129 sq.); Lawrence's Descendants of P. Henry, 1844; Sketch by C. Wicksteed in Christian Reformer, 1862, pp. 641 sq.] A. G.

**HENRY, ROBERT** (1718–1790), historian, son of James Henry, farmer, of Muirton, parish of St. Ninian's, Stirlingshire, and Jean Galloway, was born on 18 Feb. 1718. After attending the parish school of St. Ninian's and the grammar school of Stirling, he entered the university of Edinburgh

with the view of studying for the church. On completing his studies he became master of the grammar school at Annan. He was licensed to preach on 27 March 1746, and in November 1748 was ordained minister of a congregation of presbyterian dissenters at Carlisle. In November 1760 he became pastor of the 'High Meeting-house,' Berwick-on-Tweed. He had commenced his 'History of England on a New Plan' in 1763, but found residence in Berwick an almost insuperable obstacle to the proper accomplishment of such a work. His difficulties were, however, removed by his being appointed in November 1768 minister of New Grey Friars Church, Edinburgh, through the influence of Lord-provost Lawrie of Edinburgh, who had married his sister. In 1771 he received the degree of D.D. from the university of Edinburgh, and in 1774 was chosen moderator of the general assembly. He was transferred in 1776 to the collegiate charge of Old Grey Friars Church, where he remained till his death, 24 Nov. 1790. He was buried in the churchyard at Polmont, where a monument was erected.

The first volume of Henry's 'History of England' appeared in 1771, the second in 1774, the third in 1777, the fourth in 1781, the fifth in 1785, and the sixth, edited by Laing, posthumously in 1793. The work embraces the period from the invasion of the Romans till the death of Henry VIII, and is divided into periods, the history of which is treated under seven separate headings—civil and military history, history of religion, history of the constitution, government, and laws and courts of justice, history of learning, history of arts, history of commerce, and history of manners. An extraordinary attempt was made by Dr. Gilbert Stuart [q. v.], apparently from mere motives of jealousy, to damage the reputation of the book and stop its sale, by confessedly unscrupulous criticism. Besides penning a scandalously unfair review in the 'Edinburgh Magazine,' he endeavoured to secure unfavourable notices of it in as many of the London periodicals as possible (see letters in DISRAELI, *Calamities of Authors*). The disreputable effort practically failed, Henry having before his death drawn as much as 3,300*l.* from the sale of the work. As a popular and comprehensive history it has much merit, but it lacks original research, while its style and method detract from its literary value. In recognition of his labours Henry, on the recommendation of the Earl of Mansfield, received from George III, on 28 May 1781, a pension of 100*l.* His history was translated into French in 1789–96, and passed also into several English editions. His books were bequeathed to the magistrates of Linlithgow, to form the nucleus of a public library.

[Life by Malcolm Laing, in the third edition of the Encyclopædia Britannica, reprinted in Scots Magazine, liii. 365–70, and in preface to vol. vi. of Henry's History; Disraeli's Calamities of Authors; Nichols's Lit. Anecd. viii. 329, ix. 679; Nichols's Illustrations of Literature, viii. 229–34; Chambers's Biog. Dict. of Eminent Scotsmen; Hew Scott's Fasti Eccles. Scot. i. 16, 71.] T. F. H.

HENRY, THOMAS (1734–1816), chemist, was born at Wrexham on 26 Oct. 1734, and educated at the grammar school there. His father had come to Wales from Antrim, and kept a boarding-school at Wrexham. On leaving school Thomas was apprenticed at Wrexham to an apothecary, on whose death he completed his term at Knutsford, Cheshire. When his apprenticeship terminated he became assistant to an apothecary named Malbon at Oxford. While there he attended anatomical lectures. Returning to Knutsford in 1759, he began business on his own account, and soon afterwards married Mary Kinsey of that town. He removed five years later to Manchester, and succeeded to the business of a surgeon-apothecary in St. Anne's Square.

He had already manifested a taste for chemistry, and now energetically devoted himself to that study. In 1771 he communicated to the Royal College of Physicians 'An Improved Method of Preparing Magnesia Alba,' which was published in their 'Transactions' (vol. ii.), and afterwards reprinted in 1773 with other essays, entitled 'Experiments and Observations,' &c. His process of preparing calcined magnesia was communicated to the Royal College of Physicians without any reservation; but at the suggestion of the president of the college and other leading medical men he took out a patent and prepared it for sale. It became a lucrative property.

He was admitted a fellow of the Royal Society in 1775, on the recommendation of Sir John Pringle and Dr. Priestley. Some years later he was elected a member of the American Philosophical Society at the instance of Dr. Franklin. About the same time he published a paper 'On the Action of Lime and Marl as Manures,' which was reprinted in Hunter's 'Georgical Essays,' 1803, ii. 47. In 1776 he translated some of Lavoisier's works ('Essays, Physical and Chemical'), and in 1783 a further selection of the same writer's 'Chemical Essays.' He first observed that a certain amount of carbonic acid in the air is favourable to the growth of

plants. In 1781 he issued 'An Account of a Method of Preserving Water at Sea,' in which he proposed the use of lime to prevent putrefaction.

On the organisation of the Manchester Literary and Philosophical Society in 1781 he was appointed one of its secretaries. He became its president in 1807, and retained the position during the rest of his life. Many papers were read by him before the society, and some are printed in its 'Memoirs.' These comprise essays on the 'Advantages of Literature and Philosophy,' 'Ferments and Fermentation,' 'Observations on the Bills of Mortality of Manchester and Salford,' 'The Nature of Wool, Silk, and Cotton as objects of the Art of Dyeing,' and a 'Memoir of Dr. Charles White.' In 1783 he published 'Memoirs of Albert de Haller,' and helped to establish in Manchester a College of Arts and Sciences, in connection with which he delivered several courses of lectures on chemistry. In these lectures he was assisted by his son, Thomas Henry, jun., a youth of promise, who died young. He also lectured on bleaching, dyeing, and calico-printing. Henry was clear-headed, ready, and practical. Although his special study was pursued amid the anxieties of business, he occasionally contributed to medical journals, and interested himself in the literature and politics of the day. He was an early member of one of the first societies for the abolition of the African slave trade. About middle life he left the church of England and joined the unitarians.

He died on 18 June 1816, aged 81, and was buried at the Cross Street Unitarian Chapel, Manchester. His son William is separately noticed. His portrait, by Joseph Allen, belongs to the Manchester Literary and Philosophical Society.

[William Henry's tribute to his father's memory, in Memoirs of Manchester Lit. and Phil. Soc., 2nd ser. iii. 204, reprinted, with funeral sermon by J. G. Robberds, 1819; R. Angus Smith's Centenary of Science in Manchester, 1883, p. 108; Royal Society's Cat. of Scientific Papers; Watt's Bibl. Brit.; communication from Dr. W. C. Henry.] C. W. S.

**HENRY**, Sir THOMAS (1807–1876), police magistrate, eldest son of David Henry of St. Stephen's Green, Dublin, head of the firm of Henry, Mullins, & MacMahon, government contractors, was born in Dublin in 1807. He was educated at Von Feinagle's school in that city and at Trinity College, where he graduated B.A. 1824, and M.A. 1827. On 23 Jan. 1829 he was called to the bar at the Middle Temple, went the northern circuit, and attended the West Riding of Yorkshire sessions. He was magistrate at the Lambeth Street police-court, Whitechapel, from April 1840 till 1846, when he was transferred to Bow Street, became chief magistrate there 6 July 1864, and was knighted on 30 Nov. He discharged his duties with general approval. To him is very largely due the existing law of extradition; the Extradition Act and the various treaties connected therewith between England and foreign powers were in each case drawn by him. He was for many years the chief adviser of the government on all questions of administrative and correctional police, and his opinion was acted upon in the various licensing bills, the betting acts, Sunday trading legislation, and similar measures. He gave evidence before the committee on theatrical licenses, and pointed out with great precision the position of music-halls and casinos as places of amusement, and the degree of police supervision to which it is desirable that they should be subjected (*Report on Theatrical Licenses*, 1866, pp. 30–8). He died at his residence, 23 Hanover Square, London, 16 June 1876, and was buried in the ground of St. Thomas's Roman catholic church, Fulham, on 21 June.

[Times, 17 June 1876, p. 10, 22 June p. 5; Law Times, 1 July 1876, p. 167; Graphic, 24 June 1876, pp. 614, 628, with portrait; Illustrated London News, 14 March 1846 p. 172, with portrait, 24 June 1876 p. 623, 1 July pp. 3, 4, with portrait.] G. C. B.

**HENRY**, WILLIAM, D.D. (*d.* 1768), dean of Killaloe, was probably a native of Gloucestershire, and was educated at the university of Dublin. His entrance and date of his B.A. degree are not recorded, but he proceeded M.A. vernis 1748, and B.D. and D.D. vernis 1750. Henry was the friend and chaplain to Dr. Josiah Hort [q. v.], who was consecrated to the see of Ferns in 1721, and was translated to Kilmore in 1727, and to Tuam in 1741. By this prelate he was collated to the benefice of Killesher, diocese of Kilmore, co. Fermanagh, 1 Oct. 1731. Henry became rector of Urney, diocese of Derry, co. Tyrone, in 1734, and dean of Killaloe 29 Nov. 1761. He died in Dublin on 13 Feb. 1768, and was interred at St. Anne's in that city. His wife survived him, and remarrying with Surgeon Doyle of Dublin (whom she also survived), died in February or March 1793. Henry was a popular preacher, a keen observer of natural history and phenomena, and an earnest advocate both for temperance and for civil and religious liberty. He was elected F.R.S. of London 20 Feb. 1755. At least twelve of his single sermons were printed, and three

of his papers, read before the Royal Society, appear in the 'Philosophical Transactions.' One of these papers, read in 1753, treated of 'The Copper Springs in County Wicklow.' 'A Description of Lough Erne in Ireland,' from his pen, remains in manuscript in the library of the British Museum, Add. MS. 4436, and letters to the Duke of Newcastle between 1761 and 1768 are in Add. MSS. 32930, &c.

[Todd's Cat. of Grad. Univ. Dubl.; Cotton's Fasti Eccles. Hib.; Pue's Occurrences, 20 Feb. 1768, Dublin; Walker's Hib. Mag.; Cat. Scientific Papers; First-fruits Returns, Public Record Office, Dublin.] W. R–L.

**HENRY, WILLIAM** (1774–1836), chemist, son of Thomas Henry, F.R.S. [q. v.], born at Manchester on 12 Dec. 1774, was educated at the Manchester academy under the Rev. Ralph Harrison [q. v.] After five years spent with Dr. Thomas Percival he removed, in the winter of 1795–6, to the university of Edinburgh, where he attended, among other lectures, those of Dr. Black on chemistry. He afterwards assisted his father in general medical practice at Manchester, but returned to Edinburgh in 1805, and took the degree of M.D. in 1807, the title of his inaugural dissertation being 'De Acido Urico et Morbis a nimia ejus secretione ortis.' Meanwhile he had communicated to the Royal Society a paper on carbonated hydrogenous gas (1797), another on muriatic acid (1800), and the results of important experiments he had carried on with regard to the quantity of gases absorbed by water at different temperatures and under different pressures (1803). Other contributions on the results of investigations into the chemistry of aeriform bodies were subsequently made to the same society up to 1824, as well as to the Manchester Literary and Philosophical Society. In 1799 he delivered a course of lectures on chemistry at Manchester, and published 'A General View of the Nature and Objects of Chemistry, and of its application to Arts and Manufactures.' In 1801 he issued 'An Epitome of Chemistry' (4th edit. 1806, 8vo, pp. 525). This was afterwards much expanded, and the title changed to 'The Elements of Experimental Chemistry.' It went through eleven editions, the last published in 1829, in two large volumes octavo. To medical science he contributed several papers on calculi, diabetes, &c., as well as observations on cases which fell under his notice as physician to the Manchester Infirmary. An elaborate report on cholera from his pen appeared in the report of the British Association for 1834. He was admitted a fellow of the Geological Society of London soon after its formation. In 1808 he was elected F.R.S., and was awarded the Copley gold medal. He wrote several literary essays, including one called 'Cursory Remarks on Music' ('Edinburgh Monthly Magazine'), besides able and graceful biographical notices of Davy, Wollaston, and others. His estimate of Priestley was read at the first meeting of the British Association at York in 1831. He collected materials for a history of chemical discovery, but did not live to carry out the project.

A severe accident in boyhood stopped his growth. In later years ill-health caused him to relinquish the medical profession, and to devote himself partly to science and partly to his father's lucrative chemical business. Refined in manner and eloquent in speech, his society was much courted. 'He was an accomplished and original man; one who advanced science, and took a prominent place among the chemists of the age' (Smith).

He died on 2 Sept. 1836, and was buried at the Cross Street Unitarian Chapel, Manchester. He married, on 27 June 1803, Mary, daughter of Thomas Bayley of Manchester. She died in 1837. The Manchester Literary and Philosophical Society possesses a bust of Henry by Chantrey and a portrait by James Lonsdale. The latter was engraved by Henry Cousins in 1838.

[Biographical notice by his son, William Charles Henry, M.D., in Memoirs of Manchester Lit. and Phil. Soc. 2nd ser. vol. vi.; John Davies's Sketch of his Character, 1836; R. Angus Smith's Centenary of Science in Manchester, 1883, p. 123; Baker's Memorials of a Dissenting Chapel, p. 99; Encycl. Brit. 9th edit. xi. 677; Royal Society's Cat. of Scientific Papers, containing titles of thirty-nine papers by him; communication from Dr. W. C. Henry.] C. W. S.

**HENRYSON, EDWARD** (1510?–1590?), Scottish judge, was born about 1510. He studied Roman law at the university of Bourges, where he graduated. His professor was Equinar Baron, a well-known jurist, to whom he became much attached, and by whom he was introduced to Ulric Fugger of Kirchberg and Weissenhorne in the Tyrol, an ardent collector of books and ancient manuscripts, who gave him a pension, and in whose house he found a home and a congenial occupation in collecting and translating classical texts. He there translated into Latin the commentary of Plutarch on the stoic philosophy, which was published at Leyden in 1555. It is a small duodecimo volume with an appendix containing emendations of doubtful readings in the original Greek text. He is also said to have translated the 'Enchiridion' of Epictetus and the 'Commentaries' of Arrian,

[illegible] which was published. In 1552 he returned to Scotland and appears to have practised for a short time as an advocate in Edinburgh. Having [illegible] he was in 1554 [illegible] professor of Roman law [illegible] University of Bologna. About this time [illegible] published in Bologna [illegible] was [illegible] by the [illegible] [illegible] Bologna [illegible] Edinburgh [illegible] published [illegible] [illegible] Mr. [illegible] Robert Henryson, Licentiate in Arts and Bachelor in Decrees.' At [illegible] separate deeds (March 1477–8 [illegible] 1478) granted by the abbot of Dunfermline, he is described as 'Magister [illegible] Henryson, notarius publicus.' As [illegible] notaries were commonly clergymen, Henryson was probably in orders, and [illegible] page of the 'Fables' of 1570 [illegible] Mss. 1565, p. 1: *Morall Fables*, [illegible] a schoolmaster, it is pro- [illegible] hold a clerical appointment [illegible] Dunfermline Abbey. The abbots [illegible] schoolmaster of the grammar [illegible] was within the precincts of [illegible] this may have been Henry- [illegible] Hallé (*Ancient Scottish* [illegible] supposes his office to have been [illegible] in the Benedictine [illegible]

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that he is related to the Fordel family. His name is not on the university register of either St. Andrews or Glasgow, the only two university seats then in Scotland; and Dr. Laing, in the introduction to his complete edition of Henryson's 'Poems and Fables,' thinks it likely that he may have completed his studies and graduated abroad. His common appellation, 'Master Robert Henryson,' indicates that he was a master of arts. When he was admitted, 10 Sept. 1462, as a member of the recently founded [illegible] University, he was called 'the Venerable Master Robert Henrysone, Licentiate in Arts and Bachelor in Decrees.' At [illegible] separate deeds (March 1477–8 [illegible] 1478) granted by the abbot of Dunfermline, he is described as 'Magister [illegible] Henryson, notarius publicus.' As [illegible] notaries were commonly clergymen, Henryson was probably in orders, and [illegible] page of the 'Fables' of 1570 [illegible] Mss. 1565, p. 1: *Morall Fables*, [illegible] a schoolmaster, it is pro- [illegible] hold a clerical appointment [illegible] Dunfermline Abbey. The abbots [illegible] schoolmaster of the grammar [illegible] was within the precincts of [illegible] this may have been Henry- [illegible] Hallé (*Ancient Scottish* [illegible] supposes his office to have been [illegible] in the Benedictine [illegible]

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**HENRYSON** or **HENDERSON**, SIR THOMAS, LORD CHESTERS (*d.* 1638), judge, was son of Edward Henryson [q. v.] Before 1600 he was one of the commissioners of Edinburgh, and was advocate-depute in certain processes of forfeiture before parliament in 1606. On 6 June 1622 he succeeded Sir Lewis Craig of Wrightslands as an ordinary lord of session, with the title of Lord Chesters, and was knighted, promotion which he owed to his staunch episcopalianism and the favour of the primate Spotiswood. This office he held till 1637, when he resigned owing to infirmities, retaining his title and privileges. In 1633 he had been a commissioner for revising the laws and collecting local customs. He died 3 Feb. 1638.

[Brunton and Haig's Senators of the Royal College of Justice; Books of Sederunt; Monteith's Theatre, p. 35; Acts Scots Parl. iv. 193, 277.]

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**HENSEY**, FLORENCE (*fl.* 1758), French spy, was born at Kildare in Ireland about 1714. When very young he came to England, and on 18 Oct. 1748 entered as a student of medicine at Leyden, where he graduated M.D. (*Leyden Students*, p. 48, Index Society). He afterwards travelled in Switzerland, Italy, Portugal, and Spain, and became proficient in the languages of the countries he visited. He then settled at Paris, where for some years he practised as a physician, and where he learnt to speak French fluently. Finally he removed to England, and commenced practice in London. On the outbreak of the seven years' war in 1756, Hensey opened a correspondence with an old fellow-student who was then engaged

neither of which was published. In 1552 he returned to Scotland, and appears to have practised for a short time as an advocate in Edinburgh. Having again returned to the continent, he was in 1554 elected professor of Roman law in the university of Bourges. About this time a treatise published by Baron on the law of jurisdiction was attacked by the jurist Govea. Henryson wrote a Latin reply in defence of Baron, dedicated to Fugger. In 1555 he published another work on Roman law, 'Commentatio in Tit. x. Libri Secundi Institutionum de Testamentis Ordinandis,' which was dedicated to Michael de l'Hôpital, chancellor of France. Both these works are included in Meerman's 'Thesaurus.' Henryson received high praise from writers on Roman law on the continent. Dempster calls him 'Solis Papinanis in juris cognitione inferior,' and adds that Henryson was remembered fifty years after in the university of Bourges as a man in the highest degree versed in classical literature.

Having resigned his professorship at Bourges he returned to Scotland, where in 1557 he was appointed counsel for the poor. In 1563 he was named to the office of commissary, and three years after he became an extraordinary lord of session. In 1566 he was named one of a commission to revise, correct, and print the laws and acts of parliament from 1424 to 1564. The work was completed in about six months. Henryson was the ostensible editor, and wrote the preface to it. He obtained an exclusive privilege to print and dispose of the work for a period of ten years from the date of publication. In 1573 he was one of the procurators for the church. In 1579 Lord Forbes petitioned parliament that Henryson might be appointed one of the commissioners for settling the disputes between the Forbes and the Gordons. He married Helen Swinton, eldest daughter of John Swinton of Swinton, and had two sons and a daughter. He died about 1590. His son Thomas is separately noticed.

[Dempster's Hist. Eccles. Gent. Scot.; Meerman's Thesaurus Juris Civilis et Canonici, vol. iii.; Henryson's Plutarchi Commentarium Stoicorum Contrariorum, Leyden, 1555; Brunton and Haig's Hist. of Coll. of Justice.] J. G. F.

**HENRYSON or HENDERSON, ROBERT** (1430?–1506?), Scottish poet, was probably born between 1420 and 1430, but neither the family to which he belongs nor the place of his birth has been discovered. Sibbald's surmise (*Chronicles of Scottish Poetry*, i. 88) that he was Henryson of Fordel, Fifeshire, father of the justice-clerk, James Henryson, who fell at Flodden, is not supported by evidence, nor is there any proof that he is related to the Fordel family. His name is not on the university register of either St. Andrews or Glasgow, the only two university seats then in Scotland; and Dr. Laing, in the introduction to his complete edition of Henryson's 'Poems and Fables,' thinks it likely that he may have completed his studies and graduated abroad. His common appellation, 'Master Robert Henryson,' indicates that he was a master of arts. When he was admitted, 10 Sept. 1462, as a member of the recently founded Glasgow University, he was called 'the Venerable Master Robert Henrysone, Licentiate in Arts and Bachelor in Decrees.' Attesting three separate deeds (March 1477–8 and July 1478) granted by the abbot of Dunfermline, he is described as 'Magister Robertus Henrison, notarius publicus.' As at that time notaries were commonly clergymen, Henryson was probably in orders, and as on the title-page of the 'Fables' of 1570 (*Harleian MS.* 3865, p. 1; *Morall Fables*, 1621) he is called a schoolmaster, it is probable that he held a clerical appointment within Dunfermline Abbey. The abbots elected the schoolmaster of the grammar school, which was within the precincts of the abbey, and this may have been Henryson's post. Lord Hailes (*Ancient Scottish Poems*, p. 273) supposes his office to have been 'that of preceptor of youth in the Benedictine convent at Dunfermline.'

In the fifth stanza of the prologue to his 'Testament of Cresseid' Henryson calls himself 'a man of age,' and Dunbar's reference to his death in his 'Lament for the Makaris' (written before 1508) seems to indicate that the event was comparatively recent. There are only three after him on the melancholy roll (not including Kennedy, who 'in poynt of dede lyis veraly'). It is probable that Dunbar knew Henryson, and that if he did not live into the beginning of the sixteenth century, he died very late in the fifteenth. Sir Francis Kinaston [q.v.], who about 1635 appended Henryson's 'Testament' to a rhymed Latin version of Chaucer's 'Troylus,' embodied in his introduction a tradition, derived from 'divers aged schollers of the Scottish nation,' that the author was 'one Mr. Robert Henderson, sometimes chiefe schoole-master in Dumfermling,' adding that he died at a very great age. It is quite possible that Henryson wrote his poem 'Ane Prayer for the Pest' when the plague, known as 'Grandgore,' was in Edinburgh in 1497, but there is nothing to support the surmise (HENDERSON, *Annals of Dunfermline*) that he was one of its victims, when, as shown by the burgh records, it raged in Dunfermline in 1499.

Henryson is the most Chaucerian of the Scottish 'makaris.' The 'Tale of Orpheus' and the 'Testament of Cresseid' alone amply exemplify this. The latter, indeed, despite Charteris's Edinburgh edition of 1593, was given as Chaucer's, along with the 'Troylus,' until Urry distinguished it as Henryson's in his edition of Chaucer, 1721. Its descriptive writing is vigorous, and it has passages of strenuous impassioned verse, the complaint of the leprous Cresseid, in particular, being a rapid and impressive outburst. Henryson is abreast of the culture of his time, and loftily moralises (both in the 'Fables' and the philosophical lyrics) on the troubles of his fatherland. His 'Abbey Walk,' 'Garmond of Gude Ladeis,' 'Ressoning betwixt Aige and Yowth,' and the like, show him as a strict didactic philosopher and Christian optimist. He is the first pure lyrist among Scottish poets. His ingenious rhymes and his mastery of pause and cadence, as seen, e.g., in the quatrain of the 'Garmond' and the octave of the 'Abbey Walk' and 'Robene and Makyne,' betoken a correct and disciplined ear. Besides giving special direction to the ballad, Henryson introduced into the language the moral fable and the pastoral. His 'Bludy Serk,' 'Morall Fables of Esope the Phrygian,' and 'Robene and Makyne' are all distinct and valuable additions to English poetry. Despite the tediousness of which Lord Hailes and others complain, there are no better fables in the language than the thirteen written by Henryson, and his pastoral—the love story of a Scottish lad and lass, with its wayward freaks and fancies, its happy dialogue, and its critical close—holds a unique position.

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in the French foreign office. As a result he entered the French service as a spy, and in return for a salary of a hundred guineas a year supplied information as to the movements and equipment of the English fleet. He warned the French of the intended expedition to Rochefort in 1757, and his warning seems to have contributed to the failure of that enterprise. Hensey conducted his correspondence through a brother who was chaplain to the Spanish ambassador at the Hague. A postman, who knew that Hensey was a Roman catholic, and had observed his frequent foreign correspondence, called the attention of his superiors to the matter, and on opening Hensey's letters evidence was obtained which led to his arrest, on 21 Aug. 1757, as he was leaving the catholic church in Soho Square. After many examinations before the secretary of state, Hensey was committed to Newgate 9 March 1758, and on 8 May was brought before the king's bench and ordered to prepare for his trial. The trial took place before Earl Mansfield on 12 June, occupying all day. The evidence of guilt was overpowering; further letters were found at Hensey's lodgings in Arundel Street, Strand, in a bureau of which he alone had the key, and were conclusively shown to be in his handwriting. There was practically no defence, and such technical objections as were raised were overruled. On the 14th Hensey was condemned to death as a traitor; but on 12 July, the very day appointed for his execution, he received a respite for a fortnight, and this period was afterwards extended, till on 7 Sept. 1759 he was admitted to bail in order to plead his pardon next term. After this Hensey disappears. There is a medallion portrait of him in the 'Genuine Account,' and a full-length one of him in fetters in the 'Genuine Memoirs.'

[A Genuine Account of the Proceedings on the Trial of Florence Hensey, M.D., London, 1758; Genuine Memoirs of the Life and Treasonable Practices of Dr. Florence Hensey, London, 1758 (written between sentence and the day appointed for his execution); Ann. Reg. 1758, pp. 97–9; Gent. Mag. 1758 pp. 240, 287–8, 337–8, 1759 p. 438.] C. L. K.

HENSHALL, SAMUEL (1764?–1807), philologist, born in 1764 or 1765, son of George Henshall, grocer, of Sandbach, Cheshire, was educated at Manchester grammar school. On being nominated to a school exhibition he went to Brasenose College, Oxford, matriculated on 11 Oct. 1782, and subsequently became one of Hulme's exhibitioners. His tutor was Thomas Braithweite, an old Manchester schoolboy, whom he mentions gratefully in his 'Etymological Organic Reasoner,' p. 8. He graduated B.A. 14 June 1786, M.A. 12 May 1789, and after taking holy orders was elected a fellow of the college. On 9 Dec. 1792, being then curate of Christ Church, Spitalfields, he was an unsuccessful candidate for the lectureship of St. Peter the Poor, and preached a probationary sermon, afterwards published. In November 1800 he stood, again without success, for the Anglo-Saxon professorship at Oxford against Thomas Hardcastle (*Gent. Mag.* vol. lxx. pt. ii. p. 1097). In 1801 he was appointed a public examiner in the university. He was presented by his college on 22 Jan. 1802 to the rectory of St. Mary Stratford, Bow, Middlesex, where he died on 17 Nov. 1807, aged 42. A narrow flat stone, on the south side of the chancel, covers his remains, and records that 'he was rector of the parish five years, ten months, and twenty-six days,' and that 'he was married five years, six months, and thirteen days.'

Henshall published: 1. 'Specimens and Parts; containing a History of the County of Kent and a Dissertation on the Laws from the reign of Edward the Confessour to Edward the First; of a Topographical, Commercial, Civil, and Nautical History of South Britain . . ., from authentic documents,' 2 vols. 4to, London, 1798. This was to have been completed in six quarterly parts, but it was discontinued after forty-one pages of vol. ii. had been printed. 2. 'The Saxon and English Languages reciprocally illustrative of each other; the Impracticability of acquiring an accurate Knowledge of Saxon Literature through the Medium of the Latin Phraseology exemplified in the Errors of Hickes, Wilkins, Gibson, and other scholars; and a new Mode suggested of radically studying the Saxon and English Languages,' 4to, London, 1798, dedicated to Thomas Astle [q. v.], his 'avowed patron,' who had permitted him the 'unlimited perusal' of his manuscripts. Richard Gough and Professor Charles Mayo in the 'Gentleman's Magazine' (vol. lxviii. pt. ii. pp. 861–5) and Horne Tooke in the 'Analytical Review' exposed Henshall's ignorance and self-conceit. 3. 'Domesday, or an Actual Survey of South Britain, . . . faithfully translated, with an introduction, notes, and illustrations, by Samuel Henshall . . . and John Wilkinson, M.D.,' 4to, London, 1799. This, comprehending the counties of Kent, Sussex, and Surrey, was to be the first of ten similar numbers, which were to contain both volumes of the original. In spite of a boastful advertisement, the book was shown to be full of blunders, and dropped after the first number. 4. 'Strictures on the late Motions of

the Duke of Leinster, . . . R. B. Sheridan, Esq., . . . and a paragraph in the semi-official Chronicle of Opposition,' 8vo, London, 1799 (*Gent. Mag.* vol. lxx. pt. ii. p. 645). 5. A thanksgiving sermon upon Trafalgar, preached 5 Dec. 1805, rightly described as 'fustian declamation' in the 'Gentleman's Magazine' for April 1806. 6. 'The Gothic Gospel of Saint Matthew, from the Codex Argenteus of the Fourth Century; with the corresponding English or Saxon from the Durham Book of the Eighth Century, in Roman characters; a literal English Lesson of each; and Notes, Illustrations, and Etymological Disquisitions on Organic Principles,' 8vo, London, 1807, dedicated to Richard Heber [q. v.], to whom Henshall was indebted for the loan of rare books. Four monthly numbers; the fifth, due on 30 Sept. 1807, was stopped by Henshall's last illness. In the 'occasional preface' he turns upon his critics and threatens in a note to expose 'this mystery of iniquity,' in which 'many Antiquaries, Blackstonians, Electioneering Oxonians, Reviewers, Low Churchmen, Presbyterians, Methodists, and other herds of animals that follow their leader's tail are concerned.' To the 'Anti-Jacobin Review and Magazine' Henshall was at one time a frequent contributor.

[J. F. Smith's Reg. Manchester Grammar School (Chetham Soc.), ii. 8–10, iii. pt. ii. 322; Foster's Alumni Oxon. 1715–1886, p. 646; Gent. Mag. vol. lxxvii. pt. ii. pp. 1176, vol. lxxviii. pt. i. p. 288; Brit. Mus. Cat.; Lysons's Environs, Supplement, p. 307.] G. G.

**HENSHAW, JOSEPH, D.D.** (1603–1679), bishop of Peterborough, was the son of Thomas Henshaw, solicitor-general of Ireland. His grandfather, William Henshaw of Worth in Sussex, was descended from an old Cheshire family, resident at Henshaw Hall, in the parish of Siddington, near Congleton. His mother was Joan, the only daughter of Richard Wistow, chief surgeon to Queen Elizabeth. The place of Henshaw's birth is doubtful. Salmon says definitely 'he was born in Cripplegate parish' (*Lives of English Bishops*, p. 321). Bishop Kennett's informant (*Baker MSS.* xxvi. 371) 'supposes' Sompting in Sussex; but the baptismal registers of neither parish contain his name. He was one of the first set of scholars admitted to the new foundation of Charterhouse by Thomas Sutton, on the ground of kinship, 19 July 1614. He entered as a commoner at Magdalen Hall, Oxford, in 1621, and graduated B.A. 26 Feb. 1624, B.D. 12 Dec. 1635, and D.D. 2 July 1639. Having taken holy orders he became chaplain to John Digby, earl of Bristol, and subsequently to George Villiers, duke of Buckingham, an office which he held at the time of the duke's assassination in 1628. By royal favour he was appointed to the prebendal stall of Hurst in Chichester Cathedral. He also held the benefice of Stedham-cum-Heyshot from 1634 to 1644, and that of East Lavant, also in the county of Sussex, to which he was appointed by Archbishop Laud in 1635. In 1633 he was married in Mid-Lavant Church to Jane, the daughter of John May of Rawmarsh in that parish. She died in 1639, at the age of twenty-nine, leaving a son and a daughter, and was buried at East Lavant. On the outbreak of the civil war, Henshaw, like all loyal ecclesiastics, was deprived of his prebendal stall and ejected from his living of East Lavant by the parliamentary commissioners. According to the 'Royalist Composition Papers' Henshaw, during the progress of the civil war, 'forsook his habitation in Sussex,' and repaired to Exeter, then the last hope of the royalist cause. On its surrender to Fairfax, 13 April 1646, he was declared a delinquent, and allowed to compound for his estate by paying a fine of 150*l.* His life during the Protectorate cannot be accurately traced. Some part of the time he is said to have spent 'at the Lady Paulet's house at Chiswick.' At the Restoration he was compensated for his sufferings in the royal cause by a rapid succession of dignities. He was appointed precentor of his old cathedral of Chichester 12 July 1660, and on Dr. Ryves' advancement to the deanery of Windsor in November of the same year received the deanery, holding the precentorship with it *in commendam*. He is stated to have done many services to the cathedral and its chapter in settling its affairs after the long period of confusion. Three years later he was appointed to the bishopric of Peterborough, being consecrated at Lambeth by Sheldon during the last illness of Archbishop Juxon, 10 May 1663. His episcopate was undistinguished. Pepys records having heard him preach 'but dully' at Whitehall on the king's birthday, 29 May 1669. According to Browne Willis he 'lived not very hospitably in his diocese' (*Survey*, i. 509). He died suddenly in London on Sunday, 9 March 1678–1679, after having attended Whitehall Chapel twice, and was buried in his former church of East Lavant by the side of his wife and son. His only surviving child, Mary, married Sir Andrew Hacket of Mixhull, Warwickshire, son of John Hacket, bishop of Lichfield [q. v.]

Henshaw wrote: 1. 'Horæ Succisivæ, or Spare Houres of Meditations upon our Dutie to God, Others, Ourselves,' London, 1631,

8vo, two parts; 2nd edit. 'inlarged,' same year 12mo, 3rd 1632, 4th 1635, 5th 1640, 7th 1661; new edition by William Turnbull, 1839. 2. 'Meditations Miscellaneous, Holy, and Humane,' London, 1637, 12mo; 2nd edit. 1639; 3rd edit., as 'Dayly Thoughts, or a Miscellany of Meditations,' &c., London, 1651. Republished as 'A New Year's Gift, Meditations, &c.,' London, 1704, 12mo, with a third part by Richard Kidder [q. v.], bishop of Bath and Wells. This edition was reprinted with the original title in 1841 at Oxford.

[Wood's Fasti, i. 414, 479, 510; Wood's Athenæ, ed. Bliss, iii. 1195, iv. 444; Walker's Sufferings of the Clergy, pt. ii. p. 13; Baker MSS. xxvi. 371; Sussex Archæol. Collections, v. 52, xix. 107; Salmon's Lives of English Bishops, p. 32; Elwes and Robinson's Castles and Manors of West Sussex, p. 35; Brit. Mus. Cat.] E. V.

**HENSHAW, NATHANIEL, M.D.** (*d.* 1673), physician, younger son of Benjamin Henshaw, 'one of the captains of the city of London,' who died 4 Dec. 1631, by his wife Anne, daughter of William Bonham, citizen of London, was entered on the physic line at Leyden on 4 Nov. 1653 (*Leyden Students*, Index Soc., p. 48), proceeded M.D. there, and was admitted to the same degree at Dublin in the summer term 1664 (*Cat. of Graduates in Univ. of Dublin*, 1591–1868, p. 267). On 20 May 1663 he was elected F.R.S. (Thomson, *Hist. of Roy. Soc.* Append. iv.) He practised in Dublin, but died in London in September 1673, and was buried on the 13th of that month in Kensington Church (parish register). His will, dated 6 Aug. 1673, was proved at London on the following 11 Sept. by his sister, Anne Grevys (registered in P. C. C. 113, Pye). He is author of a curious little treatise entitled 'Aero-Chalinos: or a Register for the Air; in five Chapters. 1. Of Fermentation. 2. Of Chylification. 3. Of Respiration. 4. Of Sanguification. 5. That often changing the Air is a friend to health. Also a discovery of a new method of doing it, without removing from one place to another, by means of a Domicil, or Air-Chamber, fitted to that purpose. For the better preservation of Health, and cure of Diseases, after a new Method,' 8vo, Dublin, 1664. The second edition (12mo, London, 1677) was printed by order of the Royal Society, at a meeting held on 1 March 1676–1677, having been prepared for the press by the author's elder brother, Thomas Henshaw [q. v.] (Wood, *Athenæ Oxon.* ed. Bliss, iv. 446). It was reviewed in the 'Philosophical Transactions' (xii. 834–5) by Henry Oldenburg.

[Authorities as above.] G. G.

**HENSHAW, THOMAS** (1618–1700), scientific writer, son of Benjamin Henshaw, and brother of Nathaniel Henshaw [q. v.], was born in Milk Street, city of London, on 15 June 1618. After attending school at Barnet and then in Cripplegate, London, he was entered as commoner at University College, Oxford, in 1634, and remained there five years without taking a degree. He entered the Middle Temple, and on the commencement of the civil war joined Charles I at York. Soon afterwards he 'went to London to recruit himself,' and being taken prisoner by the parliamentarians, was allowed to pass out of the country on his giving good security not to join the king's army again. Henshaw sailed to Holland, and afterwards entered the French army, in which he became major. He subsequently travelled through Spain. Passing thence to Italy, he lived in succession at Rome, Padua, and Venice, till a 'little before the murther of King Charles I,' when he got leave to return to England. In 1654 was printed at Spa a 'Vindication of Thomas Henshaw, sometime Major in the French King's service, in justification of himself against the Aspersions throwne upon him.' In this he repudiates any share in the plots on behalf of Charles II, but calls Cromwell 'the greatest murtherer.'

On his return to England Henshaw was called to the bar, but discontinued the practice of the common law on account of 'the sowre complexion of the times.' After the Restoration Henshaw was appointed the king's under-secretary of the French tongue and gentleman of the privy council in ordinary. He was chosen one of the fellows of the Royal Society at its first constitution in 1663. Henshaw continued as French secretary under James II and William III (see inscription on his tombstone at Kensington). In 1672 Henshaw attended the Duke of Richmond, ambassador extraordinary to the court of Denmark, as secretary of the embassy and assistant to the duke. The latter died on 12 Dec. of the same year, and Henshaw was commanded to remain in Denmark as envoy extraordinary, and held the office for two years and a half.

Henshaw spent the last years of his life at his house in Kensington, where he died on 2 Jan. 1699–1700. According to his tombstone in the chancel of the parish church there, a daughter Anne, his sole survivor, married Thomas Halsey of Gaddesden, Hertfordshire.

Henshaw published, from the Italian of F. Alvarez Samedo, 'History of the Great and Renowned Monarchy of China, to which is added a History of the late Invasion and

Conquest of the flourishing Kingdom of the Tartars, with an exact account of the other Affairs of China,' London, 1655. After the Restoration appeared several unimportant papers by him in the 'Philosophical Transactions of the Royal Society,' and two small treatises on making 'Salt Peter' and 'Gunpowder.' He edited with an epistle to the reader Dr. Stephen Skinner's 'Etymologicon Linguæ Anglicanæ,' 1671, and is referred to in the preface to Elias Ashmole's 'Way to Bliss' (printed 1658) as an expert in the occult science of the time.

[Wood's Athenæ Oxon. (Bliss), iii. 794, iv. 444; books quoted above.] R. E. A.

**HENSLOW, JOHN STEVENS** (1796–1861), botanist, the eldest of eleven children of John Prentis Henslow, a solicitor, was born at Rochester 6 Feb. 1796. Sir John Henslow, chief surveyor of the navy, was his grandfather. Henslow, who apparently inherited a taste for natural history from both his parents, was educated first at Rochester free grammar school and afterwards under the Rev. W. Jephson at Camberwell. In 1814 he entered St. John's College, Cambridge. Though already devoted to natural history, especially entomology and conchology, and studying chemistry under Cumming and mineralogy under E. D. Clarke, he graduated as sixteenth wrangler in 1818, proceeding M.A. in 1821. He became a fellow of the Linnean Society in 1818, and of the Geological Society in 1819. During the Easter vacation of the latter year he accompanied Adam Sedgwick, an intimate friend through life, on a geological tour in the Isle of Wight. This led to their co-operation in founding the Cambridge Philosophical Society. In the long vacation of 1819 Henslow took some of his pupils to the Isle of Man, and the geology of the island formed the subject of his first paper, which appeared in the 'Transactions' of the Geological Society. Similarly, in 1821, he explored Anglesea, describing it in the 'Transactions' of the Cambridge Philosophical Society. In 1822 he succeeded Dr. Edward Daniel Clarke [q.v.] as professor of mineralogy at Cambridge, and in 1824 was ordained deacon and priest, becoming curate of St. Mary the Less, Cambridge. On the death in 1827 of Thomas Martyn, in whose hands the professorship of botany had for thirty years been a sinecure, Henslow was appointed to the chair. He shortly afterwards resigned the professorship of mineralogy, and held the botanical chair for the remainder of his life. His enthusiasm rendered botany a popular subject in the university, and his excursions and *soirées* were attended by men of various tastes, Darwin, Berkeley, and Babington being among his pupils. Darwin, his favourite pupil, always expressed the highest regard for him. He recommended Darwin as naturalist for the Beagle, and during the five years of the voyage took charge of all the specimens sent home. So far as Henslow's own work was concerned, the chief fruit of the expedition was a 'Florula Keelingensis,' published in the 'Annals of Natural History' for 1838.

In 1832 Henslow was appointed vicar of Cholsey, Berkshire, but only resided at that place during the long vacations. In 1837 he was presented to the crown living of Hitcham, Suffolk, and in 1839 left Cambridge for that place. He had taken an active part in politics at Cambridge as a follower of Palmerston, and now turned his energies to the reform of a most neglected parish. In spite of farmers' opposition, he established schools, into which he introduced the voluntary study of botany with signal success, benefit clubs, cricket and athletic clubs, allotments, horticultural-shows, and parish excursions. At the half-yearly flower-shows he was in the habit of delivering most effectively simple 'lecturets,' as he termed them, mainly on some of the specimens in his varied collection of economic products. On the occasion of the parish excursions, substituted by him for the orgies known as 'tithe dinners,' he accompanied his parishioners to Ipswich, Cambridge, Norwich, and to the London exhibition of 1851. He further showed his interest in their well-being by the publication in 1843 of his 'Letters to the Farmers of Suffolk,' dealing with the economic application of manures and other practical teachings of physiology. In the same year he made the important discovery of the valuable beds of phosphatic nodules in the Suffolk Crag. Henslow was an active member of the British Association from 1832, presiding, among other occasions, over the natural history section at the heated discussion on the 'Origin of Species' at Oxford in the last year of his life. He was a member of the senate of London University from 1836, and as examiner in botany from 1838 insisted upon the necessity of a practical knowledge of the subject. In 1848 he took an active part in the foundation of the Ipswich Museum, a type of what a local museum should be, and acted as president of the managing committee from 1850. For the first Paris exhibition he prepared a series of specimens illustrative of the structure of fruits, for which he received a medal, a duplicate of which is now at South Kensington. At his death his large collections

were mainly divided between Ipswich, Cambridge, and Kew museums. He had greatly assisted Sir W. J. Hooker in the formation of the museums at Kew. After Darwin published his 'Origin of Species' in 1859, Henslow visited him at Down. 'Henslow will go a very little way with me and is not shocked at me,' wrote Darwin to Asa Gray (18 Feb. 1860). Henslow died at Hitcham on 16 May 1861. Adam Sedgwick attended his death-bed. Henslow was buried in Hitcham churchyard. He married in 1823 Harriet, daughter of the Rev. George Jenyns of Bottisham, Cambridgeshire; she died in 1857. He left two sons, Leonard and George, both clergymen; and three daughters, Frances, the first wife of Dr. (now Sir) J. D. Hooker; Anne, married to Major Barnard; and Louisa. There is a marble bust of Henslow by Woolner in the Kew Museum, and a lithograph portrait by Maguire in the Ipswich Museum series. The name *Henslovia* was given to a genus of plants now referred to *Lythraceæ*, and *Henslowia* of Wallich is a genus of *Santalaceæ*.

Among Henslow's chief publications are: 1. 'Catalogue of British Plants,' 1829; 2nd edit., 1835. 2. 'Principles of Descriptive and Physiological Botany,' 1836, in Lardner's 'Cabinet Cyclopædia.' 3. An 'Account of Roman Antiquities found at Rougham,' 1843, now a scarce pamphlet. 4. 'Dictionary of Botanical Terms,' 1857, originally issued in Maund's 'Botanic Garden.' 5. Nine botanical diagrams issued by the Science and Art Department in 1857. His name was put on the title of a 'Flora of Suffolk' issued in 1860 by Edmund Skepper, without his consent, he being merely a contributor. The successful 'Elementary Lessons in Botany' by Professor D. Oliver (1863) is professedly based upon work left in manuscript by Henslow.

[Memoir by his brother-in-law, the Rev. Leonard Jenyns, now Blomefield, with photograph of Woolner's bust and full bibliography, 1862; Proceedings of Linnean Society, 1861, vol. xxv.; Gardeners' Chronicle, 1861, pp. 505, 527, 551; Gent. Mag. 1861, ii. 90; F. Darwin's Life of Darwin, 1888; Clark and Hughes's Life of Adam Sedgwick, 1890; art. DARWIN, CHARLES ROBERT.] G. S. B.

**HENSLOWE, PHILIP** (*d.* 1616), theatrical manager, was fourth son of Edmund Henslowe of Lindfield, Sussex, who was in 1540 master of the game in Ashdown Forest and Broil Park. His mother's name was Margaret Ridge; his father's family came from Devonshire. Philip's earliest employment was as servant to one Woodward, bailiff to Viscount Montague, whose property included Battle Abbey and Cowdray in Sussex, and Montague House in Southwark. Henslowe's duties led him to settle in Southwark before 1577; in that year he was living there in the liberty of the Clink, and on the death of his master Woodward he married Agnes, Woodward's widow, with whom he obtained considerable property. He remained at Southwark till his death. From the first he showed a marked aptitude for commerce, and engaged in various trades. Between 1576 and 1586 he negotiated the sale of much wood in Ashdown Forest. On 14 June 1584 he was concerned in the purchase and dressing of goat-skins, and was for many years described as a dyer. He also manufactured starch, and practised pawnbroking and money-lending. In 1593 he bought land at Buxted, where his only sister Margaret and her husband Ralph Hogge, an ironfounder, were settled, and he subsequently obtained property at East Grinstead.

But Henslowe was chiefly occupied in the purchase and superintendence of house-property in Southwark. He owned many inns, including the Boar's Head, and several lodging-houses, some of which were undoubtedly used for immoral purposes. Chettle denounced him as a landlord who was unscrupulously harsh to poor tenants. He obtained much influence in the parish, was a regular communicant at church, was a vestryman from 1607, and churchwarden in 1608. He helped to assess a subsidy in the liberty of the Clink in 1608–9, and was selected with four other 'ancients' in 1613 to purchase 'of the court' the rectory of St. Saviour's. In 1604 he was in receipt of 20*l.* a year for providing a 'dock and yard' for the king's barges (*Cal. State Papers*, Dom. 1603–10, p. 228), and managed to obtain some small offices about the court, becoming groom of the royal chamber in 1593, and sewer of the chamber in 1603. On 30 Dec. 1604 he and another were granted the reversion of the bailiwick of Hinckford and Barstable, Essex (*ib.* p. 180). His own residence was on the river bank between the Clink prison and an inn called the Bell.

Henslowe's chief claim to distinction lies in his relations with theatrical property in Southwark and elsewhere. On 24 March 1584–5 he purchased the land close by the southern end of the modern Southwark Bridge, on which already stood a playhouse called the Little Rose. On 16 Jan. 1586–7 he and one Cholmley arranged for the rebuilding of the theatre and the erection of a refreshment-room in its neighbourhood. The new Rose playhouse was doubtless opened soon afterwards, and its financial management was in Henslowe's hands. On 17 Feb. 1592, when his extant account-books begin, Lord Strange's company was performing at the

Rose, and that or other companies occupied it almost continuously till 1603, when a quarrel between Henslowe and the ground landlord led him to close his connection with the house. He threatened to demolish it at the time. Meanwhile, he managed the theatre at Newington Butts when the lord admiral's and lord chamberlain's companies were acting together there in 1594. Towards the close of the century he seems to have taken some part in the management of the Swan Theatre, which, like the Rose, was on the Bankside. On 15 Oct. 1592 his step-daughter, Joan Woodward, had married Edward Alleyn the actor [q. v.], and his relations with Alleyn in business and in private life were thenceforth very close. On 26 Sept. 1598 an interesting extant letter from him to Alleyn, who was then in the country, mentions the murder by Ben Jonson of Gabriel Spencer, a member of Alleyn's company. In 1600 he and Alleyn built a new theatre called the Fortune in Golden Lane, Cripplegate Without. It was square in shape, was the largest playhouse of the time, and was opened in November 1600. Until his death Henslowe actively interested himself in the affairs of the Fortune, which was subsequently burnt down (9 Dec. 1621).

Henslowe and Alleyn were also connected with less elevated entertainments. In December 1594 they secured a substantial interest in the Paris Garden, devoted to bear-baiting, on the Bankside. They failed in 1598 in a joint application for the mastership of the royal game of bears, bulls, and mastiff dogs, but purchased the office from the holder in 1604, and secured a patent in their favour on 24 Nov. in that year. Many bears and lions belonging to the crown were thenceforth entrusted to their care (*Cal. State Papers*, Dom. 20 March 1611). In February 1610–11 Alleyn sold to Henslowe his interest in the Bear Garden, and on 29 April 1613 Henslowe and a new partner, Jacob Meade, 'waterman,' arranged for the demolition of the existing buildings, and for the erection of a new building, to be called the Hope, fitted for stage-plays, as well as for bull- and bear-baiting exhibitions. A new inn called the Dancing Bears was erected at the same time in the Garden, and there Meade resided. He, rather than Henslowe, managed the new Hope playhouse.

During Henslowe's tenure of the Rose and Fortune theatres plays by many of the leading Elizabethan dramatists were first put on the stage, and he was in intimate relations with the authors. His extant account-book proves that he bought plays direct from the authors, and hired them out at a profit, together with the necessary properties, to various acting companies. Among those who sold their works to him were Dekker, Drayton, Chapman, Chettle, Day, and Rowley. The highest price paid by him for a play before 1600 was 6*l.*; after that date the price sometimes rose to 10*l.*, but in many cases four, five, or even six authors were concerned in the composition, and shared in the emolument. The receipts, inserted in the extant diary, of moneys paid to dramatists by Henslowe are signed, and in some instances fully written out, by the recipients themselves, and thus some unique autographs are preserved. Henslowe often lent the authors small sums of money on account of promised work, and invariably kept them in humiliating subjection to himself. He always looked carefully after his security. Frances, wife of Robert Daborne [q. v.], one of his most needy clients, stated at the time of Henslowe's death that he had in his possession all Daborne's manuscripts, together with a bond for 20*l.* as security for some loan; these Henslowe restored a few hours before he died (Rendle).

Fully two-thirds of the plays mentioned by Henslowe as being acted under his management are now lost. Although plays by Marlowe, Chapman, and Dekker were repeatedly performed at his theatres, no play mentioned by him can be identified with any by Shakespeare. Shakespeare belonged to and wrote almost solely for the lord chamberlain's company of players, and that company only on one occasion came into contact with Henslowe or his theatres, namely, in 1594. The lord chamberlain's men then combined with the lord admiral's men, a company always more or less associated with Henslowe, to give some performances under Henslowe's management at the theatre in Newington Butts.

Henslowe died on 6 Jan. 1615–16, and was buried in the chancel of St. Saviour's Church, Southwark, on 10 Jan. 1615–16, 'with an afternoon knell of the church bell.' By his will, dated 5 Jan. 1615–16, he left all his lands and tenements to Agnes, his wife, whom he admits not to have used very well, although he derived much of his fortune from her. The overseers of his will were Edward Alleyn, Robert Bromfield, William Austin (1587–1634) [q. v.], and Roger Cole. The will was disputed by Henslowe's nephew, John Henslowe, but depositions made by witnesses in connection with the dispute agree that, although Henslowe was suffering from the palsy, his mind was quite clear to the last.

The volume containing Henslowe's diary and accounts, with many of his letters and other papers relating to him, is now preserved in Dulwich College library. The diary deals mainly with the expenses of his management

of the Rose and Fortune theatres between 1592 and 1603, but interspersed are memoranda, dated both earlier and later, of other commercial transactions, especially of his loans as money-lender or pawnbroker to the general public as well as to dramatists. Almost the whole is in his own crabbed handwriting, and the spelling is singularly bad. The theatrical entries between 1592 and 1597 supply the names of the plays performed at his theatres, with the dates of performance and his share of the receipts. After 1597 he added to the names of the plays only the sums advanced by him to authors, actors, or property-makers. The diary and some of the letters and papers were borrowed from the college about 1790 by Malone, who printed valuable extracts in his 'Historical Account' prefixed to the 'Variorum Shakespeare.' James Boswell the younger, Malone's literary executor, returned the volume to the college in 1812, but some of the inventories of Henslowe's theatrical properties and the like which Malone printed are now missing from the college library. The diary was (probably after Boswell returned it to Dulwich) much mutilated, chiefly by the excision of narrow slips. One of these cuttings, containing genuine signatures of George Chapman and Thomas Dekker, was purchased at a sale, and is now in Brit. Mus. Addit. MS. 30262. The diary was first printed at length by Mr. J. P. Collier for the Shakespeare Society in 1845, but while Collier had access to this and the other theatrical documents preserved at Dulwich, several forged entries were interpolated in the manuscript diary, and appear in the printed edition. Mr. G. F. Warner, in his 'Catalogue of the Dulwich MSS.,' has pointed out all the forgeries, some of which unwarrantably introduce the names of Nashe, Webster, and other dramatists. A letter at Dulwich purporting to be written by Marston to Henslowe is also a forgery.

[Henslowe's Diary, ed. Collier (Shakespeare Soc.); Alleyn Papers (Shakespeare Soc.); G. F. Warner's Cat. of MSS. at Dulwich College; Mr. William Rendle's Philip Henslowe, reprinted from the Genealogist, 1889; W. Rendle's and P. Norman's Inns of Old Southwark; Collier's Hist. of Engl. Dramatic Poetry; Fleay's Annals of the London Stage.] S. L. L.

**HENSMAN, JOHN** (1780–1864), divine, son of Thomas and Anne Hensman, born at Bedford on 22 Sept. 1780, was educated at Bedford grammar school, where he gained an exhibition, and proceeded to Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, in 1797. He came out ninth wrangler in 1801, and was elected fellow of his college. Having taken orders he acted for a short time as assistant to the Rev. Charles Simeon at Cambridge. In 1803 he became curate to James Vaughan, rector of Wraxall, Somerset, and married his rector's sister, Elizabeth, on 16 Sept. 1808. The next year he went to Clifton, near Bristol, as curate in charge of the parish church, the living being at that time under sequestration. Clifton had then only one small church with a chapel of ease in Dowry Square, and was little more than a village with a few wealthy inhabitants. During the next few years it increased rapidly, and, chiefly owing to Hensman's exertions, the old church, which had been rebuilt in the seventeenth century, was replaced by the present parish church, consecrated on 12 Aug. 1822. When in the course of that year the sequestration was removed and the incumbent returned, Hensman, at the bishop's request, took charge of Dowry Chapel as curate. In 1830 his friends built Trinity Church, Hotwells, for him; it was consecrated on 10 Nov. He held the incumbency from 10 Jan. following till 8 Oct. 1844, when he accepted the perpetual curacy of Christ Church, Clifton; the church here was built for him. In March 1847 he was instituted to the living of Clifton on his own presentation. He was instrumental in building St. Paul's Church, consecrated on 8 Nov. 1853, and St. Peter's, consecrated 10 Aug. 1855. On the completion of fifty years of his Clifton ministry, a chapel of ease was built as a memorial of him, and was consecrated in December 1862. He was for some years an hon. canon of Bristol Cathedral. He died at Clifton on 23 April 1864, exactly fifty-five years from the day on which he preached his first sermon at Clifton. He was buried at Wraxall. Hensman was highly esteemed, not only in his parish and in the adjoining city of Bristol, but more widely as one of the wisest and oldest members of the evangelical party. He declined all part in controversy, nor did he in his sermons, which were persuasive rather than eloquent, ever touch on any disputes about doctrine or practice. He was always gentle and forbearing. His wife predeceased him in November 1860. He left one daughter, Harriet, married to her cousin, the Rev. Edward P. Vaughan, rector of Wraxall.

[Private information and personal knowledge.] W. H.

**HENSON, GRAVENER** (1785–1852), commercial historian, was born in 1785 in humble circumstances at Nottingham. His education was scanty, but hard study and a retentive memory enabled him to acquire much valuable information, including an accurate knowledge of the commercial law of England and France. While still young he

was engaged in the hosiery trade, and became familiar with the inventors then busy in improving the stocking-frame. He began a 'Civil, Political, and Mechanical History of the Framework-Knitting and Lace Trades,' of which the first volume appeared in 1831. It stopped from want of support. Felkin says that he had 'a practical knowledge of most kinds of looms, and describes them correctly, though in a technical manner.' In 1828 he had published a list of a hundred inventions and alterations in the stocking and lace machines, and he left behind him at his death the manuscripts of 'Notes of Inventions and Improvements of Lace Machines down to the year 1850.' He wrote voluminously upon local trade, the claims of workmen, combination laws, and other kindred subjects. He wandered about the coast of England, Scotland, and of northern France, discovering and exposing the tricks of the smugglers. He gave valuable parliamentary evidence on his own subjects, but was more than once imprisoned for complicity in the Luddite riots. He died in poverty at Nottingham in 1852.

[Felkin's History of Machine-Wrought Hosiery and Lace; Wylie's Old and New Nottingham; contemporary local papers.] W. E. D.

**HENSTRIDGE, DANIEL** (*d.* 1736), organist and composer, was organist of Rochester Cathedral for some years until 1700, when he succeeded Nicholas Wootton as organist of Canterbury Cathedral. Of his anthems very little besides a few organ parts still exist. Henstridge died in 1736, and was buried on 4 June in Canterbury Cathedral.

In a collection of manuscript anthems made by Flackton, a Canterbury bookseller, and preserved in the British Museum Library, are several compositions by Henstridge. They include three hymns and an anthem in E minor for three voices, 'Hear me when I call' (Addit. MS. 30932, Nos. 100, 101), in the handwriting of the composer; the organ part of his 'Morning and Evening Service in D;' and an anthem, 'The Lord is King' (Addit. MS. 30933, Nos. 20, 21).

[Dict. of Music, 1827, i. 361; Harleian Soc. Registers, ii. 140.] L. M. M.

**HENTON or HEINTON, SIMON** (*fl.* 1360), Dominican, born at Henton, near Winchester, became a Dominican friar, and eventually provincial of the order in England. He wrote commentaries on the books of Proverbs, Song of Songs, Wisdom, Ecclesiasticus, the four greater prophets, and Job, besides treatises on the Ten Commandments, the Articles of the Faith, and the Cross of Christ. All these works have perished. The treatise on the Articles of the Faith and the commentary on Job were once in the library at St. Paul's (DUGDALE, *Hist. of St. Paul's*, pp. 277, 282). Henton's 'Moralia' or 'Postillæ' on the twelve minor prophets are preserved in New College MS. 45 (COXE, *Cat. MSS. Coll. Aul. Oxon.* i. 12, 13). Bernard (*Cat. MSS. Angl. et Hib.* pt. iii. No. 736) mentions a manuscript which contains 'excerpta ex summa Fratris Symonis de Heintun.'

[Bale, v. 99; Pits, p. 486; Tanner's Bibl. Brit.-Hib. p. 397; Quétif and Echard's Scriptt. Ord. Præd. i. 648.] C. L. K.

**HENTY, EDWARD** (1809–1878), pioneer of Victoria, sixth son of Thomas Henty of West Tarring, Sussex, was born there on 10 March 1809. His father, a landowner, induced by the offer of a large grant of land, sent out three of Edward's elder brothers in 1829 to the Swan River in Western Australia. They removed thence to Launceston in Van Diemen's Land, where Edward, with the rest of the family, joined them; but they soon returned to the continent. Edward Henty touched at Portland Bay in July 1833, and settled there on 19 Nov. 1834 with stock and boats to form a whaling establishment, thus inaugurating the first permanent settlement in what is now Victoria. Several of his brothers followed him, and when Major (afterwards Sir Thomas) Mitchell the explorer came from Sydney down the valley of the Wannon and Glenelg in 1836, he found a small but prosperous colony at Portland. By Mitchell's advice Henty and his brothers pushed inland, and obtained possession of great sheep-runs. Besides managing a very large estate, Henty carried on business as a merchant. The whole family were careful to improve the breed of sheep. In 1856 Henty was elected to represent Normanby in the Legislative Assembly, but was defeated at the election of 1861. During the last years of his life he resided at Offington, St. Kilda Road, Melbourne, and died there on 14 Aug. 1878.

[Melbourne Argus, 15 Aug. 1878; Australiana, by Richmond Henty, nephew of Edward Henty; Heaton's Australian Dates and Men of the Time.] W. A. J. A.

**HENWOOD, WILLIAM JORY** (1805–1875), mineralogist, was born at Perron Wharf, Cornwall, 16 Jan. 1805. He came of an old Cornish family settled at Levalsa in St. Ewe; but his grandfather having lost considerably in the Huel Mexico, the first Cornish silver mine, Henwood's father, John Henwood, and, from 1822 to 1827, Henwood himself, acted as clerk to Messrs. Fox & Co. of Perron Wharf. While here he began the

study of metalliferous deposits, his first paper being read before the Royal Geological Society of Cornwall in 1826. From 1832 to 1838 Henwood was assay-master and supervisor of tin for the duchy of Cornwall, and in 1837 he received the Telford medal of the Institution of Civil Engineers for a paper on pumping-engines. He became a fellow of the Geological Society in 1828, and of the Royal Society in 1840. In 1843 he took charge of the Gongo-Soco mines in Brazil, where he paid much attention to bettering the condition of the slaves. In 1855 Henwood proceeded to India to report on the metals of Kumaon and Gurhwal for the Indian government; and in 1858, his health having been impaired, he retired from active work and settled at Penzance. In 1869 he was elected president of the Royal Institution of Cornwall, and in 1874 he was awarded the Murchison medal of the Geological Society. Henwood died unmarried at Penzance, 5 Aug. 1875.

In his earlier researches Henwood was assisted by a subscription raised by the gentry of Cornwall, his results being published by the local geological society. The fifth volume of their 'Transactions,' 1843, 512 pp., with 125 plates, is entirely devoted to his observations 'On the Metalliferous Deposits of Cornwall and Devon, . . . Subterranean Temperature . . . Water . . . and Electric Currents,' and the still larger eighth volume (1871) contained his account of foreign deposits. Fifty-five papers by him are enumerated in the Royal Society's 'Catalogue' (iii. 298–300), and some additional ones are mentioned in Boase and Courtney's 'Bibliotheca Cornubiensis.' The name 'Henwoodite' has been bestowed in his honour upon a hydrous phosphate of aluminium and copper.

[Geological Mag. 1875, p. 431; Proceedings of the Geological Soc. 1875–6, p. 82.] G. S. B.

**HEPBURN, FRANCIS or FRANCIS KER** (1779–1835), major-general, born 19 Aug. 1779, was second son of Colonel David Hepburn of the 39th foot and 105th highlanders, who served at Belle Isle, by his wife Bertha Graham of Inchbrakie, Perthshire, and was grandson of James Hepburn of Brecarton and Keith Marshall, who spent his fortune in the Stuart cause. Francis was appointed ensign in the 3rd foot-guards (now Scots Guards) 17 Dec. 1794; became lieutenant and captain 23 April 1798; captain and lieutenant-colonel 23 July 1807; brevet colonel 4 June 1814; regimental 2nd major 25 July 1814; and major-general 19 July 1821. He served with his regiment in Ireland in 1798 and in Holland in 1799; was aide-de-camp to General W. P. Acland [q. v.] at Colchester, and afterwards in Malta and Sicily; but was laid up with fever and ophthalmia during the descent on Calabria and battle of Maida. He joined his battalion at Cadiz in 1809, and his leg was shattered at the battle of Barossa 5 March 1811. He refused to submit to amputation, and by the autumn of 1812 had recovered sufficiently to rejoin his battalion, although his wound remained open and caused frequent and severe suffering during the subsequent campaigns. He was placed in command of the detached light companies of the Coldstream and 3rd guards in 1812; was present at Vittoria, Nivelle, and the Nive; and at the end of 1813 was ordered home to assume command of the 2nd battalion of his regiment in the expedition to Holland. Delayed by contrary winds, he arrived after the expedition had sailed, but followed the battalion to the Low Countries, and commanded it there during the winter of 1814–15. He joined the Duke of Wellington's army in April 1815. Hepburn was in temporary command of the 2nd brigade of guards until the arrival of Sir John Byng [q. v.] in May. He commanded his battalion at Quatre Bras and Waterloo. The light company of the battalion was sent with other troops under Lord Saltoun to occupy Hugoumont on the night of 17 June. Other companies of the battalion were sent to reinforce the post soon after the battle had commenced next day, and later Hepburn was sent with the rest of the battalion, when he took command of the troops posted in the orchard of the chateau, an important service, the credit of which, by some official blunder, was given to a junior officer, Colonel Hume. The mistake was explained officially, but never notified publicly, and, it is said, was the means of depriving Hepburn of the higher honours awarded to other senior officers of the division of guards. Hepburn was made C.B., and had the fourth-class decorations of the Netherlands Lion and St. Alexander Nevski in Russia. He married in 1821 Henrietta, eldest daughter and coheiress of Sir Henry Poole, last baronet of Poole Hall, Cheshire, and Hook, Sussex, by whom he had two sons and a daughter. He died at Tunbridge Wells on 7 June 1835, aged 56 years.

[Army Lists; Hamilton's Hist. Grenadier Guards, iii. 13–48; Colburn's United Service Mag. November 1835, pp. 383–4; Gent. Mag. new ser. iv. 101, 650.] H. M. C.

**HEPBURN, FRANCIS STEWART,** fifth Earl of Bothwell (*d.* 1624), was the eldest son of John Stewart, prior of Coldingham, one of the illegitimate children of James V, and brother of the regent Moray. Bothwell's mother was Lady Jane Hepburn,

only daughter of the third earl, and sister of James, the fourth earl [q. v.] On 29 July 1576—it being wrongly supposed that his uncle the fourth earl, a captive in Denmark, was then dead—he was created Earl of Bothwell, and appointed to many of his uncle's offices, including those of lord high admiral of Scotland, sheriff of Edinburgh and within the county of Haddington, and sheriff of the county of Berwick and balliary of Lauderdale. Bothwell attended the parliament held in Morton's interest at Stirling on 15 July 1578, and was one of those who bore the royal robe in the procession to and from the great hall (MOYSIE, *Memoirs*, p. 12). His support of Morton [see DOUGLAS, JAMES, *d.* 1581] is possibly traceable as much to his relationship to the regent Moray as to the fact that he had married Lady Margaret Douglas, eldest daughter of Morton's near relative, David, seventh earl of Angus, and widow of Sir Walter Scott of Buccleugh. It was perhaps to escape being involved too closely in Morton's fortunes that he went to the continent about 1580. He was presumably there when his wife, on 15 Dec. 1580, presented a petition in reference to great 'spuilzes' committed against her by the borderers (*Reg. P. C. Scotl.* iii. 335). A second petition to a like effect was presented 3 Feb. 1581–2 (*ib.* p. 441). On 4 April 1580–1 his mother petitioned the privy council (1) for an assurance that her own property might be duly transmitted to her son; and that (2) 'her said sone, now in his absence,' might retain all the 'qualities appertenit of befoir to the Erlis Borthuile' (*ib.* p. 371). The fall of Morton had perhaps rendered Bothwell's position somewhat insecure. The king granted the petition. After the execution of Morton (2 June 1581), Bothwell landed at Newhaven, near Leith, on 26 July (MOYSIE, *Memoirs*, p. 37; or 27th according to CALDERWOOD, iii. 634), on his way from France.

Immediately after landing Bothwell had an interview with some of the leading ministers of Edinburgh, by whom he was 'well informed of the estate both of the Kirk and country' (*ib.* iii. 634). He undertook to represent their interests at court. As the nephew of the regent Moray he was regarded by many ministers as the hereditary champion of their cause. It was in this rôle, for which he was peculiarly unfitted, that he persisted in posing before them. He resembled the fourth Earl of Bothwell in his dissolute and lawless conduct, although he lacked his virile strength; and his indecorous acts rendered his relations to the kirk singularly grotesque. The king regarded him with a curious mixture of partiality and dislike, the latter doubtless created by fear, and soon predominating. Gradually the king became possessed of the idea that Bothwell's ultimate aim was to be his rival: that, in his intrigues with the kirk, he was following in the footsteps of the regent Moray, and seeking to injure the prerogatives of the crown. There were misunderstandings on both sides; but probably, had each fully gauged the intentions of the other, their relations would not have been materially improved. As it was, Bothwell became the 'stormy petrel of politics,' the only character in which he could have obtained any support from the nobility. There is no evidence that he intended any serious revolutionary movement. His 'incursions and alarms' only aimed at inducing the king to come to terms with him after their alienation.

For some time after his arrival from France Bothwell enjoyed the king's special friendship. After his interview with the ministers of Edinburgh he proceeded, on 29 June 1582, to the king at Perth, where, according to Moysie, he 'was heartily welcomed' (*Memoirs*, p. 37). At this period Lennox and Arran, the king's favourites, thought to make Bothwell their subservient tool. According to Calderwood, they foresaw that Bothwell might be induced by his wife's influence to favour the Douglases, and they sought to sow discord between them by raising slanders against her (*History*, iii. 634). But they failed to win Bothwell. Although he took no active part in the protestant conspiracy against Lennox and Arran of 22 Aug., known as the Raid of Ruthven, his name was attached to the band, and he associated on intimate terms with its principal members. Meanwhile, under the new protestant *régime*, he exercised considerable influence in the king's counsels. It was chiefly through his persuasion—'for nothing,' says Calderwood, 'of importance which might serve for furtherance of the Lord's cause was obtained without his procurement' (iii. 649)—that the king consented to sign the proclamation 'touching the liberty of the assembly of the kirk and free preaching of the word.' He also appeared before the assembly of October, and 'professed that he would live and die in the reformed religion professed within this realm' (*ib.* iii. 689).

After the counter-revolution of 27 June 1583, and the king's sudden withdrawal to St. Andrews, the protestant ascendency at court was for a time ended, and Bothwell's influence was greatly diminished. Angus sent for Bothwell to accompany him to St. Andrews; but when within six miles of the town they were met by a herald, forbidding them to come with armed men into the city.

They advanced alone, and, though cordially received by the king, were commanded to return home (*ib.* iii. 715). Nevertheless, Bothwell still retained the royal favour. James was as yet ignorant of his connection with the Ruthven raid. On 28 Nov. a serious brawl occurred between Bothwell and Lord Home [see HOME, ALEXANDER, first EARL OF HOME, *d.* 1619] in the streets of Edinburgh, and the same evening, 'after the king had been hanging about his neck' (*ib.* iii. 759), he was ordered into ward in the palace of Linlithgow. But this order was countermanded, and he was directed to return to his own house, from which the king sent for him and upbraided him for his connection with the Ruthven raid. Bothwell and the king were never again on the old cordial terms; but in any case Bothwell's position must have been insecure so long as the king was under Arran's influence.

Bothwell was a strenuous supporter of the conspiracy devised by the Master of Gray [see GRAY, PATRICK, seventh LORD GRAY] for the overthrow of Arran in 1585. The dispute between him and Lord Home had been settled by both coming under an obligation in 10,000*l.* to keep the peace towards each other (*Reg. P. C. Scotl.* iii. 616, 634), and now the two co-operated in fortifying Kelso, which formed a temporary asylum for the banished lords on their arrival from England (*Hist. James Sext*, p. 214). It was thence that the insurgents marched suddenly towards Stirling. On their nearing the city Arran fled, and Bothwell was nominally restored to favour. He was one of the commissioners appointed on 19 June of the following year to conclude an offensive and defensive league with England; but on learning the news of the execution of Queen Mary in England (February 1587), he urged the king to undertake an invasion of England to avenge her death. He refused to put on mourning, declaring that the best 'dule weed' was a steel coat. Irritated against the Master of Gray on account of his unsuccessful embassy in Mary's behalf, he sided with Sir William Stewart against him, declaring Gray's accusations against Stewart to be false. As the brother of Arran, Sir William was, however, almost necessarily hostile to Bothwell. On 10 July 1588 they had a violent controversy in the king's presence at Holyrood (see CALDERWOOD, iv. 680). On the 30th they met each other with their companies in the High Street, when Stewart, after being stabbed by Bothwell with a rapier, was pursued by Bothwell's followers into a hollow cellar, and there despatched. Stewart's relationship with Arran made him unpopular with the nobles in power, and no notice was taken of the outrage by the king and council. On the following day Bothwell, as lord high admiral, was entrusted with the duty of taking measures to resist the threatened arrival of the Spanish Armada in Scotland. He performed the duty very unwillingly. He had advocated that instead of offering resistance to the Spaniards, advantage should be taken of their arrival to invade England, and avenge the death of the queen. The popish lords, availing themselves of his animosity against England, induced him to join the conspiracy for persuading the king of Spain to despatch a second armada against Elizabeth. To aid the scheme he raised a large force, ostensibly for an expedition to the North Isles, but in reality to co-operate with the Spaniards. He was present with the king when the intercepted letters inculpating Huntly and Errol in the conspiracy were opened. The growth of the influence of the chancellor Maitland, who was now installed as the king's chief favourite, increased his discontent with his position at court. He joined Huntly and Errol, and raised a force to create a diversion during their rising in the north. The rebellion collapsed almost as soon as the king took the field. Two ministers of the kirk, Robert Hepburn and Robert Lindsay (MOYSIE, *Memoirs*, p. 76), interceded with the king for Bothwell, and promised to 'bring him in' on condition that his 'life, lands, and goods were saved.' To this the king agreed, but placed Bothwell under the charge of the captain of the guard. On 20 May 1589 he was examined before a committee of the council, when he denied that he ever intended 'any practice against the king or religion,' asserting that his sole reason for collecting a force was a private quarrel between him and the chancellor Maitland (CALDERWOOD, v. 57). He was placed in ward in Tantallon Castle, but with other nobles obtained his release in September 'to attend upon the arriving of the queen' from Denmark. The vessels conveying the queen were driven by a storm on the coast of Norway, whereupon the king at first proposed to send Bothwell, as lord high admiral, to bring her home at his own expense. He subsequently resolved, on the ground that Bothwell had already been put to great expense in connection with the marriage, to make the voyage himself (*Reg. P. C. Scotl.* iv. 428).

During the king's absence Bothwell was appointed to assist the Duke of Lennox as president of the privy council (*ib.* p. 425)—a position which did not satisfy his aim of obtaining supreme influence with the king. It was to the kirk's intercession that Bothwell

owed his escape from the effects of his association with the catholic nobles; and as a proof of gratitude he ostentatiously made, on 9 Nov., a public repentance in the little kirk before noon, and in the great kirk after noon, promising to 'prove another man in time coming' (CALDERWOOD, v. 68). He was already busy with eccentric schemes to improve his position.

In January 1590–1 Agnes and Richie Graham, the former 'the wise wife of Keith,' who were burned at Edinburgh for the practice of sorcery, asserted that Bothwell had consulted them about the date of the king's death, and had bribed them to make use of their arts to raise storms during the king's voyage from Denmark. According to Sir James Melville, Bothwell, on learning the charge, surrendered himself for trial, hotly denying the veracity of the devil's 'sworn witches.' The author of the 'History of James Sext' asserts that Chancellor Maitland instigated the charge, and was so hated by the nobility that they several times refused to assemble for Bothwell's trial (p. 242). The weak point in Bothwell's case was, as he subsequently confessed, that he had consulted the witches, although only (he affirmed) in regard to his own fortunes, without any reference to the king. On the king the accusations of the witches against Bothwell produced a deep impression, and probably strengthened that peculiar dread of him by which the king was haunted. On 21 June Bothwell escaped from the castle to which he had been committed by bribing the master of the watch, a gentleman named Lauder. Shortly after his escape he appeared at the Nether Bow, and promised any man a crown who would bid the chancellor come and take him (MOYSIE, *Memoirs*, p. 86). On the 24th he was put to the horn, but as he appeared to possess the sympathy of the greater part of the nobility, all efforts to effect his capture failed. On 6 July certain border lairds swore to pursue him under Lord Home (*Reg. P. C. Scotl.* iv. 648). But Home himself, 'to his Majesty's greater contempt,' joined Bothwell, and the king, resolving to take the field against him in person, ordered a special levy to be raised. On the 4th Bothwell was denuded of all his offices and dignities, and his castles were seized. The king was informed that Bothwell 'was still a fugitive,' but on the 7th he desisted from 'riding towartis the Bordouris at this time' (*ib.* p. 668).

In October 1591 Bothwell, enticed, he affirmed, by the chancellor Maitland, reappeared at Leith; but an attempt to capture him on the 18th failed, 'notwithstanding all the haste the king made,' and in spite of Bothwell's loss of 'his best horse called Valentine.' Emboldened by the king's supineness Bothwell sought on the evening of 27 Dec. to capture Holyrood Palace, where the king and queen, with the chancellor Maitland, were then residing. He had the assistance of about forty southern lairds and others (see list in CALDERWOOD, v. 141). Several within the palace knew of the plot. Entrance was gained by a back passage through the Duke of Lennox's stables. Bothwell's principal aim seems to have been the capture of Chancellor Maitland, and, according to Moysie, the intruders passed direct to the chancellor's door (*Memoirs*, p. 87). Alarmed by the cry of a boy, the chancellor withdrew to his inner chamber, and Bothwell, foiled for the moment, passed, after giving directions for breaking in the door of the apartment, towards the rooms of the king and queen. Failing to gain entry there, he is said to have called for fire. An inroad of the citizens, warned by the sound of the common bell, interrupted him. Overpowered by numbers, the conspirators extinguished the lights, and succeeded in the darkness in making their escape, with the exception of seven or eight, who were executed next morning. On 10 Jan. 1591–2 a proclamation was made against Bothwell, 'thought to be penned by the king himself' (CALDERWOOD, v. 144), in which a reward was offered to any that would kill him. Nevertheless he remained unhurt in the neighbourhood of Edinburgh, and on the 13th the king was nearly drowned in some boggy ground while riding eastward from Holyrood to apprehend him (*ib.*)

With a view to obtaining the intercession of the kirk, Bothwell in April 1592 wrote to the ministers of Edinburgh that his intrigue with the Spaniards was not directed against their religion, but intended solely to avenge the death of Queen Mary; and secondly, that his foolish consultation with witches never touched the king, it being impossible that he could 'hate where both benefits and blood compelled him to love' (Letter printed *ib.* pp. 150–6). Chancellor Maitland, a notorious enemy of the kirk, was, he added, the sole accuser of himself and Home, in the hope that by destroying them he, 'a puddock stool of a night,' might take the 'place of two ancient cedars.' About 8 April the king, on learning that Bothwell had crossed the Tay at Broughty on his way to Caithness, suddenly left Edinburgh for Dundee. At a meeting of the parliament on 29 May James denounced Bothwell, and asserted that he aspired to the throne, although he was 'but a bastard, and could claim no title to the crown' (*ib.* p. 161). In the same parliament sentence of forfeiture was passed against Bothwell.

Bothwell's stay in the north was short. Having learned 'by secret advertisement of certain counties' that the king was 'at quietness at Falkland' (*Hist. of James Sext*, p. 250), he surrounded the palace between one and two of the morning of 20 June 1592, but the king being warned by the watch, retired with his attendants to the tower, where he resisted till seven o'clock, when the country people in the neighbourhood flocked to his assistance, and put Bothwell to flight. On 2 July proclamation was made for the raising of a levy for his pursuit (*Reg. P. C. Scotl.* iv. 762), but nothing was accomplished. On 1 Aug. the lairds of Logie and Burley brought Bothwell secretly to the palace at Dalkeith, in order that he might be suddenly introduced into the king's presence to crave pardon, but the king was forewarned of their intention, and Bothwell was safely conveyed away (CALDERWOOD, v. 173). The Master of Gray also promised to get him 'into the king's favour,' but Bothwell feared treachery (*ib.* p. 190). On 9 Oct. the king headed another fruitless expedition to the borders to apprehend him. Probably Bothwell, when the king retired, followed closely in his wake, for on 3 Nov. the citizens of Edinburgh were summoned suddenly while at dinner by the common bell to search for him. The only result of the quest was the committal of one or two women to the common gaol for receiving him. The king, now at his wits' end, weakly issued a proclamation against introducing Bothwell into his presence. On 20 Nov. the Countess of Bothwell, who on the 17th had intercepted the king at the castle gate of Edinburgh 'crying for Christ's sake that died on the cross for mercy to her and her spouse,' was forbidden to enter the king's presence (*Reg. P. C. Scotl.* v. 23). As she and many of Bothwell's adherents still continued at large about Edinburgh, an order was given on 8 Dec. to the provost and magistrates of Edinburgh to apprehend them (*ib.* v. 26–7). On 1 Jan. 1592–3 Bothwell caused a placard to be affixed to the cross of Edinburgh and other places, informing the ministers of Edinburgh that his constancy to religion gave them no just cause to abhor him, although a declared rebel (CALDERWOOD, v. 232). This appeal produced no result, and finding no prospect of help he resolved to take refuge on the English side of the border. On learning this the king instructed Sir Robert Melville, who had gone on an embassy to England on 1 June, to persuade Elizabeth to deliver him up. Elizabeth assented. On 21 July sentence of forfeiture was passed against him by parliament, all his property being confiscated, and his arms riven at the cross of Edinburgh. His friends thereupon determined to make a special effort on his behalf. The Duke of Lennox and other noblemen secretly sympathised with him, on account of their jealousy of Maitland. On the evening of the 24th, after assembling their retainers in the neighbourhood of the palace, Bothwell in disguise was introduced into the king's chamber during his temporary absence. On returning the king found Bothwell on his knees, with his drawn sword laid before him, crying with a loud voice for pardon and mercy. The king called out 'Treason!' the citizens of Edinburgh hurried in battle array into the inner court; but the king, pacified by the assurances of those in attendance on him, commanded them to retire. Bothwell persisted that he did not come in 'any manner of hostility, but in plain simplicity.' To remove the king's manifest terror, he offered to depart immediately and remain in banishment, or in any other part of the country, till his day of trial. The king permitted him to leave, and an act of condonation and remission was passed in his favour (*Reg. P. C. Scotl.* v. 92–3), but, according to the author of the 'History of James Sext' (pp. 272–3), the king remained in 'perpetual grief of mind,' affirming that he was virtually the captive of Bothwell and the other noblemen who had abetted him. His suspicions were partly allayed by the intervention of Robert Bowes, the English ambassador, and others, but as his fears subsided he was less inclined to deal leniently with Bothwell. On 14 Aug. he signed an agreement, binding himself to pardon Bothwell and his adherents, and to restore them to their estates and honours, the agreement to be ratified by a parliament to be held in the following November (CALDERWOOD, v. 257–258); but at a convention held at Stirling on 8 Sept. an attempt was made to modify the bargain, it being set forth as a condition of Bothwell's restoration that he should remain beyond seas during the king's pleasure. Matters soon drifted into the old unsatisfactory condition. On the 22nd Bothwell and his supporters were forbidden to come within ten miles of the king, unless sent for, on pain of high treason. He, Atholl, and other nobles assembled notwithstanding in the beginning of October 1593 in arms near Linlithgow, where the king was staying, and on the 22nd he was summoned to appear before the council to answer the charge of high treason (*Reg. P. C. Scotl.* v. 100), and not appearing, was denounced.

The change in the king's policy is partly explained by the recall of Maitland, on whom alone the king could depend for

co-operation against Bothwell. It being rumoured in March 1593–4 that Bothwell was assembling his friends and dependents, a proclamation was issued on the 27th for a levy of forces for his pursuit if need be (*ib.* p. 137), and on 2 April a second proclamation was issued for a muster at Stirling against him (*ib.* p. 138). Bothwell suddenly appeared with a powerful force in the neighbourhood of Leith. He proclaimed that he came to offer assistance against the Spaniards, whose landing, he said, was expected in a few days. His real object was to make a demonstration of his strength for the encouragement of his friends, and in the hope of bringing the king to terms. The king advanced against him from Edinburgh, and he retired slowly —'as if none had come forth to pursue'—by the back of Arthur's Seat towards Dalkeith. On being charged by Lord Home's horse he had the best of the encounter, and it was supposed that he might, had he chosen, have captured the town. The king 'came riding into Edinburgh at full gallop with little honour' (CALDERWOOD, v. 297). Bothwell retired leisurely to Dalkeith, and thence to the borders. He sought refuge in England, but was forced to leave by command of Elizabeth. He had to choose between delivering himself up and joining the northern earls. In September he sent a letter to the ministers of Edinburgh, describing his friendliness and destitution, promising to adhere to his religion, and offering to put off his appointment for a conference with the catholic earls till the ministers had discussed measures for his relief (*ib.* v. 347). He was soon in the north under the protection of Huntly and Errol. On 25 Sept. he 'cast into the kirkyard' a letter to the ministers announcing his alliance with Huntly, but offering to do them any service in his power (*ib.*) On 23 Jan. 1594–5 Scot of Balwearie delivered up the treasonable correspondence into which Bothwell had entered in August with Huntly and the catholic earls (*Reg. P. C. Scotl.* v. 205). Huntly declined to surrender him, although offered a full pardon. But Bothwell's case was now desperate. His association with the catholic earls proved fatal. The king demanded his excommunication by the kirk, and although Bothwell wrote to the clergy of Edinburgh offering to receive their correction for whatever offence he had committed, he was on 18 Feb. excommunicated by the presbytery of Edinburgh at the king's command. Bothwell passed northward to Caithness, where he continued to lurk till the month of April. The king sought to bribe an acquaintance of Bothwell, Francis Tennant, a merchant of Edinburgh, to betray him, but Tennant as soon as he reached Bothwell revealed the king's purpose (*Hist. of James Sext*, p. 344). Tennant supplied him with a ship to convey him to Newhaven in Normandy, and in spite of James's demand for his surrender he was permitted to remain in France (*ib.* p. 345). Some months afterwards he removed to Spain, and finally went to Italy, where he spent his later years. He died in extreme poverty at Naples in 1624.

The bulk of Bothwell's estates, including the lordship of Crichton and Liddesdale, came into the possession of his stepson, Sir Walter Scott of Buccleugh, while Lord Home obtained the priory of Coldingham, and Ker of Cessford the abbacy of Kelso. He had three sons and three daughters. The eldest son Francis obtained a rehabilitation under the great seal 30 July 1614, which was ratified by parliament 28 June 1633, but the titles were never restored. John, the second son, was prior of Coldingham, and got the houses and baronies belonging to that priory united into a barony in 1621. Henry, the third son, also obtained a part of the lordship of Coldingham in 1621. Of the three daughters, Elizabeth married James, second son of William, first lord Cranstoun; Margaret married Alan, fifth lord Cathcart; and Helen married Macfarlane of Macfarlane.

[Hist. of James the Sext (Bannatyne Club); Moysie's Memoirs (Bannatyne Club); Robert Birrel's Diary in Dalyell's Fragments of Scottish History; Register of the Privy Council of Scotland, vols. iii–v.; Pitcairn's Criminal Trials; Cal. State Papers relating to Scotland; Cal. State Papers, For. Ser., Reign of Elizabeth; Histories of Calderwood, Spotiswood, and Burton; Douglas's Scottish Peerage (Wood), i. 232–233.] T. F. H.

HEPBURN, SIR GEORGE BUCHAN (1739–1819), baron in the Scottish exchequer, son of John Buchan of Letham, East Lothian, by Elizabeth, daughter of Patrick Hepburn of Smeaton, was born in March 1739. He was educated at the university of Edinburgh, where Henry Dundas [q.v.], afterwards Viscount Melville, was among his intimate friends. He succeeded to the barony of Smeaton-Hepburn in 1764, and thereupon assumed the name and arms of Hepburn of Smeaton. In January 1763 he had been admitted a member of the Faculty of Advocates, Edinburgh, and from 1767 he was solicitor to the lords of session till 1790, when he was appointed judge of the high court of admiralty in Scotland. On 31 Dec. of the following year he was made baron of the exchequer. He retired in 1814, and on 6 May 1815 was created a baronet. He was the author of 'The General View of the Agriculture and Rural Economy of East Lothian, with

Observations on the Means of their Improvement,' 1796. He died 3 July 1819, having married (1) Jane, eldest daughter of Alexander Leith of Glenkindy and Freefield, and (2) Margaretta Henrietta, daughter of John Zacharias Beck, and widow of Brigadier-general Fraser. By his first wife he had an only son, who succeeded him in the baronetcy.

[Foster's Baronetage; Irving's Eminent Scotsmen; Gent. Mag. 1819, pt. ii. 91.] T. F. H.

**HEPBURN, JAMES,** fourth EARL OF BOTHWELL (1536?–1578), husband of Mary Queen of Scots, only son of Patrick, third earl of Bothwell [q. v.], by his wife Agnes, daughter of Lord Henry Sinclair, was born probably in 1536 or 1537. According to Buchanan (*Detectio*) he was brought up for the most part in the palace—Spynie Castle—of his relative Patrick Hepburn, bishop of Moray [q. v.], a circumstance to which Buchanan ascribes his unruly and vicious career. Under the care of the bishop he probably obtained a more complete education than was then customary in the case of the sons of Scottish nobles. His extant letters and other writings show him to have been well educated. Certain books on mathematics and on military affairs which bear his arms indicate that he had studied the art of war.

Notwithstanding the divorce of his father and mother in 1543 (probably on the ground of consanguinity), Bothwell, on the death of his father in September 1556, obtained unquestioned possession of the titles and estates, as well as the hereditary offices of lord high admiral of Scotland, sheriff of Berwick, Haddington, and Edinburgh, and also baillie of Lauderdale with the custody of the castles of Hailes and Crichton. His father had died reconciled to the queen-dowager; and Bothwell, though professedly a protestant, became one of the most consistent supporters of her policy, even after the revolt of the protestant nobles. On 14 Dec. 1557 he signed the act appointing commissioners for the betrothal of Queen Mary to the dauphin of France. Shortly afterwards, when some of the leading nobles, jealous of the French influence at the court, refused to obey the order of the queen-dowager to make a raid into England, Bothwell, 'notwithstanding he was yan of very young aige' (letter of Mary Stuart in LABANOFF, ii. 34), took command of the expedition, which, according to his own account, did 'irreparable damage on the frontiers.' From this time to the close of his life he appears as the consistent and irreconcilable enemy of England. Some time after Bothwell's early exploit against the English, negotiations were entered into for settling the differences on the borders. Bothwell, with other commissioners, met Sir James Croft, and on 17 Feb. 1558–9 an armistice was signed (*Cal. State Papers*, For. Ser. 1558–9, entry 350). Bothwell was also one of those who, on 30 Aug., agreed to meet the Earl of Northumberland (*ib.* 1283), and signed the articles on 22 Sept. for reformation of all attempts upon the borders (*ib.* 1359). At the same time the English commissioners secretly agreed to supply the lords of the congregation with a sum of 3,000*l.* to aid them in the struggle with the queen-dowager. Cockburn, laird of Ormiston, was sent towards the end of October to convey the money from Berwick-on-Tweed. Bothwell apprehended him on 31 Oct., by order of the queen-dowager, near Dumpender Law, East Lothian, and carried off the treasure. Only three days previously he had sent Michael Balfour, one of his servants, to the lords of the congregation to ask for a safe-conduct that he might come and treat with them. As he had pledged himself meanwhile to do them no injury, they regarded his seizure of the money as an act of treachery. Bothwell carried the money and his prisoner to Crichton Castle. Immediately on learning the calamity, the Earl of Arran [see HAMILTON, JAMES, third EARL OF ARRAN, 1530–1609] and Lord James Stuart set out to Crichton with two hundred horse, a hundred foot, and two pieces of artillery (*State Papers*, For. Ser. 1559–60, entry 183). Half an hour before they arrived, Bothwell was warned of their approach and fled with the money. His castle was taken and occupied by a garrison. Two days were given him to make restitution, and when he failed the castle was stripped of all its furniture (KNOX, *Works*, i. 459). On 9 Nov. he sent Arran a challenge to meet him on horseback or foot before 'French or Scot;' Arran replied that he could not meet him until 'he had won back the name of an honest man, and in no case would he meet him before Frenchmen.'

After the lords of the congregation had temporarily evacuated Edinburgh, Bothwell and Lord Seton, on 24 Nov., entered Linlithgow, but hearing the common bell rung, hurriedly retreated, losing some weapons by the way (*Cal. State Papers*, For. Ser. 1559–60, entry 352). In December Bothwell was appointed by the queen-dowager to the command of eight hundred French and Scots soldiers, with whom he was sent to secure Stirling. From a letter of his to the queen-dowager, 15 May 1560, it would appear that she had resolved to send him as a special ambassador to procure assistance from France. The enterprise was full of hazard, for a diligent watch was kept round all the coasts of Scot-

land. On 7 June Randolph reported that Bothwell had gone north to 'search' a passage (*ib.* 1560–1, entry 172). He made good his escape, but probably before leaving he had learned of the death of the queen-dowager, which took place on 10 June. His mission thus became less urgent, and he went on a visit to Denmark. Writing to Cecil on 23 Sept. Randolph mentions a rumour that Bothwell had there married a wife with whom he obtained forty thousand yoendallers (*ib.* 1560–1, entry 550). The lady was doubtless Anne, daughter of a Norwegian nobleman, Christopher Thorssen, who with her father was at this time resident in Copenhagen. She subsequently complained that Bothwell had taken her from her father and relations, and would not hold her as his lawful wife, despite promises to them and her (document quoted in SCHIERN's *Life of Bothwell*, Engl. transl., p. 54). Having been abandoned by Bothwell in the Netherlands, she was reduced to such straits that she had to dispose of her jewels. She visited Scotland, probably to obtain redress, in 1563; but all that is known of her visit is that in this year she received a passport from Queen Mary to permit her to return to Norway.

Bothwell was well received by the king of Denmark, who at his request conducted him through Jutland and the Duchy of Holstein. He arrived in Paris in the following September and received from the French king the appointment of gentleman of the chamber and a fee of six hundred crowns (HARDWICKE, *State Papers*, p. 143). Mary, who was still in France, chose Bothwell one of her commissioners for holding the estates, and he set out for Scotland on 17 Nov. In announcing his departure to Elizabeth, Throckmorton, who describes him as 'a glorious, rash, and hazardous young man,' advises that his 'adversaries should have an eye to him' (*State Papers*, For. Ser. 1560–1, entry 737). Bothwell did not arrive in Edinburgh till February 1561 (*ib.* Scott. Ser. i. 169). It is often asserted that he soon returned again to France, but this is improbable if we accept Knox's statement that he had entered into a conspiracy to seize Edinburgh before the meeting of the parliament in May. Bothwell was one of the members of the privy council chosen on 6 Sept. after Mary's return to Scotland (*Reg. P. C. Scotl.* i. 157); but, having been forbidden to come to court on account of his differences with the Earl of Arran, he did not attend a meeting of the council till 13 Oct. On 11 Nov. he and Arran came under a mutual obligation to keep the peace till 1 Feb. 1562, and a similar arrangement was also made in regard to Bothwell's attitude towards Lord James Stuart and Cockburn of Ormiston. But Bothwell, with the French ambassador and Lord John Stuart of Coldingham, soon afterwards took part in an unseemly riot in Edinburgh, when they endeavoured to enter a merchant's house in search of a young woman, who was reputed to be the mistress of Arran. The riot induced the assembly of the kirk to present a supplication for the interference of the queen, who gave a 'gentle answer until such time as the convention was dissolved' (KNOX, ii. 318). The attempted outrage was followed by a causeway fight between the Hamiltons and the Hepburns, but when matters looked serious, Huntly and Lord James Stuart interfered in the name of the queen, and Bothwell was commanded to leave the city. Thereupon Bothwell sought the aid of Knox—whose ancestors were dependents of the earls of Bothwell—in making peace with the Earl of Arran. Reconciliation, he stated, would spare him expense, since he was obliged for his own safety to keep 'a number of wicked and unprofitable men, to the utter destruction of my living that is left' (*ib.* ii. 323). Knox had almost succeeded in effecting a reconciliation, when Bothwell, in an ambuscade with eight horsemen, seized Cockburn, and brought him to Crichton Castle. This outrage interrupted Knox's negotiations with Arran. But Bothwell soon sent back Cockburn, and Knox, having renewed negotiations with Arran, finally brought about a meeting between them in the lodging at Kirk-o'-Field. Here they had some friendly intercourse. On the morrow Bothwell went with Arran to hear Knox preach. Three days later Arran told Knox that Bothwell had proposed to him to carry off the queen to Dumbarton. Arran's manner, as Knox observed, bore evident signs of insanity. He was confined by his father in Kinnaird House, but escaped to Stirling, and was brought thence to the queen at Falkland, where he was placed in ward. Bothwell, having unwittingly come to the court at Falkland, was also imprisoned. From Falkland the two were brought to St. Andrews, where, after six weeks' confinement in the castle, they were on 4 May removed to Edinburgh. During the night of 28 Aug. Bothwell succeeded in breaking one of the iron bars of his prison window, and either escaped down the castle rock, or, according to another account, 'got easy passage by the gates' (*ib.* ii. 347). In any case he must have had the assistance of accomplices. Knox states that the queen was little offended at his escape.

Bothwell went to his own house at the Hermitage, and acted on Knox's advice to keep 'good quietness,' so that his crime of

breaking ward might be more easily pardoned (*ib.* ii. 357; *Cal. State Papers*, For. Ser. 1562, entry 641). On 23 Sept. 1562 he wrote to the queen, giving in his submission (*ib.* 688). The defeat and death of Huntly in October, however, established so firmly the predominance of Bothwell's enemy, Lord James Stuart, now Earl of Moray, that Bothwell, probably with the secret consent of the queen, resolved to return to France. Some time in December he embarked on board a merchant vessel at North Berwick, but was driven by tempestuous weather into the Holy Island. He was detained by Sir Thomas Dacre. On 1 Jan. 1564 he begged the Earl of Northumberland by letter to take him under his protection. Subsequently he came to Berwick, and on the 18th he was apprehended there in bed. Queen Mary was favourable to his release, but Moray and the counsel advised that he should be sent to England. The prudence of Moray's advice was endorsed by the opinion of Randolph, who in a letter to Cecil attacked Bothwell as 'the mortal enemy' of England, 'false and untrue as a devil,' 'a blasphemous and irreverent speaker both of his own sovereign and the queen, my mistress,' and one that 'the godly of this whole nation have cause to curse for ever' (*ib.* 1563, entry 131).

On 24 Jan. Bothwell was delivered into the castle of Tynemouth (*ib.* 164). By order of Elizabeth he was afterwards sent to the Tower (*ib.* 777). In February 1563–4 Queen Mary wrote to Elizabeth on his behalf, and Maitland of Lethington having also made special representations to Elizabeth, he was allowed to proceed to France. He asserted that through the recommendation of Queen Mary he was made captain of the Scots guard in France (*Les Affaires du Conte de Boduel*), but his name does not appear on any of the lists of the Scots guard. He returned to Scotland in March 1564–5, and, in defiance of Moray, again took up his residence at the Hermitage, where a large number of his vassals resorted to him. Although he was reported to have spoken disrespectfully of both queens in France, asserting that the 'two could not make one honest woman' (Randolph to Throckmorton, 31 March, *Cal. State Papers*, For. Ser. 1564–5, entry 1073), Mary certainly desired his recall. Acting on her advice he expressed his willingness to appear to answer the charge of conspiracy with Arran, and of having broken his ward; but as his accusers, Moray and Argyll, brought a formidable following with them to Edinburgh, he declined to appear. The sureties for his appearance were outlawed, but Bothwell, owing to the interposition of the queen, was not put to the horn. He again withdrew to France, where he remained until after the marriage of Mary and Darnley (29 July 1565). Being recalled by the Scottish queen to assist in subduing Moray's rebellion, he went to Flushing, where he obtained two small vessels to convey him and a few followers to Scotland. An attempt was made to capture him by an English captain, named Wilson, acting on Elizabeth's directions, but he escaped, although Wilson fired several shots at him (Bedford to Cecil, 19 Sept. 1565, *ib.* 1510). Landing at Eyemouth, he proceeded to court. According to Randolph, who describes him as a fit man 'to be a minister to a shameful act, be it either against God or man,' the queen and Darnley were already at strife as to whether Bothwell or Lennox, the father of Darnley, should be lieutenant of the forces. The queen preferred Bothwell, 'by reason he bears an evil will against Moray, and has promised to have him die as an alien' (*ib.* 1551). Whether or no there was such a dispute Lennox was appointed to lead the van, Bothwell being joined with those noblemen who accompanied the king 'in leading the battle' (*Reg. P. C. Scotl.* i. 379). Probably also it was further decided, as Bothwell hinted to M. de Castelnau (Teulet, ii. 256), that Bothwell should act as lieutenant-general in the absence of Lennox. It is clear that Bothwell, from the period of his recall, occupied a position of special trust and influence. Queen Mary was prepossessed in his favour by his invaluable services to the French party during the lifetime of her mother, and by his antipathy to Moray. His reckless daring appealed to her romantic sentiments; while his strong character and resolute purpose contrasted forcibly with the weakness of her husband Darnley and his inability to control or protect her.

On 24 Feb. 1565–6 Bothwell was married in the Abbey Kirk of Holyrood House to Jean Gordon, sister of George, fifth earl of Huntly [q. v.] (*Diurnal of Occurrents*, p. 88). He thus thought to strengthen himself with the queen's party, and more especially to cement his friendship with Huntly, who subsequently became his subservient tool. The marriage must be taken to indicate that the idea of becoming the husband of the queen was not yet within the range of Bothwell's ambition. Burton's subtle theory that the queen's heart already belonged to Bothwell is inadmissible. His chief purpose in marrying seems to have been to render his position more secure. By the catholics generally the marriage was regarded with feelings of exultation. Bothwell had always been an equivocal protestant; surrounded as he now was by catholic in-

fluences, it was expected that he would become a catholic. But he remained steadfast in his outward adherence to protestantism. Notwithstanding the queen's express wish, he declined to permit the marriage ceremony to take place during mass in the chapel of Holyrood.

Bothwell's exceptional influence over the queen began after the murder of Rizzio (9 March 1566), which had been arranged by a conspiracy of protestant lords with Darnley's connivance. Bothwell was entirely ignorant of the plot. Having accompanied the queen to Edinburgh on 1 March for the opening of the parliament, he and his brother-in-law, Huntly, lodged in Holyrood Palace on the night of the murder. According to Knox, on 'hearing the noise and clamour' they came suddenly to the inner court 'intending to have made work if they had a party strong enough' (*Works*, ii. 521), but were commanded by Morton, a chief of the conspirators, who had seized the palace with a band of armed followers, to pass to their chambers. They obeyed, but shortly afterwards escaped by a back window, and went to Bothwell's house at Crichton (*Diurnal of Occurrents*, p. 90). Mary was now a prisoner at Holyrood, in the hands of her husband and his associates. A plan was contrived by Bothwell and Huntly for her escape, but she found it unnecessary to take advantage of it after she had persuaded Darnley to abandon his allies and aid in her liberation. She and Darnley rode by midnight to Dunbar. There Bothwell and Huntly joined her, Bothwell bringing with him a formidable array of borderers. By her flight the tables had been completely turned on her opponents. Both she and Moray, the leader of the protestant lords, deemed it prudent to feign a reconciliation with each other. As a matter of course she had the best wishes of the catholics, but next to her own deftness and courage she was indebted to Bothwell's resolute support for the advantageous position in which she now found herself. From this time, therefore, their special friendship must be dated. Bothwell's position acquired more and more importance as the breach between Mary and Darnley widened. Knox states that Bothwell, soon after Rizzio's murder, 'had now of all men greatest access and familiarity with the queen' (*Works*, ii. 527); writing on 24 June to Cecil, Killigrew affirms that 'Bothwell's credit with the queen is greater than all the rest together' (*Cal. State Papers*, For. Ser. 1566–8, entry 521); and on 27 July Bedford reports that Bothwell carries all credit at court, and is the most hated man in Scotland (*ib.* 601). As a special mark of the queen's favour, he obtained, in addition to part of the benefices of Melrose, Haddington, and Newbattle, the ancient fortress of Dunbar with the principal lands of the earldom of March. Previously Bothwell's power had, owing partly to his own extravagance, been seriously crippled by his poverty; but through the special gifts of the queen, he soon came to rank, both with regard to wealth and following, as the most powerful noble in the south of Scotland.

Bothwell manifested at this time a special grudge against Maitland of Lethington, whose talents as an intriguer he probably feared, and of whose influence with the queen he was in any case jealous. Maitland resolved to seek refuge in Flanders, but, hearing that Bothwell had taken means to capture him at sea, he went to Argyll (Killigrew to Cecil, 24 June, *ib.* 521). The Earls of Argyll and Moray at the queen's command also passed to Argyll, but after remaining there a month were sent for by the queen, and banquetted in the castle, Huntly and Bothwell being present (Knox, ii. 527). This may have been done at Bothwell's instance, but a subsequent proposal to recall Maitland was decidedly distasteful to him. He is stated to have had high words with Moray on the subject (*Cal. State Papers*, For. Ser. 1566–8, entry 650). Ultimately he permitted Maitland to be numbered for a short time among his friends. Bothwell's progress in the queen's favour was unmistakable. 'Every man sought to him, where immediately favour was to be had, as before to David Rizzio' (Knox, ii. 535). Bothwell was 'mair, as wes reported, familiare with the quenis majestie nor honestie requyrit' (*Diurnal of Occurrents*, p. 106). There are also several allusions of a similar tenor in the correspondence of the English agents with Cecil. The specific accusations, with place and circumstances, made by Buchanan, avowedly rest to a large extent on the inconclusive statements of Hubert, Bothwell's servant, and of George Dalgleish, his chamberlain; but Bothwell certainly had, in the words of Sir James Melville, 'a mark of his own that he shot at,' viz. Darnley's place.

When the queen was about to set out to hold justice ayres at Jedburgh in October, Bothwell, as her lieutenant, was sent forward to make the necessary preparations. On approaching the castle of Hermitage, in advance of his attendants, he was severely wounded in a wood by a notorious outlaw, John Elliot, *alias* John of Park, and was carried home in a cart for dead. On the 15th the queen rode there and back on the same day to visit him. He recovered rapidly, and by the 21st travelled to Jedburgh on a horse-litter (Foster to Cecil, 23 Oct., *Cal. State Papers*, For. Ser. entry

772). On the 24th he was able to attend a meeting of council. The queen meanwhile had been taken seriously ill, and on the 26th her life was despaired of. On her recovery Bothwell attended her in her progress through the southern shires. She stayed from 17 to 23 Nov. at his castle of Dunbar.

Thence she removed to Craigmillar, where early in December the famous conference was held in her presence regarding her relation to Darnley. The conference was called in order to determine on a method by which the queen might gratify her desire to be rid of Darnley. The only account of the conference, apart from a very summary notice by Buchanan, is contained in a narrative signed by Argyll and Huntly (printed in KEITH, *History*, App. No. xvi. and frequently reprinted). As this narrative emanated from the queen it is necessary to receive its statements with caution. Bothwell is there represented merely as favouring a divorce, and citing his own case as a proof that a divorce might be obtained without prejudice to the young prince. Maitland alone is represented as letting fall a hint of the advisability of recourse to a more summary method; but this hint is said to have drawn from the queen an appeal to those present not to do anything 'whereto any spot may be laid to my honour and conscience.' It is plain that none of those present had a good word to say for Darnley, and all were of opinion that matters would be simplified if he ceased to be the husband of the queen. The majority of the protestant nobles saw no obstacle to procuring a divorce. But the catholic nobles, with the exception of Huntly, were unlikely to assent to this procedure. After the conference Bothwell was approached on the subject of Morton's recall. He assented to the proposal, but clearly demanded a *quid pro quo*, which should include the dissolution by some means or other of the queen's marriage with Darnley.

Bothwell's natural predilection for lawless violence, and his fear of revelations made during the process of divorce, contributed, with possibly the representations of Maitland and others, to shape his plans. Nor could he suppose that the protestant nobles, the majority of whom had been involved in the plot against Rizzio, would be greatly shocked by the death of their treacherous co-conspirator. Accordingly, after the Craigmillar conference a bond, so the subordinate agents in Darnley's murder subsequently asserted, was signed by Bothwell, Huntly, Argyll, Maitland of Lethington, and James Balfour, in which it was engaged that Darnley 'sould be put off by ane way or other, and quahosever sould take the deid in hand, or do it, they sould defend and fortifie it as themselves.' Bothwell, after a vain effort to obtain the help of Morton, resolved himself to 'take the deid in hand.' There is undoubted proof that he had the immediate charge of the practical arrangements, and he doubtless suggested the method adopted. Cool, resolute determination characterised his every step. If the genuineness of the 'Casket Letters' be admitted, the queen, presumedly under the spell of an absorbing passion for Bothwell, forced herself to become his instrument in effecting his purpose.

When the queen set out in January 1566–1567 to visit Darnley at Glasgow, Bothwell, according to the 'Diary' handed in by the Scottish commissioners at Westminster, accompanied her to Lord Livingstone's place at Callendar. His movements after parting from her are somewhat uncertain. Not improbably, before returning to Edinburgh, he proceeded to Whittingham, where he made an unsuccessful attempt to induce Morton to undertake the murder. According to the 'Diary' already mentioned, he superintended the arrangements at Edinburgh for lodging Darnley at Kirk-o'-Field. Subsequently he proceeded south, for on the 27th he set out from Jedburgh to chastise some rebellious borderers in Liddesdale, with whom he had a sharp skirmish (Scrope to Cecil, *Cal. State Papers*, For. Ser. 1566–8, entry 918). On 31 Jan. he met the queen some distance from Edinburgh, and escorted her and Darnley into the city. A suite of apartments was assigned him in Holyrood Palace. Here on the night of Sunday, 9 Feb., he held a consultation with certain subordinates to arrange the final details of his plot. His plan from the beginning appears to have been to blow up the lodging. He had conveyed an immense quantity of powder from the fortress of Dunbar, his calculation being to arrange the explosion on such a gigantic scale that it would be beyond the limits of possibility for his victim to escape, or for it to be known how he met his death. On the Sunday evening the queen, who occasionally slept in a chamber below that occupied by Darnley, had remained at Kirk-o'-Field till a late hour. She intended to sleep at Holyrood, having agreed to attend a masked ball in the palace in honour of the marriage of one of her servants. Before setting out she and her escort went upstairs to Darnley's apartment. Bothwell must at least have been informed of the queen's intentions. It was actually while she and her escort were in the room above that he superintended the conveyance of the powder into the room which she had just left below. It was placed beneath the bed which she would have occupied had she

not decided to go to the ball. After completing these arrangements Bothwell followed the queen into Darnley's chamber. They left Darnley about eleven o'clock. The queen passed the door of her own apartment without again entering it, and the royal party, lighted by torch-bearers, wended along Blackfriars Wynd to Holyrood. Bothwell put in an appearance at the ball, but retired towards midnight, and after changing his court dress for a simple doublet and a horseman's cloak, sufficient in the darkness to conceal his identity, returned, accompanied by four of his followers, towards Kirk-o'-Field. On stating that they were 'friends of Lord Bothwell' they were permitted to pass the keeper at Canongate Port and arrived safely at Kirk-o'-Field. Leaving three of the attendants at the garden wall, Bothwell and his French servant, Hubert, leaped it and proceeded to the house. Two other agents of Bothwell had been left in charge of the powder, and as soon as Bothwell had inspected the arrangements and given instructions for lighting the train, the whole of them returned to the place of tryst at the garden wall to await the result. The match burned slowly, and Bothwell, with characteristic impatience, was preparing again to leap the wall in order to return to the house when the explosion took place. The conspirators hurried back with the utmost speed to Holyrood. Failing to scale the city wall at a low part near Leith Wynd, and dreading delay, they were compelled to pass again the keeper at Canongate Port. On reaching his apartments Bothwell called for drink before going to bed. In about half an hour a messenger arrived at the palace with the news that the king's house was blown up, and the king himself, it was supposed, slain. Feigning to have been aroused from sleep, Bothwell exclaimed, 'Fie! Treason!' and hurriedly dressed himself in order (he pretended) to make inquiries personally. The lodging was found to have been, as Mary said, 'dung in dross to the very groundstone.' The body of Darnley lay at some distance from the site of the building (see sketch in CHALMERS, *Life of Mary Queen of Scots*). Bothwell stated that there was not 'a mark or a hurt on all his body.' The impression prevailed that previous to the explosion he had been strangled in bed, but the subordinate agents affirmed that no personal violence was used. Their testimony is not, however, of much weight, nor is it appreciably strengthened by the fact that the surgeons expressed themselves to a similar effect. After viewing the body, Bothwell returned to break the news to the queen. As he was leaving her apartment he met Sir James Melville, to whom he stated that her majesty was 'sorrowful and quiet.' He also attributed the calamity to 'the strangest accident that ever chancit, to wit, the powder [lightning] come out of the luft [sky] and had burnt the king's house' (*Memoirs*, p. 173). After the murder Bothwell gave valuable presents to all who had assisted him, and charged them to 'hold their tongues, for they should never want so long as he had anything.'

Bothwell may have counted on suspicion falling on Morton, or other well-known enemies of Darnley; in any case he seems to have supposed that he had rendered no inconsiderable service to the protestant nobles. There was a passive indifference in the attitude of the protestant lords, which at the least showed that their indignation, if it existed, was well restrained by prudence. It was against Bothwell, however, that the universal suspicion of the multitude from the beginning pointed. According to Buchanan his guilt was proclaimed 'baith be buikes and be pictures and be cryis in the dark night.' Placards were secretly posted up naming as the murderers him and several others of minor rank, who were subsequently executed as the perpetrators of the crime. The accusations seemed to produce not the slightest effect on Bothwell's iron nerves, although it was observed that when he talked with any one of whose goodwill towards him he was doubtful, he 'was accustomed to keep his hand on his dagger.' His position at court was in no degree weakened. With the queen his influence, whatever its nature, was plainly greater than ever; nor was there any indication that the cordiality, on one side or the other, was feigned. On 14 Feb., the day of Darnley's funeral, he received the reversion of the superiority over the town of Leith. Two days afterwards the queen went to Seton, Haddingtonshire, leaving, according to the 'Diurnal of Occurrents' (p. 106), Huntly and Bothwell in Holyrood in charge of the young prince. On the 28th Drury reported to Cecil that Argyll, Huntly, Bothwell, and Livingstone were with the queen at Seton; that on the previous Wednesday she came to Lord Wharton's house at Tranent, and that she and the Earl of Bothwell having won at the butts against Lord Seton and Huntly, the losers entertained them at dinner at Tranent. This report is not necessarily inconsistent with the fact that Huntly and Bothwell were left in charge of the prince at Holyrood. They did not require either separately or together to be day and night in attendance on the prince; they had merely to see that he was properly guarded, and Tranent was within easy riding distance of Holyrood.

Soon the queen's name became associated with that of Bothwell as responsible for the murder. As she passed out of the market of Edinburgh the voices of the market women could be heard, saying, 'God preserve you if you are saikless of the king's death.' Notwithstanding the widespread suspicion, it was not till the Earl of Lennox, father of Darnley, pointedly called the attention of the queen to the fact that Bothwell and others were persistently proclaimed as the murderers, and that he for his part greatly suspected these persons, that the queen, with the consent of the council, promised him a judicial examination. At a meeting of the privy council held on 28 March 1567 instructions were given for a trial to take place on 12 April, but the government carefully avoided taking the initiative. The burden of the prosecution was laid on the Earl of Lennox and other accusers of Bothwell, who were required to 'compeir and thair persew the said Erll and his complices' (*Reg. P. C. Scotl.* i. 505). Lennox, knowing that Edinburgh was crowded with the followers of Bothwell, resolved for his own protection to bring three thousand men with him; but on approaching Linlithgow a message reached him, forbidding him to enter the city with more than six followers, and he therefore declined to attend. On the day of the trial a message arrived from Elizabeth, asking for its postponement, but when the import of the message was known Drury found it impossible to get it delivered to the queen. Robert Cunningham, on behalf of Lennox, also made an application for postponement, but it was resolved to proceed. Before such a jury as that selected it was scarcely possible that Bothwell on any evidence could have been found guilty; but no jury, except one strongly biassed against him, would have gone out of its way to convict in the absence of a prosecutor. Practically no trial took place at all. A technical verdict of 'not guilty' arrived at in such circumstances was valueless. On the conclusion of the trial Bothwell, in accordance with ancient custom, offered by public cartel to fight any one who should challenge his innocence. All that could be done to ratify the sentence of the jury was also immediately done by parliament, for on 14 April he obtained from parliament a confirmation of his rights to various lordships and lands previously conferred on him.

Before Bothwell's trial a rumour was current that, although his wife, Lady Jean Gordon, was still alive, he intended to marry the queen, and that she had promised to become his wife 'long before the murder was done' (*Cal. State Papers*, For. Ser. 1566–8, entry 1091). As early as 30 March Drury reports to Cecil that the 'Earl of Huntly has now condescended to the divorce of his sister from Bothwell' (*ib.* 1054). One of the documents, said to have been found in the silver casket, was a promise of marriage by the queen to Bothwell, in French, without date, and another was a marriage contract, dated Seton, 5 April 1567, said to be in the handwriting of Huntly, and professedly signed by the queen and Bothwell. Sir James Melville gives a graphic account of the danger to which Bothwell's wrath exposed Lord Herries and himself when they informed the queen of the rumours regarding her intended marriage to Bothwell (*Memoirs*, pp. 175–7). Neither Bothwell nor the queen wished their intentions to be made known prematurely, but after the trial no secret was made of their purpose of marriage. On the afternoon of 19 April, the day that the parliament rose, Bothwell entertained the leading protestant noblemen to supper in Ainslie's Tavern. In accepting his invitation they gave a pledge of friendliness, and when late in the evening he presented a document for their signature, the purport of which was to commit them to an assertion of his innocence, and to the support of his claims to the queen's hand, all subscribed with the exception of one or two who slipped out. It is stated that he showed them the queen's written authority for the proposal. Had the nobles supposed that Bothwell was acting without her authority, his proposal would probably have been rejected. Writing on the following day, Kirkcaldy of Grange, who was not at the supper, reported to Bedford that the 'queen had said that she cares not to lose France, England, and her own country for him, and will go with him to the world's end in a white peticoat ere she leaves him' (*Cal. State Papers*, For. Ser. 1566–8, entry 1119).

On 21 April 1567 the queen went to visit the infant prince at Stirling, and on the 24th, when returning to Edinburgh, she was met near the city by Bothwell, and with a show of force carried to Dunbar. Sir James Melville, who was present in her train at her capture, affirmed that 'Captain Blaikater, that was my taker, allegit that it was the quenis awen consent' (*Memoirs*, p. 177). If the evidence of the 'Casket Letters' be accepted she had made arrangements for the capture, and there is at least no evidence that Bothwell's procedure caused her any alarm, or met with any remonstrance. Both were aware, notwithstanding the signature of the bond by the nobles, that they alone really desired the marriage. Even the soldiers at Holyrood had become mutinous (*ib.* 1126).

Angry mutterings and sinister rumours were heard on all sides. It was safer for both that until a divorce between Bothwell and his wife had been granted the queen should be kept in security within his own fortress of Dunbar.

Before the queen's so-called abduction, Bothwell had begun steps to obtain the two decrees needful for his divorce. In the civil commissary court action was taken ostensibly at the instance of Bothwell's wife, while in the catholic consistorial court it was taken at the instance of Bothwell. Collusion between the parties was almost self-evident. On 3 May the civil court pronounced sentence of divorce against Bothwell, on the ground of adultery, but according to catholic practice a divorce on the ground of adultery amounted only to separation, and did not permit the divorced person to marry again. The ground on which divorce was sought in the catholic court was that before his marriage he had committed fornication with his wife's near kinswoman, and thus brought himself within the forbidden degrees of consanguinity. When the sentence of divorce was passed on 7 May it was falsely stated by the court that no dispensation which would, according to the catholic canons, have made the marriage indissoluble, had been obtained before the marriage. As a matter of fact, Archbishop Hamilton, who pronounced the divorce, had himself procured such a dispensation before the marriage. Buchanan, in his 'Detection,' asserts that 'all the while they kept close the pope's bull, by which the same offence was dispensed with.' Within recent years this dispensation has been discovered at Dunrobin, whither it was apparently carried by Lady Jean Gordon, who afterwards in 1573 married Alexander, eleventh earl of Sutherland (*Hist. MSS. Comm.* 2nd Rep. p. 177). It has, therefore, been argued (see DR. JAMES STUART, *A Lost Chapter in the History of Mary Queen of Scots*) that since, according to catholic law, the marriage could not be annulled, Mary, when she married Bothwell, must have known that the ceremony was an empty form. On the other hand, it has been urged that the conditions on which the dispensation was granted were never fulfilled, inasmuch as the marriage was not celebrated in the face of the church (see COLIN LINDSAY, *Mary Queen of Scots and her Marriage with Bothwell*, 1883). The court, however, appear to have made no reference to the irregularity of the ceremony, but only to the absence of the dispensation. Possibly Mary sincerely believed that a decree of divorce pronounced by a catholic court absolved her from responsibility.

The divorce was speedily followed by the queen's marriage. On 3 May (*Diary of the Scottish Commissioners*; or 6 May, according to *Diurnal of Occurrents*, p. 110) Bothwell and the queen returned from Dunbar to Edinburgh. They entered by the West Port, 'and raid up the bow to the Castle, the said Erle Bothwill leidand the quenis Majestie by the bridill as captive' (*ib.* p. 111). On the 8th, the day after sentence of divorce was pronounced by the catholic court, she was proclaimed in the palace of Holyrood to be married to Bothwell, and on the following day she was proclaimed in St. Giles's Church. John Craig, the minister who proclaimed the banns, took, however, 'heaven and earth to witness that he abhorred and detested that marriage' (Declaration in ANDERSON'S *Collections*, ii, 281). On the 12th the queen passed from the castle to the palace of Holyrood, stopping by the way at the court of session, where she made what was styled the 'declaration of the queen's liberty,' in which, while referring in mild reprehensory terms to her abduction, she stated that 'her highness stands content with the said earl, and has forgiven and forgives him and all other his complices.' On the same evening he was made Duke of Orkney and Shetland with 'great magnificence,' the queen herself placing the ducal coronet on his head. On the 14th she formally subscribed her approval of the bond which had been given by the nobles to Bothwell in Ainslie's Tavern, and on the same day the marriage contract was signed. The marriage took place on the following day (15 May 1567) in Holyrood Palace before a gathering of the more subservient of the nobles. It was celebrated according to the protestant form, the officiating clergyman being Adam Bothwell, protestant bishop of Orkney. Probably one of Bothwell's motives in declining to have the marriage performed also according to catholic rites was to convince the protestants that protestantism was safe in his hands. To the king of France he sent with the queen's messenger, who announced the marriage, a short note couched in terms at once respectful and self-respecting. To Elizabeth he adopted an equally friendly and respectful, but a somewhat more self-assertive tone, frankly stating that he was well aware of the bad opinion she entertained of him, but protesting that it was undeserved, and expressing his readiness to do the utmost to preserve the amity between the two kingdoms.

Bothwell's avowed forcible abduction of the queen gave the nobles an almost providential excuse for interfering with his projects. They had promised to support him only on condition that he had the queen's consent, and by carrying her ostensibly by

force to Dunbar, he was declaring to the world that that consent had not been obtained. Moreover, the catholic nobles could now be appealed to for help in delivering their sovereign from one who, after murdering the king, had captured the queen, and virtually usurped the royal authority. A secret council was therefore formed, consisting of catholic as well as protestant noblemen, to 'seek the liberty of the Queen, to preserve the life of the Prince, and to pursue them that murdered the King.' Since the queen expressed her readiness to be in Bothwell's custody, and since Elizabeth, to whom they had applied for help, deprecated force, no effort was made to prevent the marriage. But on 1 June 1567 the nobles resolved to capture Bothwell and the queen at Holyrood. Their purpose, however, became known, and Bothwell and the queen instantly fled to Borthwick Castle. It was surrounded by Morton and Lord Home, but Bothwell made his escape by a postern gate, and went to Dunbar. The queen disdainfully refused to return to Edinburgh, and as the nobles did not dare to effect her capture, she some days afterwards joined Bothwell. After collecting a powerful force—a considerable proportion of which was composed of Bothwell's dependents—Bothwell and the queen marched on Edinburgh. They were met by the lords at Carberry Hill, but both parties apparently preferred to negotiate rather than to fight. The queen expected reinforcements, but by engaging in negotiations she virtually lost her cause. Though many were thoroughly loyal to her, the enthusiasm for Bothwell, even among his own followers, was very lukewarm. Du Croc, the French ambassador, expressed, in his letter to the king of France, high admiration both of the manner in which Bothwell bore himself and marshalled his troops, and was confident that if the troops could have been relied on he would have been victorious (letter in TEULET, ii. 312–20). Bothwell declared to Du Croc that those who had come to oppose him were simply envious at his elevation. Out of sympathy with the queen, for whose painful position he declared that he deeply felt, he was, however, willing to waive his royal rank, and to fight with any one worthy, by nobility of birth, to meet him. Knox states that he 'came out of the camp well mounted, with a defie to any that would fight with him' (*Works*, ii. 560). The queen, however, would not permit any of her subjects to engage in single combat with her husband. Meantime, while negotiations were going on, many of the troops of the queen had been leaving the field, and it became evident that a battle in such circumstances would be disastrous to her. Resigning herself to the inevitable, she appears to have made arrangements for Bothwell's escape, and in obedience to her urgent request that he should save himself by flight before it was too late, he unwillingly bade her farewell, and rode off unmolested to Dunbar.

After reaching Dunbar Bothwell sent his servants to fetch the effects which had been kept by him in the castle of Edinburgh. Among these is stated to have been the famous silver casket which the lords avowed they intercepted on 20 June, and opened next day, when it was found to contain, in addition to other documents, certain letters addressed by the queen to Bothwell (see 'Morton's Declaration' in HENDERSON, *Casket Letters*, pp. 112–16). The discovery, whatever its nature, apparently determined the lords to make more strenuous efforts against Bothwell. Although he remained at Dunbar, and the queen expressed her determination not to give him up, no great zeal was at first shown to effect his capture. On 26 June 1567, however, the secret council declared that they had 'be evident pruif, alswiel of witnesses as of writinges maid manifest unto thame, that James, Erll Bothuill, was the principal deviser of Darnley's murder' (*Reg. P. C. Scotl.* i. 524). On the following day, probably before he knew of the proclamation, Bothwell left Dunbar for the north, not apparently from any dread of capture, for the castle was strongly fortified, but in order if possible to create a diversion in favour of the queen. But by the queen's best and most loyal friends he was secretly detested. If any were prepared to risk their lives for her, none were prepared to risk anything for Bothwell, who, if they assumed her guilt, had led her into crime, or, if they assumed her innocence, had tarnished her fame. There were, it would appear, even limits to Huntly's debasing devotion to the interests of his former brother-in-law, and he now declined to adventure anything for him (Throckmorton to Elizabeth, 16 July 1567, *Cal. State Papers*, For. Ser. 1566–8, entry 1459). One night, possibly dreading treachery, Bothwell departed suddenly from Huntly's residence, and went to the palace of his old tutor and guardian, the Bishop of Moray at Spynie. The bishop not only gave him shelter for a time, but furthered his escape.

Bothwell approached Kirkwall with two small ships, counting apparently on a favourable reception in his dukedom of Orkney, but the keeper of the castle refused to deliver it up. He had no means of capturing it, and therefore set sail for Shetland, where his claims were at once recognised by the inhabitants, and he received the gift of a sheep and an ox, which every benefice was from time immemorial in

the habit of paying to the feudal lord. Moreover, when it became known that the ex-high admiral of Scotland aspired to become a pirate commander, several of the pirate captains who frequented the islands placed themselves under his orders. Writing on 20 July 1567 Throckmorton reported that Bothwell meant to allure 'the pirates of all countries to him.' He clearly wished to collect as large a naval force as possible. Such a force could be maintained only by piracy. Professor Schiern is inclined to give some weight (*Life of Bothwell*, English translation, p. 303) to the denial of the contemporary writer, Adam Blackwood, that Bothwell was a pirate; but there can be no doubt whatever that Bothwell soon began to capture merchant ships. The abortive attempt of Professor Schiern to distinguish between a pirate and a privateer tends rather to inculpate than exonerate Bothwell. It was discerned that unless Bothwell's proceedings were promptly stopped he might prove a very formidable foe. The magistrates of Dundee were therefore ordered to instruct the skippers of four large vessels belonging to the port to place them at the service of Murray of Tullibardine and Kirkcaldy of Grange in order to attempt his capture (*Reg. P. C. Scotl.* i. 544–6). The vessels were armed with cannon, and in addition to the seamen, carried four hundred arquebusiers. In Bressay Sound, while Bothwell and part of the crew were on shore, Kirkcaldy came up with the ships of Bothwell, who had lately captured and armed a large ship of 'Breame' (*Cal. State Papers*, For. Ser. 1566–8, entry 1640). In the eagerness to capture one of Bothwell's ships, Kirkcaldy ran his own ship on a rock, and with difficulty saved himself from drowning. Bothwell's ships then sailed to the northern isles, where Bothwell succeeded in joining them. There the enemy again came up with them. For a time all seemed going against Bothwell, but Kirkcaldy, skilled though he was in military matters, was deficient in seamanship, and a south-west wind having sprung suddenly up, Bothwell made his escape to the North Sea, leaving one of his vessels, which had become disabled, in Kirkcaldy's hands. Kirkcaldy persevered for sixty miles in his chase, but Bothwell drew rapidly away, not slackening sail till he sighted land, which proved to be the south-west coast of Norway. Here he spoke with the master of a Hanseatic vessel, who piloted him into Karm Sound.

No sooner had Bothwell cast anchor than the Danish warship Björnen made its appearance, and Bothwell's papers being found unsatisfactory, his vessels were brought to Bergen. His identity having now become known, he was permitted to take up his residence at a hostelry in the town till further orders should be received regarding him. Meanwhile he was treated with respect, and was frequently entertained by Eric Rosenkrands in the castle. By a curious coincidence Anne Thorssen, whom he had abandoned in the Netherlands, had on the death of her father come with her mother to reside in Bergen. On learning his arrival, she sued him before the court for redress, but by promising her an annuity, to be paid in Scotland, and handing over to her the smallest of his ships, he succeeded in getting proceedings quashed. Bothwell, when examined on board ship, had denied that he had with him any jewels or valuables, or even any letters or papers, but when he was led to believe that his ships would not again be delivered up to him, he stated that in his own ship there were some papers of which he wished to obtain possession. His request for them aroused suspicion, and when the letter-case was opened it was found to contain among other documents various proclamations against him as a traitor and murderer, and a letter in the handwriting of the Queen of Scots, bewailing the fate that had befallen him and her. After an examination held on 23 Sept. 1567, it was decided that Bothwell should be sent to Denmark in one of the king's own ships, accompanied by only four of his servants.

Bothwell arrived at Copenhagen on 30 Sept. Representations made to the Danish government by the regent Moray induced the high steward, in the absence of King Frederick II, to send him to the castle, and the king subsequently gave instructions that he should be detained there till further orders. Bothwell now ingeniously explained in a letter to the king of Denmark that when he was seized at Karm Sound he was really on his way to Copenhagen to lay before him the wrongs committed against the Queen of Scots, the king's near relative, and that he intended to proceed thence to France on a like errand. To the French king he also wrote in a similar strain. The Danish king's ministers had advised that he should be sent to a castle in Jutland, but Bothwell's letter produced so favourable an impression that the king ordered that he should remain in Copenhagen. On 30 Dec. the king, in answer to a request for his surrender, sent by Moray in the name of James VI, replied that Bothwell had informed him that he had been legally acquitted of the murder, and therefore he would not agree to do more than keep him in close confinement, with which he hoped the Scottish king would be satisfied (*ib.* For. Ser. entry 1889). For greater security he was removed to Malmoe in Sweden, where an old apartment in the north wing is still

pointed out as the one he occupied. Previous to his removal he had composed in the castle of Copenhagen a narrative of his doings (published by the Bannatyne Club, under the title 'Les Affaires du Conte de Boduel'), intended to show that he was the victim of ill-will on the part of the Scottish nobility. As this exposition of his wrongs did not produce an adequate impression on the king, he, on 13 Jan. 1568, stated that if the king would aid him, he was empowered to offer him as a recompense the islands of Orkney and Shetland. It had long been the ambition of the Danish sovereign to win back these islands from Scotland, and although Bothwell's offer was not accepted, simply because it was difficult to render it effective, the fact that it had been made secured the king's goodwill, and probably was the main reason why he refused to deliver Bothwell up or agree to his execution, although repeatedly pressed to do so both by Moray and Elizabeth. Meanwhile a proposal had been mooted for the marriage of Queen Mary to Norfolk, and on this account Queen Mary empowered Lord Boyd to take measures to obtain her divorce from Bothwell on the ground that the marriage 'was for divers respects unlawful.' The matter came before a convention held at Perth on 29 July 1569, when by a large majority liberty to take action in the matter was refused, the Earl of Huntly, Atholl, and other catholics voting for granting it, while Moray and Morton declined to vote (*Reg. P. C. Scotl.* ii. 8–9). Sentence of divorce was, however, passed in September 1570 by the pope, on the ground that she had been ravished previous to the marriage (*Cal. State Papers*, For. Ser. 1569–71, entry 1412). Bothwell is said to have given a mandate signifying his assent to the divorce. According to Chalmers (*Mary Queen of Scots*, 1st ed. ii. 242), the mandate remained among the papers of the Boyd family until 1746, but no such paper has yet been brought to light. Nor was a mandate from Bothwell likely to have any effect in enabling the queen to obtain a divorce. It would simply have proved collusion between the parties. In any case it would appear that the proposals for a divorce caused no break in the friendship between Bothwell and the queen, for on 19 Jan. 1571 Thomas Buchanan reports to Cecil that they constantly corresponded (*Cal. State Papers*, Scott. Ser. i. 310).

After the queen's cause in Scotland became completely lost, Bothwell was treated with less respect by the Danish king, and in June 1573 was removed to Drangholm in Zeeland, described as 'a much worse and closer' prison. From this time he would appear to have been cut off from all communication with the outside world. The rigour of his confinement, the despair of deliverance from it, and the uncertainty as to whether at any moment he might not be sent to execution, gradually broke down his iron nerve. Accustomed as he was to an active outdoor life, his physical health suffered, and this doubtless also contributed to the overthrow of his mental balance. In any case the statements that he passed his latter years in insanity are made by so many contemporaries—Buchanan, Sir James Melville, De Thou, Lord Herries, &c.—that they must be accepted as conclusive. The Danish authorities give the year 1578 as that of his death, the 'Calendar of Eiler Brockenhaus' naming 14 April as the day. The so-called deathbed confession by Bothwell, exonerating Mary from the murder of Darnley, was professedly written when at Malmoe in 1575 (only abstracts of this document are known to exist); this must be regarded as conclusive against its genuineness, for he was removed from Malmoe in 1573, and died, not in 1575, but in 1578. He was buried in Faareveile Church. A coffin, indicated by tradition as his, was opened on 31 May 1858, and a portrait which was then taken of the head of the body is now in the museum of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland. Nothing was discovered, however, clearly to identify the body as Bothwell's, and as a large number of Scottish prisoners have been buried there, the matter is enveloped in considerable doubt. No portrait of Bothwell is now known to exist. He was famed for bodily strength. The tradition as to his ugliness rests wholly on the statements, more or less vituperative in form, of Brantôme and Buchanan. He left no lawful issue. His wife, Lady Jean Gordon, was married on 13 Dec. 1573 to Alexander Gordon, twelfth earl of Sutherland [see under GORDON, JOHN, eleventh EARL OF SUTHERLAND, 1526?–1567], and after his death in 1594 to Alexander Ogilvy of Boyne. She survived till 1629.

[The principal original authorities for the main facts of Bothwell's life have been quoted in the text. The narrative of his proceedings in the Darnley murder is chiefly gathered from the evidence of the subordinate agents, but the main purport of their statements is corroborated by a variety of circumstantial evidence. The latter part of Bothwell's career in Scotland being closely associated with Queen Mary, is fully dealt with by all the queen's biographers and all writers on both sides of the Marian controversy. Bothwell's own narrative, Les Affaires du Conte de Boduel (first published by the Bannatyne Club, 1829, and reprinted in Labanoff's Pièces et Documents relatifs au Comte de Bothwell, 1856, and in Teulet's Lettres de Maria

Stuart, 1859), contains, notwithstanding much misrepresentation of facts, some interesting information of an authentic kind. The Memoirs of James, Earl of Bothwell, added by Chalmers to his Life of Mary Queen of Scots, though professedly founded on original authorities, is as frequently as not contradictory of them. For all that concerns Bothwell's later life in Denmark, Schiern's Life of Bothwell, published in Danish, 1863, 2nd ed. 1875, and translated into English in 1880, must be regarded as the standard authority, but as a narrative of his career in Scotland it is of minor value. There is also interesting information about Bothwell's life in Holland in Ellis's Later Years of James Hepburn, Earl of Bothwell, 1861. A fantastic vindication of Bothwell is attempted in Dr. Phil. A. Petrick's Zur Geschichte des Graffen Bothwell, St. Petersburg, 1874; and by J. Watts de Peyster in his Vindication of James Hepburn, 1882 (founded on the former work). Bothwell is the subject of a long poem by the late Professor Aytoun and of a drama by Mr. Swinburne. His maritime adventures are said to have suggested to Byron his poem 'The Corsair.'] T. F. H.

**HEPBURN, JAMES** (1573–1620), in religion BONAVENTURE, linguist, born in 1573 in the shire of East Lothian, Scotland, was fourth son of Thomas Hepburn, rector of Oldhamstocks. He was educated in the university of St. Andrews, where, after completing his studies in humanity and philosophy, he applied himself to the oriental languages. He soon joined the communion of the Roman church, went to France and Italy, and subsequently travelled through Turkey and the East. He mastered so many languages that he was credited with being able to speak to the people of every nation in their own tongue. On returning to Europe he entered the order of Minims at Avignon. Afterwards he lived in retirement at Rome for five years in the French monastery of the Holy Trinity, belonging to his order. He was for six years keeper of the oriental books and manuscripts in the Vatican Library. He died at Venice in October 1620.

Dempster enumerates twenty-nine works by Hepburn, all of which he claims to have seen. They include Hebrew and Chaldaic dictionaries and translations from Hebrew manuscripts, many of which are not known in print. Hepburn published: 1. 'Alphabetum Arabicum et Exercitatio Lectionis,' an Arabic grammar, Rome, 1591, 4to. 2. A translation from Hebrew into Latin of the '"Kettar Malcuth" of Rabbi Solomon, the son of Tsemach,' which Dempster entitles 'Diadema Regni,' printed at Venice. 3. 'Virgo Aurea septuaginta duobus encomiis cœlata,' a large print engraved at Rome in 1616, and dedicated to Paul V. At the top is a representation of the Madonna, beneath are seven columns, in the first and last of which the author explains in Latin and Hebrew his design of eulogising the Blessed Virgin in seventy-two languages, as well as in emblems.

[Dempster's Hist. Ecclesiastica Gentis Scotorum, p. 363; Mackenzie's Writers of the Scots Nation, iii. 513; European Mag. xxvii. 369; Watt's Bibl. Brit.] T. C.

**HEPBURN, SIR JAMES** (*d.* 1637), Scottish soldier of fortune, was the son and heir of Hepburn of Waughton, Haddingtonshire, and cousin of Sir John Hepburn [q. v.] He served under Sir John in Germany and France, attended his funeral, and, although objected to as a protestant, succeeded to his rank as commander of the Scots brigade. Richelieu wished Lord James Douglas (1617–1645) [q. v.] to be appointed, but Cardinal de la Valette, the general in command, apparently decided in favour of Hepburn. Hepburn served under Châtillon in Lorraine in 1637, and on 16 Oct., while he was fighting in the breach effected by blowing up a mine at Damvillers, a musket-ball passed through his chest. He died on 7 Nov. at Damvillers, which had capitulated the day after he was wounded. Lord James Douglas succeeded him.

[Gaz. de France, 31 Oct. and 12 Dec. 1637; James Grant's Memoirs of Sir John Hepburn.] J. G. A.

**HEPBURN, JOHN** (*d.* 1522), prior of St. Andrews and founder of St. Leonard's College, was the fourth son of Adam Hepburn, second lord Hailes, by Helen, eldest daughter of Alexander, first lord Home [q. v.] According to Dempster, he studied in Paris and wrote an elegant poem on hunting. He succeeded William Carron as prior of the convent in 1482. On 16 June 1488 he obtained from the king the custody of the castle of Falkland for five years (*Reg. Mag. Sig.* i. 1732). He was for some time keeper of the privy seal, and is mentioned on 31 May 1504 as vicar-general of St. Andrews (*ib.* 2789). In 1512 he, in concurrence with the archbishop and the king, founded the college of St. Leonard's (Charter in LYON's *Hist. of St. Andrews*, ii. 243–4), which he endowed partly with the tithes of St. Leonard's parish, and partly with certain funds of a hospital situated within the precincts of the monastery. Originally the college was a purely monastic institution, being under the entire charge of the prior and conventual chapter, and supplied with teachers from the inmates of the monastery. In 1514 Hepburn was a competitor with Gavin Douglas [q. v.] and Andrew Forman [q. v.] for the archbishopric of St.

Andrews. Forman, the successful candidate, being unable to obtain possession agreed ultimately to a compromise, by which Hepburn, besides retaining the rents already collected, should receive those of the church and lands of Kirkliston, Linlithgowshire, belonging to the archbishopric. It was also arranged that Hepburn's brother James should be made bishop of Moray, and his nephew prior of Coldingham. On the return of Albany to Scotland, Hepburn, who according to Buchanan was both profoundly covetous and implacably revengeful, insinuated himself into his confidence, and used his influence to poison his mind against Angus, who had supported Gavin Douglas and Home when they took up arms in behalf of Forman. The ultimate result was that Angus had to flee to France, and Home, convicted of a treasonable attempt against the governor, was beheaded [see under STEWART, JOHN, fourth DUKE OF ALBANY, and DOUGLAS, ARCHIBALD, sixth EARL OF ANGUS]. Whatever Hepburn's faults of character, he administered the affairs of the monastery with energy and skill. Hector Boethius states that he greatly decorated and otherwise improved the monastic building, and also adorned the cathedral at great expense. Towards the close of his life he surrounded the priory and St. Leonard's College with a wall, a considerable portion of which, known as the abbey wall, is still standing, and at various parts bears his arms and initials, with the motto 'Ad vitam.' He also commenced the library of St. Leonard's College, and his name is to be seen on some of the books still preserved. He died in 1522. His monument stands in St. Leonard's Chapel, but is so worn and defaced that no inscription is now visible.

[Reg. Mag. Sig. Scotl.; Histories of Scotland by Boethius, Buchanan, Leslie, and Lindsay of Pitscottie; Histories of St. Andrews by Lyon and Charles Rogers; Gordon's Eccl. Chron. Scotland, iii. 86.] T. F. H.

**HEPBURN**, SIR JOHN (1598?–1636), Scottish soldier of fortune, was the second son of George Hepburn of Athelstaneford, a small property near Haddington, held feudally of his kinsmen, the Hepburns of Waughton. He is probably the John Hepburn who matriculated at St. Leonard's College, St. Andrews, in 1615. At the end of that year he visited Paris and Poitiers with his schoolfellow, Robert Monro. In 1620, although a catholic, he joined the Scottish force under Sir Andrew Gray which was fighting for the elector palatine in Bohemia. In 1622 he fought with distinction under Mansfeldt at the defence of Bergen-op-Zoom in July, and at the battle of Fleurus 30 Aug. When Mansfeldt's army was disbanded next year, Hepburn led the Scottish companies to take service in Sweden, where his high military qualities won the favour of Gustavus, who in 1625 made him colonel of one of his Scottish regiments (of which the Royal Scots regiment in the British line, the old 1st foot, is the direct representative). Hepburn's regiment was engaged in the invasion of Polish Prussia, and especially in the defence of Mewe in 1625; next year it took part in the operations round Danzig under Sir Alexander Leslie [see LESLIE, ALEXANDER, first EARL OF LEVEN], in 1627 it formed part of the army which invaded Prussia and Hungary, and in 1628 was in Poland. Hepburn in 1630 relieved his countryman Monro, who was besieged at Rügenwalde, and became governor of that town. In March 1631 Gustavus formed the four Scotch regiments into the Scots (or Green) brigade, giving the command to Hepburn. The latter, assisting in the siege of Frankfort-on-the-Oder, blew up one of the town gates, and was leading his men into the place when he received a shot 'above the knee that he was lame of before,' but he had his wound dressed and resumed his command. He took part in the capture of Landsberg, by which Pomerania was cleared of the imperialists, and the battle of Leipzig, 7 Sept. 1631, was decided by the charge of his brigade; later on in the same year he was present at the storming of Marienburg and Oppenheim, and at the surrender of Mentz, December 1631, where he remained with Gustavus till the following March, and then marched to Frankfort-on-the-Main, capturing Donauwörth on his way, and being publicly thanked by Gustavus. He was next quartered at Munich, his brigade being the first to enter the town, and acting as bodyguard to Gustavus. In June he joined the Swedish camp near Nuremberg. He there took offence at some supposed slight, the nature of which is not known, and sheathing his sword he said to the king, 'Now, sire, I shall never draw it more in your behalf.' He did not leave, however, until after the battle of 24 Aug. 1632, giving his counsel though refusing to take part in it. The Scottish officers accompanied him a mile on the road, and there was an affecting parting. After a visit to Scotland Sir John—whether he was ever knighted by Charles I is uncertain, but the 'Swedish Intelligencer' 1630 styles him 'Sir John Hebron'—offered his services to France. They were eagerly accepted, and on 18 March 1633 he took leave of Louis XIII at Chantilly, before starting for Scotland to raise two thousand men. In August he arrived at Boulogne with his recruits, 'good soldiers, mostly gentlemen.' The remnant of the Scots

Archery Guard was incorporated with his regiment, which consisted mostly of pikemen, and on the strength of this amalgamation Hepburn's troops claimed to be the oldest regiment in France, a claim resented by the Picardy regiment, raised in 1562, which nicknamed them 'Pontius Pilate's Guards.'

Hepburn took part in the conquest of Lorraine, and in September was appointed maréchal-de-camp (brigadier-general). In 1634 he assisted, under the Duc de la Force, in the capture of Hagenau, Saverne, Lunéville, Bitche, and La Motte. He was then sent to relieve Heidelberg and Philipsbourg, where some of his former comrades under Gustavus were defending themselves against a superior force of imperialists. In 1635 he was present at the capture of Spires, the defeat of Duke Charles of Lorraine near Fresche, the capture of Bingen, the relief of Mentz, the capture of Zweibrücken, and the engagement at Vaudrevange. While arranging the encampment of the rear-guard he fell into the hands of the imperialists, but he pretended to be a German, and gave them orders in that language with so much assurance that they felt it quite an honour to let him go (*Gazette de France*, 6 Oct. 1635). About this time Duke Bernard of Weimar joined the French service, and the remnant of the Scots brigade which accompanied him was incorporated, much to the delight of the men, in Hepburn's regiment, which thus became 8,300 strong. In 1636 he shared with Cardinal de la Valette the credit of revictualling Hagenau, and, not unconscious of his own merit, he asked that 'Meternic' (perhaps an ancestor of the Austrian statesman) might be considered his prisoner, as the four thousand crowns ransom would be of service to him. He also requested that his brigade might take precedence of any other since raised to twenty companies, intimating that otherwise his dignity would not allow him to remain in the French army. Both petitions were granted, but before Meternic's ransom arrived Hepburn was killed. He was assisting Duke Bernard at the siege of Saverne, and while reconnoitring the fortifications on 8 July 1636 he received a musket-shot in the neck, and died two hours afterwards. He stood high in the favour of Richelieu, who frequently mentions him in his correspondence, was amused by his blunt manner and foreign accent (e.g. simère for chimère), and regarded the capture of Saverne as dearly purchased by his death. Hepburn was a catholic, and was buried in Toul Cathedral, a monument with recumbent effigy being, in 1669, erected near the spot, while his helmet, sabre, and gauntlets were deposited at the foot of it. This monument was destroyed in the French revolution, but the Latin inscription on the floor is still legible (*Mém. Soc. de l'Arch. de Lorraine*, 1863). Hepburn had a nephew who was page to Richelieu, and to whom Meternic's ransom was assigned.

[Lettres de Gustave Adolphe, Paris, 1790; Chronologie Historique Militaire, vi. 100; Gaz. de France, 1633–6; Lettres de Richelieu, 1853–1877 (these French authorities spell his name Hebron); James Grant's Memoirs of Sir John Hepburn.] J. G. A.

**HEPBURN, PATRICK**, third Lord Hailes and first Earl of Bothwell (*d.* 1508), was the eldest son of Adam, second lord Hailes, and Helen, eldest daughter of Alexander, first lord Home [q.v.] On 1 Feb. 1480–1481 he received a grant to him and his wife of the lands of the barony of Dunsyre (*Reg. Mag. Sig.* 1424–1513, entry 1459). He was also appointed governor of the castle of Berwick, and defended it for a time in 1482 when the town was invested by the English army, but consented to its final surrender through a secret understanding between the Duke of Albany and the English. He was one of the conservators of the truce with England, 21 Sept. 1484 (*Cal. Documents relating to Scotland*, vol. iv. entry 1505). On account of the annexation by James III of the temporalities of the rich abbey of Coldingham to the chapel royal of Stirling, Lord Home [see Home, Alexander, first Lord Home], who regarded them as belonging of right to him, procured the assistance of Hailes to enable him to assert his right. Hailes was a party to the hollow pacification at Blackness in May 1488, and along with James Stewart, earl of Buchan, and Andrew Stewart, bishop of Moray, he made a vain attempt to gain assistance against the Scottish king from Henry VII. At the battle of Sauchieburn on 11 June 1488 he led the van with Lord Home. James III lost his life during flight from the battle, and the consequent distractions enabled Hailes to lay the foundation of the remarkable influence and prosperity of the family. On the surrender of Edinburgh Castle, fifteen days after Sauchieburn, he was (26 June) made keeper of the castle and sheriff of the county of Edinburgh (*Reg. Mag. Sig.* 1424–1513, entry 1741). On 6 Sept. following he was constituted master of the household and lord high admiral of Scotland. Crichton Castle and the lordship of Bothwell, forfeited by John Ramsay, were on 13 Oct. bestowed on Hailes, and four days afterwards the lordship was erected into the earldom of Bothwell, and conferred on him in full parliament by giving him the sword. The same day it was also declared by parliament that he should

have the rule and governance of the Duke of Ross, the king's brother. In connection with an arrangement of the kingdom into districts to be governed by earls and barons, he was appointed guardian of the west and middle marches. On 5 Nov. he was made steward of Kirkcudbright, and obtained the custody of Shrieve Castle (*ib.* 1799). On 29 May of the following year he and his brother John [q.v.], prior of St. Andrews, received also letters of a lease of the lordship of Orkney and Shetland, and of the keeping of the castle of Kirkwall, the earl on the same date receiving the office of justiciary and bailiary of the lordship. He thus became the equal of the greatest nobles of the kingdom. The grants bestowed on him during the king's minority were specially excepted from revocation when the king came of age. On the resignation, 6 March 1491–2, of George Douglas, son of the Earl of Angus [see DOUGLAS, GEORGE, fourth EARL OF ANGUS], the lands and lordship of Liddesdale with the camp and fortalice of the Hermitage were bestowed on Bothwell, who at the same time resigned the lordship of Bothwell and other lands, and those on 14 July were given to Angus in exchange for Kilmarnock. At a parliament held on 18 May 1491 Bothwell with the Bishop and Dean of Glasgow were sent to negotiate an alliance with France, and to discover a fitting bride for the young king in Spain or elsewhere. They returned, however, in November following (*Accounts of Lord High Treasurer*, i. 183) without having initiated any marriage treaty. He took part in several other embassies, and was present at the creation of Prince Henry (afterwards Henry VIII) as Duke of York in 1494 (*Letters and State Papers, reign of Henry VII*, i. 403). On 8 Oct. 1500–1 he was appointed one of the commissioners to contract a marriage between the king and the Princess Mary, eldest daughter of Henry VII of England, and also to negotiate a perpetual peace (*Cal. Documents relating to Scotland*, vol. iv., entry 1675–6). The treaty was signed on 24 Jan. 1501–2. He was present at the marriage of the king and the princess by proxy at Richmond on 27 Jan. of the following year, and at the entrance of the princess into Edinburgh in August he bore the sword. He died at Edinburgh on 17 Oct. 1508 (LESLEY, *Hist. of Scotland*, p. 79; BALFOUR, *Annals*, i. 231). By his wife, Lady Janet Douglas, only daughter of James, first earl of Morton, he had three sons and three daughters. The sons were Adam, second earl of Bothwell, John, bishop of Brechin, and Patrick Hepburn of Bolton, died 1576. The last is wrongly confounded in Douglas's and other peerages with Patrick Hepburn, bishop of Moray [q. v.] The daughters were: Janet, married to George, fourth lord Seton; Mary, to Archibald, earl of Angus [see DOUGLAS, ARCHIBALD, sixth EARL OF ANGUS]; and Margaret, to Henry, lord Sinclair.

[Bannatyne Club Miscellany, vol. iii.; Reg. Mag. Sig. Scotland, vol. i.; Cal. of Documents relating to Scotland, vols. iii. and iv.; Letters and State Papers, reign of Henry VII; Bishop Lesley's Hist. Scotl.; Rymer's Fœdera; Lindsay of Pitscottie's Chronicle; Douglas's Scottish Peerage (Wood), i. 225.] T. F. H.

HEPBURN, PATRICK, third EARL OF BOTHWELL (1512?–1556), was the only son of Adam, second earl of Bothwell, by his wife Agnes Stewart, married in 1511, natural daughter of James, earl of Buchan, uterine brother of James II. His father having died on the field of Flodden, 9 Sept. 1513, he was brought up under the protection of Patrick, master of Hailes, Patrick, prior of St. Andrews [q. v.], and James, bishop of Moray. On 20 April 1528 the young earl, along with the Master of Hailes, and other Hepburns, received remission for their treasonable assistance of Lord Home. Though Bothwell declined the hazardous honour of leading an army against the Earl of Angus [see DOUGLAS, ARCHIBALD, sixth EARL OF ANGUS], he nevertheless, on 28 Jan. 1528–9, after the flight of Angus into England, received a share of his forfeited estates, including the lordship of Tantallon (*Reg. Mag. Sig.* ii. entry 738). The same year he was arrested along with other border noblemen for protecting marauders on the borders, and after six months' confinement was released, on his friends entering into recognisances for 20,000*l.* to bring him back to durance when required. On 20 March 1529–30 he appeared before the king, and again undertook the defence of Liddesdale. Being, however, dissatisfied with the insecurity of his position in Scotland, he in December 1531 entered into communication with the Earl of Northumberland. On the 29th he and others had an interview during the night with Northumberland at Dilston, near Hexham, when Bothwell represented that he had been cruelly wronged by the Scottish king, and that he was credibly informed that the king, should he get him and his colleagues together in Edinburgh, intended to execute them all. To revenge himself on the Scottish king he desired to become the subject of the king of England, and to serve against Scotland with one thousand gentlemen and six thousand commoners (Earl of Northumberland to Henry VIII, 27 Dec. 1531, in *Cal. State Papers*, Henry VIII, v. 609). Northumberland described Bothwell in very flattering

terms, and recommended that his offer should be accepted. Nevertheless the negotiations do not appear to have gone further. About June or July 1533 Bothwell and James Beaton, archbishop of St. Andrews [q. v.], were shut up by the king in the castle of Edinburgh (Northumberland to Henry VIII, 26 July 1533, *ib.* vi. 895). No more extreme measures were taken, and his imprisonment was probably short. On 31 July 1538 he received a grant of various lands in the barony of Crichton, which belonged in conjunct fee to Robert, lord Maxwell, and his wife, Agnes Stewart, countess of Bothwell, and were in the king's hands by reason of non-entry (*Reg. Mag. Sig.* ii. entry 1814). In September of the same year he was compelled to resign the lordship of Liddesdale into the king's hands, and, according to Lindsay of Pitscottie, he and other gentlemen 'were banished aff Scotland for certain crimes of lese majesty' (*Chronicles*, ed. 1814, ii. 359). Bothwell is stated to have gone to Venice. He returned soon after the death of James V in 1542, and was present in the parliament 15 March 1542–3, when he successfully issued a summons of reduction of a pretended assignation of the lordship of Liddesdale and castle of Hermitage. When Sir Ralph Sadler arrived in Scotland on a special embassy, he found Bothwell in possession of Liddesdale. Sadler appears to have been specially directed by the king to secure Bothwell's support, but Bothwell was indisposed to the match between the infant Mary and Prince Edward of England, and was devoted to the French interest. Sadler describes him as 'the most vain and insolent man of the world, full of folly, and here nothing to be esteemed.' Bothwell joined the party opposed to the English interests who met at Perth to concert measures of resistance against the policy of the governor and the Douglases. A message for a compromise was sent to their opponents, but they obeyed the summons of a herald-at-arms sent to charge them to disperse on pain of treason. An alliance with England and a treaty of marriage between the Princess Mary and Prince Edward of England was agreed on at the ensuing parliament. Shortly afterwards Cardinal Beaton [see BEATON, DAVID, 1494–1546], who had for some time been under arrest, received his liberty on Bothwell and others becoming hostages for him (LESLEY, *Hist. Scotl.*, Bannatyne edit., p. 68), and at Beaton's instigation Bothwell and other catholic lords mustered their followers for the protection of their faith and the defence of the independence of the kingdom. Concentrating their forces with great rapidity they marched on Linlithgow, and brought the queen-dowager and the infant queen in triumph to Stirling.

Bothwell was one of those who assembled at Leith on 3 May 1544 to oppose the landing of the Earl of Hertford, but on account of the superior forces of the enemy he and his friends retired to Edinburgh. In June he signed the agreement to support the queen-dowager, Mary of Guise, as regent instead of the Earl of Arran [see HAMILTON, JAMES, second EARL OF ARRAN and DUKE OF CHÂTELHERAULT]. He now appeared at court as the rival of the Earl of Lennox [see STEWART, MATTHEW, fourth EARL OF LENNOX] for the queen-dowager's hand. Both earls strove to excel in the magnificence of their retinue and in courtly games, but Bothwell found the expenditure greater than he could afford, and ultimately left the court (CALDERWOOD, *Hist.* i. 166; HERRIES, *Memoirs of Mary Queen of Scots*, p. 6).

In order, doubtless, to play this part of suitor Bothwell had, previous to November 1543, been divorced from his wife, Agnes Sinclair, lady of Morham, whom he married about 1535. The lady's mother was Margaret Hepburn, probably third daughter of Patrick, first earl of Bothwell [q. v.] (grandfather of the third earl), though some have supposed her to have been the first earl's sister. The excuse for the divorce was doubtless some prohibited degree of consanguinity. This seems confirmed by the reported statement of the son James, fourth earl [q. v.], at the Craigmillar conference, that the divorce of his father and mother had not injured his title or estate. Shortly after his retirement from court a summons was issued against him for entering into a treasonable correspondence with the king of England against James V in 1542, for a treasonable understanding with the Earl of Hertford when he landed at Leith, and for imprisoning the Bute pursuivant; but on 12 Dec. he was assoilzied in parliament from the summons.

According to Knox, Bothwell in 1543 threatened the Earl of Arran, governor of the realm, with deposition for befriending the reformers (*Works*, i. 100). When George Wishart [q. v.] in 1546 went to Haddington to preach, the people of the town and neighbourhood were inhibited by Bothwell, as sheriff of East Lothian, from hearing him. Notwithstanding, about a hundred persons assembled, but the same night Ormiston House, where Wishart was staying, was surrounded by a small force under Bothwell, who obtained the custody of Wishart on the promise that he would save him from Cardinal Beaton. Knox states that the bribes

of the cardinal and the persuasions and flatteries of the queen-dowager were too much for Bothwell's constancy (*ib.* p. 143); but it would appear from the 'Register of the Privy Council' that to induce him to deliver up Wishart threats had to be employed as well as promises. On 19 Jan. he bound himself to deliver up the reformer before the last day of the month, and meantime to answer for him under 'all the highest pain and charge' (*Reg. P. C. Scotl.* i. 20). Wishart was burnt as a heretic (1 March 1546–7).

After the surrender of the castle of St. Andrews in July 1547, Bothwell's name was discovered in a register of the names of Scottish noblemen and gentlemen who had secretly bound themselves to the service of England. Bothwell, on condition that he married the Duchess of Suffolk, aunt of Edward VI, agreed to surrender his castle of Hermitage and renounce allegiance to the Scottish government. He was sent to prison, but was released shortly after the battle of Pinkie on 10 Sept. 1548. On the 17th he waited on the Duke of Somerset, the invading general. He was then described as a 'gentleman of a right cumly porte and stature, and heretofore of right honourable and just meaning and dealing towards the King's majesty' (SOMERSET, *Expedition*, ed. Dalzell, p. 77). In August 1549 he signed a bond of fealty to the king of England; and an instrument, dated at Westminster 3 Sept. 1549, sets forth that King Edward had taken him under his protection, granting him a yearly rent of one thousand crowns and one hundred light horsemen for his protection, and, in case of his losing his lands in Scotland, guaranteeing him lands of similar value in England (*Bannatyne Club Miscellany*, iii. 410–11). On 3 May 1550 Bothwell was summoned before the Scottish council to answer the charge of high treason, but there is no record of further proceedings against him, and probably he had already fled to England. There he remained till 1553, when in November he was induced by the queen-dowager to return to Scotland (letter of Bothwell to the queen-dowager, printed in CHALMERS, *Memoirs of James, Earl Bothwell*). On 26 March following he received from the queen-dowager a remission for all his treasons. Soon after he joined the convention at Stirling, at which the agreement between the Duke of Châtelherault and the queen-dowager, by which the former resigned the regency, was ratified (LODGE, *Illustrations*, i. 195). He also signed the indemnity to the duke in the parliament which assembled at Edinburgh on 10 April. Shortly afterwards Bothwell was made by the queen-dowager her lieutenant on the borders. He is usually stated to have died in exile, but according to the 'Diurnal of Occurrents' (p. 67) his death took place at Dumfries in September 1556. Dumfries is also specified as the place of his death in the process for proving the consanguinity of his son with Lady Jane Gordon.

In Douglas's 'Peerage' his wife's name is given as Margaret Home of the family of Lord Home. She was, as above mentioned, Agnes Sinclair, daughter of Henry, lord Sinclair, and by her he had one son, James Hepburn, fourth earl of Bothwell [q. v.], and one daughter, Jane. The latter married, on 4 Jan. 1561–2, John Stewart, prior of Coldingham, a natural son of James V, by whom she had a son, Francis Stewart Hepburn [q. v.], fifth earl of Bothwell. Her first husband died in 1563, and in 1567 she married John Sinclair, master of Caithness, after whose death in 1577 she took for her third husband Archibald Douglas, parson of Glasgow (*fl.* 1568) [q. v.]

[Letters of Patrick, Earl of Bothwell, in Bannatyne Club Miscellany, iii. 403–23; and Letters of Assedation of Agnes, Countess of Bothwell (ib.), pp. 273–312; Reg. Mag. Sig. Scot.; Reg. P. C. Scotl.; Cal. State Papers, reign of Henry VIII; Sadler's State Papers; Acta Parl. Scot. vol. ii.; Lindsay of Pitscottie's Chronicles; Histories of Lesley, Buchanan, Knox, and Calderwood; Lodge's Illustrations; Douglas's Scottish Peerage (Wood), i. 226–7.] T. F. H.

**HEPBURN, PATRICK** (*d.* 1573), bishop of Moray, may have been the natural son of Patrick, first earl of Bothwell [q. v.], but has been wrongly identified with Patrick, the third son by lawful wedlock, who is styled in several documents Patrick in Bolton, was for some time master of Hailes, and died in October 1576. The future bishop is stated to have been educated under his relative John Hepburn [q. v.], prior of St. Andrews, whom he succeeded in the priory in 1522. From 1524 to 1527 he held the office of secretary to James V of Scotland. He was one of those who passed sentence against Patrick Hamilton [q. v.] in February 1527 (CALDERWOOD, *Hist. of the Church of Scotland*, i. 80). The profligacy of Hepburn is the subject of 'a merry bourd' or jest, related with somewhat indecorous gusto by Knox (*Works*, i. 41), and the letters of legitimation made under the great seal for the children of Moray proves that the 'bourd' did not seriously malign him. He was advanced to the see of Moray in 1535, and at the same time received the abbey of Scone in perpetual *commendam*. His name first occurs as a member of the privy council at St. Andrews 2 Oct. 1546 (*Reg. P. C. Scotl.* i. 43). In 1553 he was a commissioner for settling the affairs

of the borders (*ib.* p. 150). According to Knox, it was to the counsel of Hepburn that the martyrdom of Walter Mylne in 1558 was solely due.

After the city of Perth had come into the possession of the lords of the congregation in 1559, they wrote to Hepburn that unless he would come and assist them 'they could neither save nor spare his place' (the palace of Scone). He expressed his willingness to come, but as 'his answer was long of coming,' the townsmen of Dundee, who had a special grudge against him for the execution of Mylne, proceeded, notwithstanding the remonstrances of Knox and Lord James Stuart, to sack and burn the church and palace of Scone (KNOX, i. 359–61). On the triumph of the Reformation he retained the rents of his benefice and the palace of Scone, but in December 1561, along with other prelates, offered a fourth of the benefices for the queen's service (*Reg. P. C. Scotl.* i. 193–4), on condition that they were guaranteed in the possession of the remainder. This offer was not accepted, but ultimately an arrangement was come to by which the prelates were allowed to retain two-thirds of their rents during their lifetime. The bishop was one of those who with Huntly sent special commissioners to France to advise the queen in returning to Scotland to land at Aberdeen in order to head a movement for the restoration of catholicism (LESLEY, *Hist. Scotl.* p. 294). James Hepburn, fourth earl of Bothwell [q.v.], husband of Mary Stuart, was brought up by the bishop in Spynie Castle, and on 21 July 1567 the bishop was accused of having resetted him, after the earl's flight northwards, within his license of Spynie and other parts of Moray; and on this account he was deprived of his rents (*Reg. P. C. Scotl.* i. 531). In addition to this he was prosecuted as accessory to the murder of Darnley, but on 28 Nov. 1567 was acquitted (*Cal. State Papers*, For. Ser. 1566–8, entry 567). On 1 June 1568 he appeared on summons before the privy council to answer for such things as should be laid to his charge, and he was commanded to remain within the bounds of Edinburgh (*Reg. P. C. Scotl.* i. 629). In an act of the council of 8 July 1569, in which he is styled 'ane reverend father in God,' he and the canons of the cathedral church of Elgin are enjoined, under the threat of being put to the horn, to fulfil their promise of paying a reasonable contribution for the repair of the cathedral (*ib.* p. 677). He died at Spynie Castle on 20 June 1573, and was buried in the choir of the cathedral. He had seven sons and two daughters, for whom legitimations were passed under the great seal.

[Knox's Works; Buchanan's Detectio; Reg. of the Privy Council of Scotland; Cal. State Papers, For. Ser., reign of Elizabeth; Cal. State Papers, Scott. Ser.; Registrum Episcopatus Moraviensis (Bannatyne Club, 1837); Keith's Scottish Bishops; Gordon's Eccl. Chron. of Scotland, iii. 88.] T. F. H.

**HEPBURN, ROBERT** (1690?–1712), miscellaneous writer, was born at Bearford, Haddingtonshire, in 1690 or 1691. Giving promise of unusual powers, he was sent to Holland to study civil law, and returned in 1711 to pursue his profession in Scotland. On his return he started a periodical, of two pages in double columns, entitled 'The Tatler, by Donald MacStaff of the North.' Lacking the geniality of Steele, of whom he thus proclaimed himself an imitator, Hepburn became too satirical and personal, and his 'Tatler' reached only thirty numbers. There is a specimen copy in the Advocates' Library, Edinburgh, in a collection of miscellanies. Hepburn was admitted to the Faculty of Advocates in 1712, and died the same year.

Three posthumous works attest Hepburn's scholarship and literary faculty. In 1714 appeared at Edinburgh 'Libellus singularis quo demonstratur quod Deus sit.' This contains a preface and sixteen short Latin chapters, well and forcibly written, but embodying no novelty of argument. In 1715 was published 'Dissertatio de Scriptis Pitcarnianis,' characteristically dedicated to Addison—'Illustrissimo viro Josepho Addisono Anglo Robertus Hepburnius Scotus S.' Likewise, in 1715 at Edinburgh, appeared 'A Discourse concerning a Man of Genius, by Mr. Hepburn; with a poem on the Young Company of Archers by Mr. Boyd.' The discourse, displaying some power of observation and practical good sense, is in twenty-three brief sections, followed by the poem in heroic couplets.

[Lord Woodhouselee's Life and Writings of Lord Kames, i. 228; Chambers's Eminent Scotsmen; Anderson's Scottish Nation, i. 469.] T. B.

**HERAPATH, JOHN** (1790–1868), mathematician and journalist, born at Bristol on 30 May 1790, was the son of a maltster. After a scanty education he was placed in his father's business, but he managed to find time for study, his favourite subjects being mathematics and physics. In 1815 he married, and soon afterwards gave up business to open a mathematical academy at Knowle Hill, Bristol. He occasionally contributed to the 'Annals of Philosophy.' In 1818 he wrote on the 'Law of Continuity' (xi. 209), and in 1819 communicated 'New Demonstrations of the Binomial Theorem' (xiii. 364).

In 1820, having previously announced through a friend that he had determined the principle of gravitation (*Phil. Mag.* August 1819, p. 310), he offered to the Royal Society a paper entitled 'A Mathematical Inquiry into the Causes, Laws, and Principal Phenomena of Heat, Gases, Gravitations, &c.' It was refused. He thereupon published in the 'Annals of Philosophy' (new ser. i. 273, 340, 401) a letter to Davies Gilbert [q. v.], treasurer of the Royal Society, on the physical constitution of the universe. This formed a preface to the rejected paper, which was published in four subsequent numbers of the 'Annals.' A fierce controversy with the Royal Society followed. At the close of 1820 he settled as a mathematical tutor at Cranford, Middlesex. In 1821 he wrote on the 'Theory of Evaporation' in the 'Annals of Philosophy' for April and May. In 1822 his papers in that journal relate principally to his grievances against the Royal Society. His 'Tables of Temperature and a Mathematical Development of the Causes and Laws of the Phenomena which have been adduced in support of the hypothesis of Calorific Capacity and Latent Heat' (new ser. iii. 16) was controverted by Tredgold. He also wrote 'Remarks on Dr. Thomson's Paper on the Influence of Humidity in modifying the Specific Gravity of Gases' (new ser. iii. 419). He became acquainted with Brougham, who invited him to correct his mathematical works, induced him to write for the Society for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge a treatise on the 'Differential and Integral Calculus,' and held out to him hopes of the appointment of professor of mathematics in the university of London. Herapath eventually declined to deliver the treatise, and a quarrel ensued. In 1832 he gave up teaching, and removed to Kensington.

On the formation of the Eastern Counties Railway Company Herapath became connected with the railway interest, and in 1836 succeeded as part proprietor and manager of the 'Railway Magazine.' Under his editorship a new series was commenced called 'The Railway Magazine and Annals of Science,' which continued to appear monthly from March 1836 to 1839, forming six octavo volumes. Herapath ultimately acquired the sole proprietorship. It is now published in quarto as a weekly paper entitled 'Herapath's Railway and Commercial Journal.' After resigning the active management of his paper to his son, Edwin John, Herapath once more devoted himself to mathematics, and published two volumes of 'Mathematical Physics; or the Mathematical Principles of Natural Philosophy: with a Development of the Causes of Heat, Gaseous Elasticity, Gravitation,' &c., 8vo, London, 1847. He contemplated issuing a third volume, but made little progress with it. He died on 24 Feb. 1868 at Catford Bridge, Lewisham, and was buried in Norwood cemetery. He was a first cousin of William Herapath [q. v.]

[Herapath's Railway Journal, 4to ser. xxx. 234, 275–8, 309, 334; Gent. Mag. 4th ser. v. 544–5.] G. G.

**HERAPATH, WILLIAM** (1796–1868), analytical chemist, was born at Bristol in 1796. His father was a maltster in St. Philip's parish, and after his death Herapath succeeded to the business. He soon gave it up in order to study chemistry. He was one of the founders of the Chemical Society of London, of which he was a fellow, and also of the Bristol Medical School, of which he became professor of chemistry and toxicology on its first opening in 1828. On 13 April 1835, at the trial of a woman named Burdock for poisoning by arsenic her lodger, Mrs. Clara Ann Smith, at Bristol, Herapath was examined for the prosecution, and gained considerable reputation by his analysis. He was consequently retained in many other important criminal and civil trials, and was frequently opposed to Professor Alfred Swaine Taylor, notably in the case of William Palmer of Rugeley in 1856, when he was a witness for the defence. He was severely handled by the attorney-general, Sir A. Cockburn, who denounced him as a 'thoroughgoing partisan.' In politics Herapath was once an ardent radical. At the time of the reform agitation of 1831 he was president of the Bristol Political Union, and exerted himself to quell the rioting of October 1831. On the passing of the Municipal Reform Act Herapath became a member of the town council, and ultimately a justice of the peace. His radicalism became cold, and he consequently lost his seat on the council. He died on 13 Feb. 1868. His eldest son, William Bird Herapath, M.D., F.R.S., a distinguished toxicologist, died on 12 Oct. of the same year. Herapath wrote 'instructions' for Clifton Cleve's 'Hints on Domestic Sanitation,' 12mo, London, 1848; and 'A Few Words on the Bristol and Clifton Hot-wells. Together with an Analysis of the Spa,' 12mo, Bristol (1854 ?), which was subsequently embodied in the 'Handbook for Visitors to the Bristol and Clifton Hotwells,' 12mo, Bristol (1865 ?).

[Western Daily Press, 15 Feb. 1868; Bristol Times and Mirror, 15 Feb. 1868; Herapath's Railway Journal, 22 Feb. 1868, p. 205; Chemical News, 1868, pp. 97, 213; Gent. Mag. 4th ser. v. 404, 544; Nicholls and Taylor's Bristol Past and Present, iii. 326, 329.] G. G.

**HERAUD, JOHN ABRAHAM** (1799–1887), poet and dramatist, was born in the parish of St. Andrew's, Holborn, on 5 July 1799. His father, James Abraham Heraud, of Huguenot descent, a law stationer, first in Carey Street, Lincoln's Inn Fields, and then at 25 Bell Yard, Temple Bar, died at Tottenham, Middlesex, on 6 May 1846, having married Jane, daughter of John and Elizabeth Hicks; she died 2 Aug. 1850. John Abraham, the son, was privately educated, and originally intended for business, but in 1818 began writing for the magazines. His knowledge of German, then a rare accomplishment, secured him a conspicuous position. He attached himself to the school of Schelling, and endeavoured to popularise the speculations of that philosopher in England. In 1820 he published his local poem 'Tottenham,' and in 1821 his 'Legends of St. Loy.' He was an author of varied erudition, and made two attempts at epic grandeur in his poems 'The Descent into Hell,' 1830, and 'The Judgment of the Flood,' 1834. He was in poetry what John Martin was in art, a worshipper of the vast, the remote, and the terrible. His 'Descent' and 'Judgment' are psychological curiosities, evincing much misplaced power. He had a large circle of acquaintances, including Coleridge, Southey, Wordsworth, and Lockhart. With the Carlyles he was very intimate, assisting them in their house-hunting, and it was partly on his recommendation that the house 5 Cheyne Row, Chelsea, was taken in 1834. He wrote for the 'Quarterly' and other reviews, and from 1830 to 1833 assisted in editing 'Fraser's Magazine.' He edited 'The Sunbeam. A Journal devoted to Polite Literature,' in 1838 and 1839; the 'Monthly Magazine' from 1839 to 1842; and subsequently the 'Christian's Monthly Magazine.' In 1843 he became a contributor to the 'Athenæum,' and afterwards served as its dramatic critic until his retirement in 1868.

Heraud was a keen critic of acting. His memory carried him back to John Kemble and Edmund Kean. He was himself the writer of several dramas. The tragedy of 'Videna' was acted at the Marylebone Theatre with success in 1854, and 'Wife or No Wife' and a version of M. Legouvé's 'Medea' were afterwards produced with equal favour. From 1849 to 1879 he was also the dramatic critic of the 'Illustrated London News.' Ultimately he was in receipt of a pension from that journal as well as from the 'Athenæum.' On 21 July 1873, on the nomination of Mr. W. E. Gladstone, he was appointed a brother of the Charterhouse, Charterhouse Square, London, where he died on 20 April 1887.

On 15 May 1823 he married, at Old Lambeth Church, Ann Elizabeth, daughter of Henry Baddams, and by her, who died at Islington on 21 Sept. 1867, had two children, Claudius William Heraud of Woodford, and Edith Heraud, an actress.

Heraud was the author of: 1. 'The Legend of St. Loy, with other Poems,' 1820. 2. 'Tottenham,' a poem, 1820. 3. 'The Descent into Hell,' a poem, 1830; second edition, to which are added 'Uriel,' a fragment, and three odes. 4. 'A Philosophical Estimate of the Controversy respecting the Divine Humanity,' 1831. 5. 'An Oration on the Death of S. T. Coleridge,' 1834. 6. 'The Judgment of the Flood,' a poem, 1834; new ed. 1857. 7. 'Substance of a Lecture on Poetic Genius as a Moral Power,' 1837. 8. 'Voyages up the Mediterranean of William Robinson, with Memoirs,' 1837, 12mo. 9. 'Expediency and Means of Elevating the Profession of the Educator,' a prize essay, printed in the 'Educator,' 1839, pp. 133–260. 10. 'The Life and Times of G. Savonarola,' 1843, 12mo. 11. 'Salvator, the Poor Man of Naples,' a dramatic poem, privately printed, 1845, 12mo. 12. 'Videna, or the Mother's Tragedy. A Legend of Early Britain,' 1854. 13. 'The British Empire,' written in conjunction with Sir A. Alison and others, 1856. 14. 'Henry Butler's Theatrical Directory and Dramatic Almanack,' ed. by J. A. Heraud, 1860, &c., 12mo. 15. 'Shakespeare, his Inner Life as intimated in his Works,' 1865. 16. 'The Wreck of the London,' a lyrical ballad, 1866. 17. 'The In-Gathering, Cimon and Pero, a Chain of Sonnets, Sebastopol,' &c., 1870, 18mo. 18. 'The War of Ideas,' a poem, &c., 1871. 19. 'Uxmal: an Antique Love Story. Macée de Léodepart: an Historical Romance,' 1877, 16mo. 20. 'The Sibyl among the Tombs,' 1886.

[Powell's Living Authors of England, 1849, pp. 250–1; Chambers's Cyclopædia of English Literature, 1876, ii. 415; Illustrated London News, 30 April 1887, p. 485; Athenæum, 23 April 1887 p. 554, 30 April p. 577; Men of the Time, 1887, p. 523; Wilson's Noctes Ambrosianæ, No. xlviii. April 1830; information from C. W. Heraud, esq.] G. C. B.

**HERAULT, JOHN** (1566–1626), judge in Jersey, born in 1566 in the parish of St. Saviour, Jersey, was son of Thomas Herault and Mabel Nicolle, his wife. He entered All Souls' College, Oxford, in October 1597, but never proceeded to a degree. In 1607 he was especially named in a patent addressed to the royal commissioners for examining and expediting the proceedings of the royal courts of the Channel islands, 'in regard of his experience in the languages and customs of those

isles.' In 1611 he obtained from the crown the reversion of the office of bailiff of Jersey, then held by George Paulet, and was sworn on 16 Sept. 1615. The unanimous statement of historians that he had previously officiated as greffier of the Jersey court arises from a confusion with another John Herault, who died during his lifetime. Herault's first appointment was warmly resented by the governor of Jersey, Sir John Peyton, who contended that the power of appointment was vested in him as governor. Herault replied that the clause ruled upon had been surreptitiously foisted into Peyton's patent on the model of one erroneously or fraudulently procured by Sir Walter Raleigh. He contended successfully for the right of the crown, and was confirmed in his office with a fixed salary in 1614. The order in council, dated 9 Aug., having been framed after great deliberation, is still held as an organic law of much importance in the island. In 1617 another royal commission visited the island, but Herault remained victorious, another attack upon him by Peyton being decided in his favour, and the governor ordered to pay 60*l.* costs. In 1621, however, Herault was suspended on a fresh set of charges, and a substitute appointed. In 1624 this order was reversed, and Herault was reinstated, when the states sent a member of each section, a jurat, a rector, and a constable to welcome him and conduct him to his official seat. Herault died on 11 March 1626, when he was buried in the choir of St. Saviour's Church in his native parish.

Herault was an upright magistrate, who is recorded to have deprived his own brother of an office which he held on the discovery of a trifling malversation; but he is admitted to have been haughty and overbearing in manner. He was the first judge who ever wore robes upon the Jersey bench. His house in St. Saviour's parish was standing in the early part of the present century, but has been since removed. He died unmarried and poor, but his memory survives in Jersey as that of a vindicator of the liberties of the island. His exertions established the constitutional principle that 'the charge of the military forces be wholely in the governor, and the care of justice and civil affairs in the bailiff' (Order in Council, 9 Aug. 1614).

[The best account of Herault's quarrels with Peyton is to be read in Le Quesne's Constitutional Hist. of Jersey, London, 1856. Some documents will also be found in E. Durell's notes to Philip Falle's Account of the Isle of Jersey, Jersey, 1837. The rest of the above information is due to the help of Mr. H. M. Godfray, B.A. Oxon.] H. G. K.

**HERBERT** OF BOSHAM (*fl.* 1162–1186), biographer, has told us himself that he was born at the place whence he took his name, Bosham, or, as he spells it, Boseham, in Sussex. Henry II once taunted him with being 'a priest's son;' 'That I am not,' retorted Herbert, 'for my father did not become a priest till after I was born' (W. FITZSTEPHEN, *Mat. for Hist. Becket*, iii. 101). He may have been the 'Master Herbert' who once, while Thomas Becket was chancellor (1155–62), acted as a messenger from Henry to the emperor (RAD. FREISINGEN, l. i. c. 7). On the morrow of Thomas's election as primate, in May 1162, Thomas appointed him his special monitor in the discharge of his archiepiscopal duties. In this capacity, and also as the archbishop's master in the study of holy writ, Herbert held a foremost place among the *eruditi* or scholars in Thomas's household. He accompanied the primate to the council of Tours (May 1163) and to that of Clarendon (January 1164); he was one of the two disciples who alone dared to follow him into the king's hall on the last day of the council at Northampton (13 Oct. 1164); throughout that terrible day he sat at his master's feet, till 'the hour was past,' and the two friends fought their way out together and made their escape, both mounted on one horse (W. FITZSTEPHEN, pp. 58, 68; HERB. BOSHAM, pp. 307–10); he was in the secret of Thomas's flight over sea, and rejoined him at St. Omer with some money and plate, which he had collected at Canterbury; he shared with Lombard of Piacenza the task of securing for Thomas a welcome from the French king and the pope; and thenceforth, throughout the six years of the primate's exile, Herbert was constantly at his side, sharing his scriptural studies, helping him in his correspondence, comforting and lecturing him by turns through the fits of despondency in which his spirit occasionally broke down, and encouraging him with somewhat needless warmth in his resistance to the king's demands. At Easter 1165 an attempt was made to obtain restitution for Herbert and some of the other clerks who had sacrificed their all for Thomas's sake, and they were called to a meeting with the king at Angers; but Herbert's defiant look and manner, as he made his appearance 'splendidly attired in a mantle of green cloth of Auxerre hanging down to his heels in German fashion,' his refusal to forsake his primate, his outspoken denunciation of the royal 'customs,' and his bold bandying of words with the king, only increased Henry's wrath against him (W. FITZSTEPHEN, pp. 99–101). Soon afterwards Pope Alexander recommended him for the provostship of the

church of Troyes (Ep. cxxxii., *Materials for Hist. of Becket*, v. 241), with what result does not appear. In autumn 1166 Herbert was acting as letter-carrier for Thomas, and characteristically 'thrust himself into greater peril than the matter was worth,' but contrived to escape the clutches of the king (Ep. cclii., *ib.* vi. 73). He advised the archbishop's removal to Sens when expelled from Pontigny (30 Nov. 1166). At the conference at Montmirail (6 Jan. 1169), when Thomas was wellnigh overcome by the entreaties of the friends who urged him to unconditional surrender, Herbert managed at the last moment to whisper in his ear a passionate exhortation to hold fast by his original reservation, and was rewarded by hearing once more the words 'Saving God's honour and my order,' which brought the negotiation to an end. He returned to England with Thomas in December 1170, and remained with him until sent back again on an errand to the French king; vainly he implored his master to let him stay for the end which both felt to be close at hand, and which in fact came two days after his departure. He seems not to have revisited England till about 1184, when he was beginning to write his biography of the martyr. Henry's wrath against the 'proud fellow' who had once been so obnoxious to him had cooled now, and of all the surviving actors in the Becket drama he seems to have been almost the only one who did not give Herbert the cold shoulder; he frankly answered Herbert's characteristically bold questions as to his share in the murder, and told how his penance in 1174 had coincided with the capture of the king of Scots. But the 'British world,' and even the English church, amid their devotion to the martyr's bones, would have nothing to do with the 'living relic' of him, the old comrade whose long fidelity perhaps put their own lukewarmness to shame. He may have been the 'Dominus Herbertus' with whom Master David of London had a dispute for the living of Dodington (LIVERANI, *Spicilegium Liberianum*, p. 614), but he does not seem to have been resident there. Later writers have given him a career in Italy as archbishop, cardinal, and even pope, but all these stories arose from a confusion between Herbert of Bosham and other men of the same or similar names. On the other hand, Laurence Wade, a fifteenth-century biographer of St. Thomas, describes Herbert as having been, like himself, 'a brother off Cristes Church in Cantorbury' (HARDY, *Descript. Cat.* ii. 363); but there is no evidence for his statement, and apparently just as little for a local tradition which points to a recess in the south wall of Bosham Church as the site of Herbert's tomb. Unless a sentence in his 'Life of St. Thomas' (lib. iv. c. 30, p. 461, Rolls ed.) is an interpolation by another hand, he was still living in July 1189.

Herbert's sole important work is the 'Life of St. Thomas of Canterbury,' written 1184–6. Its seven books of rambling, long-winded narrative, prosy sermonising, and turgid declamation would be intolerable if their faults were not redeemed by the writer's genuine enthusiasm for his hero, by his intimate knowledge of his subject, and by the fairness with which, notwithstanding his own vehement partisanship, he allows his readers to see both sides of the questions with which he deals. Herbert also compiled a yet more verbose and tedious 'Liber Melorum' in praise of the martyr, a 'Homily' for St. Thomas's day, and thirty-seven letters, several of them written in the name of Thomas or of some one of his friends, and all relating to his cause or his fate. Memorials of the scriptural studies which he shared with his illustrious friend survive in his glosses on the Psalms and on the epistles of St. Paul. The former was begun during his stay at Pontigny with St. Thomas; for the latter he seems to have received assistance from William, abbot of St. Dionysius at Milan; both works are addressed to Archbishop William of Sens (1169–76), and both consist merely of a recension by Herbert, with new prefaces, tables, summaries, and other additions, of the glosses of Peter Lombard.

The manuscripts of his writings now known are: 1. 'Bibl. S. Vedast. Arras,' MS. 649, twelfth century, formerly belonging to the monastery of Ourscamp or Orcamp; contains 'Vita S. Thomæ' (from which four leaves have been cut out), 'Liber Melorum,' and 'Homilia de natalitio martyris die.' 2. C. C. C. Oxford MS. 146, fourteenth century, mutilated at beginning and end, containing only lib. iv–vii. of 'Vita' and 'Liber Melorum.' 3. Phillipps MS. 4622, an abridgment of the 'Vita,' written in the twelfth century, and formerly belonging to the monastery of Aulne. 4. C. C. C. Cambridge MS. 123, fifteenth century; 'Epistolæ Herberti de Bossam, tam in persona Thomæ Becket quam in sua, ad Papam et alios episcopos et responsiones ad illas.' 5. Trin. Coll. Cambridge MS. B. 5. 4; gloss on the Psalter, pt. 1 (Ps. i–lxxiii.) 6. Trin. Coll. Cambridge MS. B. 5. 6, 7; glosses on St. Paul's Epistles. 7. Bodl. MS. Auct. E. infra 6; gloss on the Psalter, pts. ii. and iii. The three last-mentioned manuscripts are all of the thirteenth century; they all came from Canterbury, and are probably the identical 'prima pars psalterii secundum Longo-

however, prevented all chance of collision. On 8 March 1688-9 Herbert was appointed first lord of the admiralty; he was also admiral and commander-in-chief of the fleet in the Channel and on the coast of Ireland. On 29 April he sighted the French fleet, and on the evening of the 30th again saw it standing into Bantry Bay. In the morning (1 May) he followed them in. The French admiral, M. de Château-Renault, met him with a greatly superior force; and after a trivial skirmish, Herbert bore up, hoping with more sea-room to be able to outmanœuvre the enemy. Château-Renault, however, would not risk a close engagement, and towards evening hauled his wind back into the bay, where his transports landed a force of about five thousand men. A week later Château-Renault returned to Brest, and Herbert also went back to Portsmouth to refit. The disproportion of the two fleets made Herbert's success impossible; and as he had only just taken on himself the affairs of the admiralty, he could not be held responsible for the failure. There is, however, no apparent reason for the general satisfaction expressed at the result. The king himself visited the fleet at Portsmouth on 15 June, and soon after created Herbert Earl of Torrington, knighted Captains Ashby and Shovell, and ordered a gratuity to the seamen for their brave behaviour. The engagement must have been made a pretext for rewarding the services rendered to the revolution, and for conciliating the navy. In July the fleet put to sea in adequate force; but the opportunity for the year had passed, and after an uneventful cruise the ships were sent to their several ports for the winter.

Herbert, according to his own statement, which is at once probable and borne out by known facts, complained bitterly of the inefficiency of the fleet, and in conversation with Daniel Finch, second earl of Nottingham [q. v.], the principal secretary of state, urged the necessity of strengthening it. The only reply he could get was, 'You will be strong enough for the French.' He answered, 'I own I am afraid now in winter whilst the danger may be remedied, and you will be afraid in summer when it is past remedy' (*Speech to the House of Commons in November* 1690, p. 13). Finally, finding remonstrance useless, he obtained permission, as he states, to resign his seat at the board (*ib.* p. 12). It is certain that he left the admiralty in January 1689-90, and was succeeded by Thomas Herbert, eighth earl of Pembroke [q. v.]; that he remained in command of the fleet; that the fleet was not ready for sea till June; that it was deficient in numbers and badly manned; that the Dutch contingent, on which the Earl of Nottingham had apparently relied, was also much below its stipulated strength; that the government had no intelligence as to the force or movements of the French fleet; that the admiral had no cruisers to supply the want; and that the Dutch, who undertook the duty, did not do it.

The French were thus able to concentrate their whole force without disturbance at Brest, and on 22 June appeared off the Isle of Wight with upwards of one hundred sail, of which 'near if not quite eighty men-of-war were fit to lie in a line.' Herbert, with barely fifty capital ships, was then at St. Helens, and on the news of the French approach got under way, meaning to engage them as soon as possible. It was not till he saw Château-Renault's flag as well as Tourville's, and counted their numbers, that he realised that he had before him the whole force of the French navy, while of the English a large squadron under Admiral Henry Killigrew [q. v.] was at Cadiz, several ships at Plymouth, several to the eastward, and many of the Dutch ships still in their own ports. 'Their great strength and caution,' as he wrote on the 26th, made him anxious to avoid a battle, and his decision was unanimously approved by a council of war, which agreed that in order to do so it would be right to retire, even to the Gun-fleet. He accordingly drew back to the eastward, and was off Beachy Head when, on the evening of the 29th, he received orders from the queen by no means to retire to the Gun-fleet, but to engage the enemy 'upon any advantage of the wind.' The Earl of Nottingham further wrote, repeating the orders to engage, and adding that they had sure intelligence that the enemy had 'not above sixty ships that could stand in a line, and were very ill manned.' Torrington had the evidence of his senses that this was false; he knew that the orders sprang out of the personal jealousy of Nottingham and of Russell, the latter of whom ought to have been with the fleet in command of the blue squadron, but was in London intriguing against his authority [see RUSSELL, EDWARD, EARL OF ORFORD]. Still, he felt bound to obey orders, or did not care to give an opportunity to his enemies. He called a council of war, which resolved that if they were to engage, they had better do so at once while they had the advantage of the wind, and accordingly the next morning, 30 June, the allied fleet ran down towards the French. Some scanty reinforcements had raised their numbers to fifty-six, as against the enemy's eighty, but the disparity

**HERBERT, ANNE,** Countess of Pembroke and Montgomery (1590–1676). [See Clifford, Anne.]

**HERBERT, ARTHUR,** Earl of Torrington (1647–1716), admiral of the fleet, second son of Sir Edward Herbert (1591?–1657) [q. v.], and elder brother of Sir Edward Herbert, titular Lord Portland (*d.* 1698) [q. v.], entered the navy in 1663, and was in 1666 appointed lieutenant of the Defiance, with Captain (afterwards Sir John) Kempthorne [q. v.], in which he was present in the action against the Dutch on 25 July. On 8 Nov. following he was promoted to the command of the Pembroke of 32 guns, and, on a cruise to Gibraltar, fought in her a sharp but undecided action with a Dutch frigate. Coming home with the squadron under Kempthorne, the Pembroke, when off Portland, fell on board the Fairfax, and sank almost immediately. No blame seems to have been attached to Herbert, who was at once appointed to the Constant Warwick, from which in 1669 he was moved into the Dragon, one of the squadron sent into the Mediterranean, under Sir Thomas Allin [q.v.], to repress the Algerine corsairs. Towards the end of 1670 Allin returned to England, leaving the command with Sir Edward Spragge [q. v.], under whom Herbert, in the Dragon, took part in the destruction of the Algerine squadron in Bugia Bay on 8 May 1671. Peace having been concluded, the squadron came home in the spring of 1672, and Herbert was appointed to the Dreadnought, which he commanded in the battle of Solebay (28 May). He was immediately afterwards moved into the Cambridge, in the room of Sir Frescheville Holles [q. v.], slain in the fight, and in her took part in the action of 28 May 1673, when he was severely wounded, and the ship so damaged that she had to be sent into the river. In the following year, still in the Cambridge, he went out to the Mediterranean with Sir John Narbrough [q. v.], but came home in the summer of 1675.

In 1678 he commissioned the Rupert, in which he again went to the Mediterranean, with local rank of vice-admiral under Narbrough. He had scarcely arrived on the station when, in company with Sir Roger Strickland in the Mary, he captured a large Algerine ship of 40 guns, after an obstinate action, the stress of which fell exclusively on the Rupert. On the Mary coming up the Algerine surrendered, having lost, it was said, about two hundred men. The Rupert had nineteen killed and thirty or forty wounded; Herbert lost one of his eyes by the accidental explosion of some cartridges. In May 1679 Narbrough returned to England, leaving the command with Herbert, who in July 1680 received a commission as admiral and commander-in-chief within the Straits. In December 1679 he had moved into the Bristol, and in the following spring, with the squadron under his orders, took an active part in the defence of Tangier, then besieged by the Moors. He was afterwards engaged in one of the continually recurring wars with Algiers, and brought it to a successful end in April 1682, when he concluded a treaty which proved somewhat more stable than any before it. He wrote home that these frequent wars were due in great part to the misbehaviour of the consuls, and suggested that it would be the truest economy to pay a liberal salary, perhaps 300*l.* or 400*l.* a year, 'to a man of known integrity, capacity, and courage' (Playfair, p. 137). After concluding the treaty he moved into the Tiger, and seems to have spent the greater part of the next year at Tangier, where he had a house on shore (Pepys, *Life, Journal, and Correspondence*, i. 401). On Lord Dartmouth's coming out in the summer of 1683, with orders for the dismantling and evacuation of the place, Herbert returned to England. In the following spring (3 Feb. 1683–4) he was nominated rear-admiral of England; he was also appointed master of the robes, and in April 1685 was returned to parliament as member for Dover. Two years later (March 1686–7), on his refusal to vote for the repeal of the Test Act, as contrary to his honour and conscience, he was summarily dismissed from all his employments, of the value, it is said, of 4,000*l.* a year (Burnet).

The king, who had counted on his poverty and on the proved loyalty of his family, was much enraged, and caused his accounts as master of the robes to be severely scrutinised. It was more than a year before he was able to get them passed, and in July 1688 he went over to Holland and placed his services at the disposal of the Prince of Orange, who presently appointed him to the command of the fleet which was to convoy his expedition, hoping that Englishmen would be unwilling to fight against a countryman of their own. The English fleet, however, had been already won over; and when the Dutch under Herbert put to sea, Lord Dartmouth was unable to follow till it was too late, and even then with a private understanding among the several captains that if he attacked the Dutch they were to 'leave him and range themselves on the other side' (*Memoirs relating to the Lord Torrington*, Camden Society, pp. 26–9; cf. Legge, George, Earl of Dartmouth). The precautions taken,

on account of the strong feeling against him among the Dutch, and of the personal quarrel between him and Russell, whose interest was very great; but it appears from his private correspondence that the king down to his death continued on terms of friendly intimacy with him (WARNER, *Epistolary Curiosities*, i. 159–61). Torrington was at this time living in the country, presumably at Weybridge, and playfully wrote of himself as 'a poor country farmer,' or 'a country bumpkin,' taking occasion, however, to express his hatred and contempt of 'that miserable commission of the Admiralty,' composed of 'insipid ignorants,' whom 'he wishes with all his heart eternally confounded' (*ib.* i. 157). This letter, not dated, seems to belong to 1696, and to refer specially to Russell, then earl of Orford. Notwithstanding his country life, Torrington was frequently in his place in the House of Lords, where he occasionally spoke on the affairs of the navy. He died in 1716. He was twice married; the first time in November 1672, when he was described as a bachelor of Weybridge in Surrey, aged 25 (CHESTER, *London Marriage Licenses*, ed. Foster); he had no issue, and left his property to his friends the Earl of Lincoln and Admiral John Nevell [q. v.]

Burnet's most unfavourable description of Herbert has been very generally accepted as truth; he is represented as licentious, covetous, dishonest, envious, haughty, and dictatorial; it is even broadly hinted that he was a traitor and a coward. Pepys's description, so far as it goes, is to the same effect (*Life, Journal, and Correspondence*, i. 401, ii. 20). He may not have been more moral or more scrupulous than other public men of his time, but the allegations of his being a party to serving out poisonous provisions to the seamen would seem to be based on mere irresponsible gossip, and his refusal to assist James in his unconstitutional measures goes far to disprove the vague charges of dishonest greed. Bitter and jealous enemies he had, but he seems to have possessed a rare power of attaching his officers to himself; and those who served under him in the Mediterranean, more especially Shovell, Nevell, and Benbow, continued his followers to the end. The science of naval tactics was still in its infancy, and Beachy Head was the only action on a grand scale in which he commanded in chief, but, notwithstanding its ill success, his plan seems to have been ably devised, and to have been frustrated solely by the impetuosity or national jealousy of the Dutch. There is no question that his views on naval strategy were much in advance of his age, and, independently of his long and distinguished service, warrant our assigning him a high place in the list of English admirals.

[Charnock's Biog. Nav. i. 258; Campbell's Lives of the Admirals, ii. 332, 533; Collins's Peerage, ed. 1715; manuscript lists in the Public Record Office; Burchett's Transactions at Sea; Burnet's Hist. of his own Time; Dalrymple's Memoirs of Great Britain and Ireland, iii. 17, 80–135; Macaulay's Hist. of England; An Impartial Account of some remarkable Passages in the Life of Arthur, Earl of Torrington, together with some Modest Remarks on his Tryal and Acquitment, 1691; Memoirs of George Byng, Lord Torrington (Camd. Soc.); A particular Relation of the late Success of his Majesties Forces against the Moors, 1680; An Exact Journal of the Siege of Tangier, 1680; Playfair's Scourge of Christendom; The Account given by Sir John Ashby, vice-admiral, and Rear-admiral Rooke to the Lords Commissioners . . ., with a Journal of the Fleet since their Departure from St. Hellens . . ., 1691: this contains also The Lords Commissioners' Letter to the Queen's Majesty . . . and The Examinations of the Captains; The Earl of Torrington's Speech to the House of Commons . . ., 1710; cf. Parl. Hist. 12 Nov. 1690, v. 651. The minutes of the court-martial cannot now be found. See also Mémoires du Maréchal de Tourville, iii. 82; Mémoires du Comte de Forbin, i. 300; Eugène Sue's Histoire de la Marine Française, iv. 353; Troude's Batailles Navales de la France, i. 197.] J. K. L.

HERBERT, CYRIL WISEMAN (1847–1882), painter, youngest son of John Rogers Herbert, R.A. [q. v.], was born in Gloucester Road, Old Brompton, London, on 30 Sept. 1847. He was the godson of Cardinal Wiseman, and was educated at St. Mary's College, Oscott, and King's College, London. Trained like his brothers in his father's studio, he visited Italy in 1868, where he made many elaborate sketches, chiefly among the mountains in the neighbourhood of Olevano. His first picture, 'Homeward after Labour,' representing Roman cattle driven home after the day's toil, was exhibited at the Royal Academy in 1870. The next year he sent 'An Idyll;' in 1873, 'On the Hill-tops;' and in 1874, 'Returning to the Fold,' Welsh sheep driven home in the gloaming, which was purchased by Sir Andrew Walker and presented to the Walker Art Gallery at Liverpool. He exhibited at the Royal Academy for the last time in 1875, when he sent 'Escaped Home,' a collie dog returning to its mistress at a cottage door. Besides these he painted 'The Knight's Farewell' and some other works which were never exhibited. Early in 1882 he was appointed curator of the antique school in the Royal Academy, but he died prematurely at the Chimes, Kilburn, on 2 July 1882. His re-

mains were placed in the catacombs of St. Mary's catholic cemetery, Kensal Green.

[Academy, 1882, ii. 38; Art Journal, 1882, p. 256; Royal Academy Exhibition Catalogues, 1870–5; information from Wilfrid V. Herbert, esq.] R. E. G.

**HERBERT, EDWARD,** first LORD HERBERT OF CHERBURY (1583–1648), was eldest son of Richard Herbert, esq., of Montgomery Castle. His great-great-grandfather was Sir Richard Herbert of Colebrooke, Devonshire, the brother of William Herbert, earl of Pembroke (*d.* 1469) [q. v.] His great-grandfather, Sir Richard Herbert, was active in repressing disturbances about Montgomery Castle in the reign of Henry VIII (HERBERT, *Henry VIII*, sub anno 1520). His grandfather, Sir Edward Herbert, took part under his kinsman, William Herbert, earl of Pembroke (1501?–1570) [q. v.], in the storming of St. Quentin in 1557; repressed lawlessness in Wales with a strong hand as deputy-constable of Aberystwith Castle (16 March 1543–4) and as sheriff of Montgomeryshire (1557 and 1568); was M.P. for his county in 1553 and 1556–7; was esquire of the body to Queen Elizabeth, and was buried in Montgomery Church 20 May 1593. Edward's father, a handsome and brave man, well versed, according to his son, in history and the Latin tongue, was sheriff of Montgomeryshire in 1576 and 1584, and is probably the Richard Herbert who sat as M.P. for Montgomeryshire in the parliament of 1585–6. He died in 1596, and was buried in the Lymore chancel of Montgomery Church on 15 Oct. of that year. An alabaster canopied tomb (still extant) was erected to his memory by his widow in 1600, with recumbent figures of himself (in complete armour) and of herself, and small images of their children (see engraving in GEORGE HERBERT, *Poems*, ed. Grosart, vol. ii., frontispiece). Herbert's mother was Magdalen, daughter of Sir Richard Newport (*d.* 1570) and Margaret, daughter and heiress of Sir Thomas Bromley (*d.* 1555?) [q. v.] She was a woman of great personal charm and fervent piety, and deeply interested herself in the education of her seven sons and three daughters. While at Oxford with her eldest son Edward she made the acquaintance of the poet Donne, with whom she maintained for the remainder of her life 'an amity made up of a chain of suitable inclinations and virtues' (WALTON, *Life of George Herbert*). She was liberal in her gifts to Donne's family; he addressed much of his sacred poetry to her, and commemorated her noble character in sonnets, and in a touching poem called 'The Autumnal Beauty.' In 1608 she married, at the age of forty, a second husband, Sir John Danvers [q. v.], who was nearly twenty years her junior. The union was, according to Donne, thoroughly happy, and Sir John treated all his step-children with the utmost kindness (cf. *Hist. MSS. Comm.* 10th Rep. pt. iv. 379). She died in June 1627, and was buried in the parish church of Chelsea, near her second husband's London residence. A sermon on her life and character was preached by Donne on 1 July following, and was published, together with commemorative verses by her fourth son, George Herbert [q. v.] the poet. Her manuscript household book, with the expenses of her house in London between April and September 1601, belonged to Heber (*Cat.* pt. xi. p. 829). Of Herbert's six brothers, George, Henry, and Thomas are separately noticed. His second and third brothers, Richard and William, were both soldiers. The former, a distinguished duellist, fought much in the Low Countries, and was buried at Bergen-op-Zoom, apparently in 1622. The latter fought both in Denmark and the Low Countries, and died young. Charles, Herbert's fifth brother, born in 1592, was admitted to Winchester College in 1603; became a scholar of New College, Oxford, 4 June 1611, and fellow 3 June 1613, and died in 1617. Verses by him appear in Dr. Zouch's 'Dove,' but the lines signed 'C. H.' in Sir Thomas Herbert's 'Travels' (1634) are often assigned to him without authority. Of Herbert's three sisters, Elizabeth married Sir Henry Jones of Abermarlais, Carmarthenshire; Margaret, John Vaughan of Llwydiarth, with whose family the Herberts had been long previously at strife; and Frances was wife of Sir John Brown of Lincolnshire.

Herbert was born at Eyton-on-Severn, near Wroxeter, in the house of his maternal grandmother, Lady Newport, on 3 March 1582–3. An engraving of the remains of his birthplace as they were in 1816 appears in the 'Gentleman's Magazine,' 1816, i. 201. Very little of it now survives. He was, according to his own account, a thoughtful and inquisitive child, and owing to hereditary epileptic symptoms was not taught his alphabet till he was seven. At the age of nine he left his grandmother's house to study under Edward Thelwall at Plas-y-Ward, Denbighshire, and two years later was sent to 'one Mr. Newton,' at Diddlebury, Shropshire, perhaps Thomas Newton, a well-known classical scholar. He thus acquired a good knowledge of Greek, Latin, and logic, and in May 1596, at the age of fourteen, matriculated as a gentleman-commoner of University College, Oxford (*Oxf. Univ. Reg.*,

[illegible]glish ambassador at Paris. Herbert [illegible]ly accepted the office. He left London [illegible] Carew among his attendants on the day [illegible] Queen Anne's burial (13 May 1619).

His instructions impressed on him the duty [illegible] maintaining peaceful relations between England and France, and he was directed to renew the oath of alliance between Louis XIII, king of France, and James I. He furnished a house at great expense in the Faubourg St. Germain, and lived in extravagant splendour; but he worked hard, showed much skill in the arts of diplomacy, and made some useful suggestions to his government about continental politics. He argued for a permanent alliance between England and Holland; urged his friend the elector palatine to accept the crown of Bohemia, and on the outbreak of the thirty years' war strove to enlist the active support of many French noblemen in the elector's behalf. He obtained precedence at court over the Spanish ambassador, and was popular with the royal family, and with his old friends the Montmorencies, at whose castle of Merlou he stayed while the plague raged at Paris (July 1619). On 1 Oct. 1619 he suggested to Buckingham a marriage between Prince Charles and Henrietta Maria, and asserted that it would be popular in France, and that the princess, who desired the match, was willing to conform to the prince's religion. He begged James I to confer on him the status of ambassador extraordinary to enable him to take part with fitting *éclat* in the formal ceremony of renewing the oath of alliance between England and France (February 1619–20). In the spring of 1621 Louis XIII, at the instigation of his favourite, De Luynes, resolved to send an army against his protestant subjects, who were in revolt in Bearn. Herbert in vain urged a peaceful solution of the difficulty, but followed the king's camp, repeated his counsels of peace, and openly quarrelled with De Luynes. Herbert sent him a challenge. Complaint of Herbert's conduct was made to James I, and in July 1621 he was recalled to London. He offered explanations to James, which proved fairly satisfactory, but it is doubtful if he would have resumed his office had not De Luynes died (21 Dec. 1621). In the following February Herbert returned to Paris and applied himself with increased zeal to collecting political information. He watched with the utmost attention the course of the disturbances in Germany, but found time for metaphysical speculation, which he embodied in his famous book 'De Veritate,' and he entertained Grotius and other learned men. Herbert's official difficulties with the French court began anew after it was known that

Oxf. Hist. Soc., II. ii. 214). His father died soon after he had arrived in Oxford, and Sir George More of Loseley, Surrey, with whom he afterwards corresponded on affectionate terms, became his guardian (cf. KEMPE, *Loseley MSS.*) When he was sixteen a marriage was arranged for him by his relatives with a kinswoman (four years his senior), Mary, daughter and heiress of Sir William Herbert (*d.* 1593) [q. v.] Sir William's will made his daughter's succession to his property conditional on her marrying one bearing the surname of Herbert. The ceremony took place at Eyton on 28 Feb. 1598-9, and subsequently Herbert returned to Oxford, now accompanied by his wife and mother. He read hard, and taught himself French, Italian, and Spanish, besides gaining some proficiency in music, and becoming a good rider and fencer. A love of horses and efficiency as a horseman distinguished him through life. In 1600 he removed to London, and on presenting himself at court attracted Queen Elizabeth's notice. At the end of April 1603 he went to Burleigh House, Stamford, to present himself to the new king, James I, then on his way to London, and on 24 July 1603 was created a knight of the Bath. He wished to accompany the Earl of Nottingham's embassy to Spain, in February 1604-5, but his family induced him to retire to Montgomery Castle, where he continued his studies. He was sheriff of Montgomeryshire in 1605, and his name appears regularly in succeeding years on the roll of the Montgomeryshire magistrates; but on 9 Feb. 1606-7 James I took from him Montgomery Castle, and presented it to his kinsman, Philip Herbert [q. v.], who was created Earl of Montgomery (4 May 1605). It was restored to Herbert by Earl Philip in July 1613 on payment of 500*l.* (*Powysland Club Collections*, x. 168 sq.)

In the summer of 1608 Herbert set out with a friend, Aurelian Townsend, on a foreign tour. Sir George Carew, the English ambassador, introduced him to the best society in Paris. He became intimate with M. de Montmorency, grand constable of France, and spent many months in hunting or riding on the constable's estates at Merlou or Mello, near Clermont (Oise), and at Chantilly. He celebrated the beauties of Merlou in attractive verse. At Paris he made Casaubon's acquaintance, and benefited by his learned conversation. Henri IV, Henri's divorced queen Marguerite of Valois, and the Princesse de Conti entertained him, and he satisfied his predilections for chivalric exercises by taking part as principal or second in many duels. With a friend, Sir Thomas Lucy of Charlecote, Warwickshire, he landed at Dover in February 1609, after being nearly shipwrecked in the passage from Dieppe. In July 1610 Herbert returned to the continent in company with Grey Brydges, fifth lord Chandos [q. v.], one of the officers of the English expedition which had been sent out under the command of Sir Edward Cecil [q. v.] to aid in the recapture of Juliers from the emperor. Herbert took an active part as a volunteer in the siege, and claimed to be the first man to enter Juliers after its fall (cf. GRIMESTONE, *Generall Historie of the Netherlands*, continued by William Crosse, 1627, p. 1294). A trivial quarrel at a drinking bout in camp, while the siege was in progress, between Herbert and Theophilus Howard, lord Howard of Walden, afterwards second earl of Suffolk [q. v.], led Herbert to challenge Howard, but the duel, owing to Sir Edward Cecil's interference, never came off, much to Herbert's chagrin. Writing to Lord Salisbury, on landing at Dover in September 1610, Herbert offered to clear himself if accused of any wrong. Subsequently the dispute, to which Herbert gave an exaggerated importance in his memoirs, was composed by the privy council (*Cal. State Papers*, 1603-10, p. 635).

Herbert was now, he tell us, 'in great esteem both in court and city.' Copies of his portrait were in great demand, and he hints that Queen Anne was one of his admirers. A flirtation with a Lady Ayres led her husband, Sir John Ayres, to waylay him while riding near Scotland Yard in 1611, and he was brutally stabbed and beaten. A *liaison* of Sir Edward Herbert with the Countess of Kent, which is noticed by Selden, probably refers to Sir Edward Herbert (1591?-1657) [q. v.] the judge, Herbert's first cousin (cf. SELDEN, *Table Talk*). In 1614 Herbert joined, as a volunteer, the army of the Prince of Orange, which was taking part in the renewed strife for the possession of Juliers and Cleves. Herbert was well received, and when with the Dutch army before Rees, offered to accept a challenge, sent by a Spanish officer in the enemy's camp, to decide the war by single combat. Spinola, the Spanish commander, refused to sanction the duel. Herbert took advantage of an interval in the warfare to make his way to the Spanish camp, near Wezel, where he introduced himself to Spinola, and after some affable conversation with him, offered to join him if he led an army against the Turks. On leaving Wezel he travelled to Cologne; visited the elector palatine, whose fortunes he thenceforth watched with eager interest, at Heidelberg; and afterwards journeyed through the chief towns in Italy. He was everywhere royally entertained. At Rome he stayed at the English College, and

studied antiquities. He attended lectures at Padua University; saw Sir Robert Dudley, titular earl of Northumberland [q.v], at Florence, and in the company of Sir Dudley Carleton [q. v.], the English ambassador at Venice, made his way to the Duke of Savoy's court at Turin. At the duke's request he soon left Turin for Lyons to conduct 'four thousand men of the reformed religion' from Languedoc into Piedmont to assist the Savoyards in their struggle with Spain. The journey was a difficult one, and Herbert, while in a desolate part of the country, was so exhausted that he accepted a woman's offer to give him milk from her breast. He was carried in a chair over Mont Cenis, but on his arrival at Lyons was imprisoned by the governor, who regarded his mission as hostile to France (June 1615). With characteristic imprudence he sent the governor a challenge, but at the intercession of Sir Edward Sackville, who was visiting Lyons, and of the Duc de Montmorency, son of his old friend the constable, he was released in a few days, and set out for the Low Countries, visiting the elector palatine at Heidelberg once again on the way. The Prince of Orange received him hospitably, and Herbert was his constant companion for some days, playing chess with him, visiting his stables with him, and even assisting him in his amours. Herbert arrived in England in bad health, after a dangerous crossing in the winter of 1616–17. He had been absent more than two years.

The following year and a half Herbert spent in London, suffering from a quartan ague, but his love of duelling was not yet quelled, and he had many petty quarrels and angry encounters with those who offended his sensitive dignity. His friends were not, however, confined to courtiers. Donne, who had addressed a poem to him while he was at Juliers, held him in high esteem and encouraged him to pursue his studies (cf. DONNE, *Letter to Herbert*, No. lvi. with a copy of 'Biothanatos'). Ben Jonson was much in his society. To Jonson he dedicated a 'satyra' while on his first visit to Paris, and he eulogised Jonson in lines prefixed to Jonson's translation of Horace's 'Ars Poetica.' In return Jonson applauded Herbert's learning, wit, valour, and judgment in very complimentary verses. Selden was likewise on intimate terms with Herbert for the last thirty years of Herbert's life (cf. *Addit. MS.* 32092, f. 314), and Carew was a congenial acquaintance. But early in 1619 Herbert was drawn into public affairs more prominently than before. George Villiers, created Earl of Buckingham in 1618, was all powerful, and after a casual introduction to Herbert, offered him the post of English ambassador at Paris. Herbert eagerly accepted the office. He left London with Carew among his attendants on the day of Queen Anne's burial (13 May 1619).

His instructions impressed on him the duty of maintaining peaceful relations between England and France, and he was directed to renew the oath of alliance between Louis XIII, king of France, and James I. He furnished a house at great expense in the Faubourg St. Germain, and lived in extravagant splendour; but he worked hard, showed much skill in the arts of diplomacy, and made some useful suggestions to his government about continental politics. He argued for a permanent alliance between England and Holland; urged his friend the elector palatine to accept the crown of Bohemia, and on the outbreak of the thirty years' war strove to enlist the active support of many French noblemen in the elector's behalf. He obtained precedence at court over the Spanish ambassador, and was popular with the royal family, and with his old friends the Montmorencies, at whose castle of Merlou he stayed while the plague raged at Paris (July 1619). On 1 Oct. 1619 he suggested to Buckingham a marriage between Prince Charles and Henrietta Maria, and asserted that it would be popular in France, and that the princess, who desired the match, was willing to conform to the prince's religion. He begged James I to confer on him the status of ambassador extraordinary to enable him to take part with fitting *éclat* in the formal ceremony of renewing the oath of alliance between England and France (February 1619–20). In the spring of 1621 Louis XIII, at the instigation of his favourite, De Luynes, resolved to send an army against his protestant subjects, who were in revolt in Bearn. Herbert in vain urged a peaceful solution of the difficulty, but followed the king's camp, repeated his counsels of peace, and openly quarrelled with De Luynes. Herbert sent him a challenge. Complaint of Herbert's conduct was made to James I, and in July 1621 he was recalled to London. He offered explanations to James, which proved fairly satisfactory, but it is doubtful if he would have resumed his office had not De Luynes died (21 Dec. 1621). In the following February Herbert returned to Paris and applied himself with increased zeal to collecting political information. He watched with the utmost attention the course of the disturbances in Germany, but found time for metaphysical speculation, which he embodied in his famous book 'De Veritate,' and he entertained Grotius and other learned men. Herbert's official difficulties with the French court began anew after it was known that

Prince Charles had offered to marry the infanta of Spain, and when the scheme of the Spanish marriage was abandoned, Herbert was entrusted with the embarrassing task of opening negotiations with the French government for Charles's marriage with Princess Henrietta Maria. James I was desirous that France should intervene in the German strife in behalf of his son-in-law the elector palatine, and directed Herbert to make that intervention a condition of the union. Herbert rightly pointed out that Louis XIII was very unlikely to accept such terms. Herbert's attitude offended the king, and in April 1624 he was suddenly dismissed. Before leaving Paris he printed there his treatise 'De Veritate.'

Herbert came home in July deep in debt. He claimed to have 'lived in a more chargeable fashion' than any of his predecessors, and remittances from England had been irregularly paid. He pressed in vain for a settlement of his accounts. His only reward in the first instance was the Irish peerage of Castleisland, county Kerry, from the name of an estate inherited by his wife (30 Dec. 1624). He was promised an English peerage later. On 8 May 1626 he petitioned Charles I for payment of his debts, for an English peerage, and for seats in the privy council and council for war. His pecuniary embarrassment was growing, but he received a joint grant with his brother George and another of the manor of Ribbesford, 21 July 1627; on 7 May 1629 was created Lord Herbert of Cherbury or Chirbury (the name of an estate of his in Shropshire) in the English peerage; and on 27 June 1632 was appointed a member of the council of war, to which he was reappointed 29 May 1637. To improve his position with the king, he wrote after Buckingham's death a vindication of Buckingham's conduct at La Rochelle in 1627, in reply to pamphlets by a Frenchman named Isnard and a jesuit named Monat, and on the basis of notes prepared by Buckingham himself. The book, which was only circulated in manuscript, was dedicated (from Montgomery Castle, 10 Aug. 1630) to Charles. It was commended by Sir Henry Wotton (*Reliquiæ Wotton.* 1685, p. 226), but gained no royal recognition. In 1632 he began his great historical work on the reign of Henry VIII, and in the next year applied to the crown for pecuniary aid in prosecuting his researches. He was granted apartments in the palace at Richmond, but on 10 Jan. 1634–5 begged to be allowed to remove to Whitehall or St. James's Palace, in order to have 'access to the paper chamber of the one and the library of the other house.' He sought (he wrote at the same time) some unequivocal mark of royal favour in order to be distinguished from Sir Thomas More or Bacon, 'great personages,' who had devoted themselves to historical work 'in the time of their disgrace, when otherwise they were disabled to appear' (*Cal. State Papers*, Dom., 17 Jan. 1634–5). On 14 March 1635 he sent Charles I a paper of observations on the necessity of vesting the supremacy of the church in the ruler of the state, and the king sent the document to Laud, with whom Herbert was on familiar terms. But in his yearning for praise from whatever quarter it might come, he informed Panzani, the papal envoy at Charles I's court, a month or two later, that in his history of Henry VIII he intended to favour the theories of the papacy, and offered to submit his philosophical treatise 'De Veritate' to the pope's criticism. With characteristic versatility he was interesting himself in mechanical invention at the same time, and sent to Windebank in 1635 suggested improvements in warships and gun-carriages, and proposed the erection of a floating bathing-palace on the Thames (*ib.* 1635, pp. 62–3).

When summoned to attend the king at York on the expedition into Scotland in 1639, Herbert in reply rehearsed at length all his grievances, and mentioned that he was harassed by lawsuits. But in accordance with his promise he attended the king after a short delay. At Alnwick he wrote a poem on the expedition. In the autumn of 1640 he attended the king's council, and argued strongly, but without any effect, against purchasing any treaty of peace with the Scots (Rushworth, ii. 1293). After spending the following year among his books at Montgomery Castle, he came up to the House of Lords in May 1642. In the discussion on the commons' resolution that the king transgressed his oath if he made war on parliament, Herbert argued for the addition to the latter clause of the words 'without cause,' a suggestion which offended the commons, and led to his committal to the Tower; but he made a handsome apology, and was soon released. He returned to Montgomery Castle, and contemplated a visit to Spa for his health. His sons were actively engaged with the royalist army in the civil wars, but Herbert resolved as far as possible to play a neutral part. In letters written to his brother, Sir Henry, in August 1643, he showed much resentment that the war should, by approaching Wales, threaten him with personal discomfort, but evinced no interest in the great issues at stake. Herbert declined the summons to attend Charles I at Oxford on the ground of ill-health, and when Prince Rupert, for whose mother he had declared in earlier life

a chivalrous devotion, invited him to Shrewsbury in February 1643–4 to discuss measures for the defence of Wales, Herbert sent the same excuse. Moreover, he begged Rupert not to send any soldiers to Montgomery for the defence of his castle, as he was content to rely on his son's troops. Later in the year (August) Prince Rupert again commanded Herbert's attendance at Shrewsbury, and again Herbert declined to leave home, on the ground that he had 'newly entered into a course of physic.' On 3 Sept. Sir Thomas Middleton advanced on Montgomery Castle at the head of a parliamentary army. Herbert was alone there with his daughter Beatrice. Middleton summoned him to surrender, and allowed him a few days' delay. Meanwhile, on 9 Feb. 1643–4, parliament had given orders for the confiscation of Herbert's London property. His books were to be sold by the parliamentary officials on 30 Aug., but the sale was adjourned for a week till they heard of his 'behaviour touching the surrender of his castle.' Moved doubtless by a desire to save his property, Herbert, half an hour after midnight of Thursday, 5 Sept., signed an agreement with Middleton's lieutenant, James Till, to admit to his castle a garrison of twenty of Middleton's soldiers, on condition that he should, if he chose, remain in the castle with his daughter, or if he desired to remove to London be provided with a convoy; that none of his property should be seized; that no soldiers should enter his library or the adjoining rooms, and that when peace was arranged he should be replaced in full possession of the castle and its contents. He straightway sent a servant, James Heath, to London, to inform the parliament of his compliance with Middleton's demands, and to request a further delay of the threatened sale of his London property. Brereton, the parliamentary general in Cheshire, forwarded a favourable report of Herbert's action. On 23 Sept. the orders for the sequestration of his goods were discharged.

In the meantime Sir Michael Ernely, the royalist commander, had arrived at Montgomery, and had laid siege to the castle, which the royalists described as the key to North Wales. Middleton obtained large reinforcements, and Lord Byron came to Ernely's aid. On 17 Sept. a battle was fought, and resulted in the defeat of the royalists. Thereupon Herbert went to London; made submission to the parliament; petitioned for pecuniary aid, and was granted 20*l.* a week (25 Feb. 1644–5). Thenceforth he lived chiefly in his London house in Queen Street, near St. Giles's, and occupied himself with literary work. On 26 Oct. 1646 he was appointed steward of the duchy of Cornwall and warden of the Stannaries. On 25 March 1647 he complained to the parliament that he was excluded from Montgomery Castle; asked permission to appoint a governor of his own choosing, and promised to maintain the castle in the parliamentary cause. His request was granted. On 12 May he was called before the House of Lords to answer for the failure of his governor to resist an assault on the castle made by the royalists of Welshpool. In September 1647 he visited the philosopher Gassendi in Paris. On 9 Nov. he was fined for absenting himself from the House of Lords, but the fine was remitted on the ground of his ill-health. On 4 May 1648 he petitioned for payment of the arrears of his pension, and bitterly complained of his losses. He made his will on 1 Aug. 1648, and on 20 Aug. he died at his house in Queen Street. Aubrey reports that on his deathbed he sent for Ussher, a friend in earlier years, to administer the sacrament to him, remarking that it might do him some good and could do him no harm. On these terms Ussher declined his request. By Herbert's directions his body was buried at twelve o'clock at night in the church of St. Giles's-in-the-Fields, 'without pomp or other ceremony than is usual.' A Latin inscription, said to be by Lord Stanhope, was inscribed on his gravestone. He had written an epitaph in English verse for himself, and designed an elaborate monument to be erected either in Montgomery or Cherbury Church, but this plan was not carried out. Under his will his grandson Edward, son of his elder son, Richard, inherited most of his books and personal property, which were to be strictly applied to his personal use. Money was appointed for his 'education in some one of the universities or in travel beyond the seas.' Small bequests of personal property were made to Herbert's daughter Beatrice, and his granddaughters, Frances and Florence (young Edward's sisters). His younger son, Edward, was granted the manor of Llyssin for life, on condition of payment of 10*l.* yearly to 'two maimed soldiers,' who had distinguished themselves in war in the service of England or her allies, and who were to 'wait with halberds in their right hands' before Montgomery Castle. Richard, the elder son, was granted his father's horses, with a special injunction 'to make much of the white horse;' and the viols and lutes went to Richard's wife. Finally Herbert stated that the parliament owed him 2,000*l.*, the arrears of his pension, and that he lost 2,000*l.* in the war, all which debts he remitted on condition that the fine

of 2,500*l.* imposed on his elder son for his delinquency should be cancelled. His grandson Edward and his friends Selden and Evan Thomas of Bishops Castle, Shropshire, were his executors, and were charged to bring his petition in behalf of his elder son before parliament. His Latin and Greek books were left to Jesus College, Oxford, where they still remain. Herbert's wife had died 29 Oct. 1634, and was buried in Montgomery Church. Three children survived both parents: Richard, the heir (see *ad fin.*); Edward, of whose spendthrift habits Herbert was constantly complaining; Beatrice, born at Montgomery 13 Aug. 1604. Another daughter, Florence, born 27 Sept. 1605, died young.

Herbert, who was called 'the black Lord Herbert,' on account of his dark hair and complexion, was very handsome. Four portraits are known: (1) in the robes of a knight of the Bath (now at Powis Castle); (2) a miniature by 'one Larkin' (perhaps Lockie), painted for Sir Thomas Lucy (now at Charlecote); (3) lying on the ground after a duel, by Isaac Oliver (now at Powis Castle); (4) a portrait, attributed to Oliver, now at Penshurst, Kent. A fifth portrait of Herbert, mounted on a favourite horse, is described in the 'Autobiography' (p. 111), but its whereabouts are not known. The third portrait was engraved in Horace Walpole's edition of the 'Autobiography,' 1764, and both that and the first were etched for the edition of 1886.

In his will Herbert states that he had begun 'a manifest of my action in these late troubles,' and promised to name a person by word of mouth to complete and publish it. The reference is doubtless to his autobiography, which only extends as far as his recall from France in 1624. Two manuscript copies were made after his death, one of which belonged to his grandson Edward, and the other to his brother Sir Henry. The former copy was found in the eighteenth century, half destroyed, in the house of its original owner's descendants at Lymore, Montgomeryshire. The second copy, originally deposited in Sir Henry's house at Ribbesford, came under Horace Walpole's notice in 1763, and Walpole, impressed by its entertaining character, printed it for private circulation at Strawberry Hill in 1764. Walpole dedicated it to Lord Powis, into whose possession the manuscript had come. The memoir was reissued in 1770, 1809, and 1826. A critical edition, by the present writer, appeared in 1886. No manuscript is now known to be extant.

Herbert is best known to modern readers by his autobiography. Childlike vanity is the chief characteristic of the narrative. He represents himself mainly as a gay Lothario, the hero of innumerable duels, whose handsome face and world-wide reputation as a soldier gained for him the passionate adoration of all the ladies of his acquaintance and the respect of all men of distinction. He enters into minute details about his person and habits. He declares that he grew in height when nearly forty years old, that he had a pulse in his head, that he never felt cold in his life, and that he took to tobacco in his later years with good effect on his health. But Herbert's veracity even on such points is disputable; his accounts of his literary friends and his mother are very incomplete, his dates are conflicting, and he does himself an injustice by omitting almost all mention of his serious studies, which give him an important place in the history of English philosophy and poetry. He only shows the serious side of his character in a long digression on education in the early part of his memoirs, where he recommends a year's reading in philosophy and six months' study of logic, although 'I am confident,' he adds, 'a man may have quickly more than he needs of these arts.' Botany he praises as 'a fine study,' and 'worthy of a gentleman,' and he has some sensible remarks on moral and physical training. At the end of his autobiography he states that he had written a work on truth, which he had shown to two great scholars, Tilenus and Grotius, who had exhorted him to print it, and that a miraculous sign to the same effect had been vouchsafed him from heaven in answer to a prayer.

Herbert's chief philosophical treatise, 'De Veritate, prout distinguitur a Revelatione, verisimili, possibili, et a falso,' was first published in Paris in 1624. It is all in Latin, and is often very obscurely expressed; it is dedicated 'Lectori cuivis integri et illibati judicii;' and is the earliest purely metaphysical treatise written by an Englishman. After accepting as an axiom that truth exists, Herbert evolves a somewhat hazy but interesting theory of perception to the effect that the mind consists of an almost infinite number of 'faculties,' exactly corresponding to the number of objects in the world. When an object is brought into contact with the mind, the corresponding 'faculty' grows active, and thus perception is established. The 'faculties' are reducible to four classes, of which the chief is natural instinct. This somewhat resembles the Aristotelian *νοῦς*, or the common-sense of other philosophies. It is the source of primary truths (*κοιναὶ ἔννοιαι*, notitiæ communes) which are implanted in man at his birth, come direct from God, and have priority of all other notions. The other three classes

of 'faculties' are the internal sense, or conscience, distinguishing good from evil; the external sense, or sensation; and the discursus, or reason, which distinguishes the relations between conceptions produced by the other faculties. Finally, Herbert asserts that man's capacity for religion rather than his reason distinguishes him from animals. The 'De Veritate' was republished in Paris in 1636. A French translation appeared in the same city in 1639. It was first published in London in 1645, and again in 1659.

Herbert continued his theory in his 'De Causis Errorum,' a work on logical fallacies, published in 1645. With that work he issued accounts of his religious opinions in two tracts, 'Religio Laici' and 'Ad Sacerdotes de Religione Laici,' and three Latin poems, two of which, on life here and hereafter, also appear in the autobiography. He completed his exposition of his religious views in his 'De Religione Gentilium,' published posthumously at Amsterdam in 1663 (2nd edit. 1700), which appeared in an English translation by W. Lewis in 1709, and is the only one of Herbert's philosophical works of which there is an English version. 'A Dialogue between a Tutor and a Pupil,' London, 1768, 4to, of which a manuscript is in the Bodleian Library, is also undoubtedly by Herbert, and fulfils the promise made by him in his autobiography of making a special treatise on education, but chiefly deals with the need of reforming religious instruction in accordance with his own religious theories. Herbert's religious doctrine starts with the assumption that religion, which is common to the human race, consists merely of the five innate ideas or axioms, that there is a God, that He ought to be worshipped, that virtue and piety are essential to worship, that man ought to repent of his sins, and that there are rewards and punishments in a future life. Herbert shows that all religions, Christian and pagan, are resolvable into these elements, and his method undoubtedly pointed the way to the science of comparative religion. The first axiom is illustrated, as in Paley's 'Evidences,' by the example of a watch, but both Herbert and Paley were here anticipated by Cicero (*De Deorum Natura*, ii. 34). Herbert rejects all Revelation, and describes so-called Revelation as the artifice of priests, for whom he has little respect. All known Revelations lack the universal assent which could alone demonstrate their truth. None the less, he admits that a special revelation may be made directly to a particular person, and asserts that the sign vouchsafed to him when in doubt as to the publication of his 'De Veritate' was a genuine revelation from heaven. Finally, he regards Christianity as on the whole the best religion, because its dogmas are least inconsistent with his five primary articles. Incidentally Herbert describes sin as very often attributable to hereditary physical defects; declares that a virtuous man, whatever form his religion takes, will attain eternal happiness; and that it is best for a man to overlook injuries done him in this world, because the aggressor who does not suffer here will receive double punishment hereafter. In practice, Herbert seems to have conformed to the ceremonies of the church of England. Aubrey says that he kept a chaplain and had prayers read twice a day in his house.

Herbert shows no signs of any acquaintance with the works of his contemporary, Bacon; and, although he had read Plato, Aristotle, Tilenus, and Paracelsus, there can be no question of his originality as a speculative inquirer. His religious opinions excited nearly universal hostility, but it was not till some years after his death that much interest in them was exhibited. Charles Blount (1654–1693) [q. v.] professed himself a disciple, and paid Herbert the compliment of plagiarising his 'Religio Laici' in a volume of the same name (1682), and his 'De Religione Gentilium' in 'Great is Diana of the Ephesians' (1680). In his 'Two First Books of Apollonius Tyaneus' Blount claimed to have utilised unpublished notes by Herbert, but he only borrowed from his published works. Nathaniel Culverwell, in 1652, in his 'Discourse of the Light of Nature,' accepts in part Herbert's theory of *à priori* knowledge, but vehemently denounces his theory of religion. Richard Baxter, in 'More Reason for the Christian Religion' (1672), seeks to refute his objections to Revelation. Thomas Halyburton [q. v.], in 'Natural Religion Insufficient' (1714), was scandalised by Herbert's comparisons of Christianity with paganism. Locke, in his 'Essay on Human Understanding,' examines in detail Herbert's theory of innate ideas for the purpose of rejecting it, but adopts parts of his religious theory, and in his 'Reasonableness of Christianity' admits the justice of his strictures on sacerdotal theology. Dr. John Leland discusses from a hostile point of view Herbert's views in the opening chapter of his 'View of the Principal Deistical Writers' (1754), i. 1–34. In 1783 appeared 'An Enquiry into the Infidelity of the Times, with Observations on Lord Herbert of Cherbury,' by J. Ogilvie. Meanwhile, Herbert had received higher commendation abroad. He sent a copy of his 'De Veritate' to Gassendi the philosopher, through Milton's friend Diodati, and Gassendi refers, in the main approvingly, to his theory of

perception (*Opera*, iii. 411). Descartes also studied Herbert, and, while complaining of his metaphysical subtlety, recognised his eminence as a thinker. Direct attacks on Herbert appeared abroad in J. Musæus's 'Examen Cherburianismi, sive de Luminis Naturæ insufficientia ad salutem, contra E. Herbertum de Cherbury,' Jena, 1675 (2nd edit.), and Wittenberg, 1708, and in C. Kortholt's 'De Tribus Impostoribus,' i.e. Herbert, Hobbes, and Spinoza, Keil, 1680, and Hamburg, 1700.

Halyburton, in his 'Natural Religion Insufficient,' 1714, declared that Herbert was 'the first who lick'd Deism and brought it to something of a form,' and Leland, in 1754, first described him as the father of English Deism. These claims have been popularly admitted. But Herbert has, as a matter of fact, little in common with the eighteenth-century school of Deists. Only Blount acknowledged any indebtedness to him, and it is doubtful if the true leaders of the movement were acquainted with his writings. Herbert's true affinity is with the Cambridge Platonists.

A volume of Herbert's poems, in English and Latin, was published by his brother Henry in 1665. As a poet he was a disciple of Donne, and excelled his master in obscurity and ruggedness. Ben Jonson was impressed by his 'obscureness.' His satires are very poor, but some of his lyrics have the true poetic ring, and at times suggest Herrick. He often employs the metre which was brought to perfection by Tennyson in 'In Memoriam.' His Latin verses are scholarly, and chiefly deal with philosophic subjects. His poems were reprinted and edited by Mr. J. Churton Collins in 1881. 'The Life of Henry VIII,' Herbert's standard historical work, embodies a mass of information derived from authentic papers. It is an apology for Henry. Four manuscript volumes, containing many notes for the book, are now in Jesus College Library. He was assisted in the compilation by many clerks and by Thomas Master, B.D., a fellow of New College, Oxford, who is said to have aided him in his other works. The history was first published in 1649. Whitaker, the publisher, who had obtained the manuscript from Herbert, had some litigation in the House of Lords with Herbert's grandson Edward, who claimed that the manuscript was left to him for his sole use. Herbert's commentaries on Buckingham's expedition to the Isle of Rhé was published in a Latin translation by Timothy Baldwin [q. v.] in 1658. The original English version was first printed by the present Earl of Powis for the Philobiblon Society in 1860. Two manuscript copies of Herbert's unpublished paper on the royal supremacy in the church are extant, one at Queen's College, Oxford, and the other in the Public Record Office.

Herbert, Richard, second Lord Herbert of Cherbury (1600?–1655), Lord Herbert's elder son, was one of the magistrates of Shrewsbury in 1634, and actively helped to relieve the poor who were then stricken with the plague. In 1639 he commanded a troop of horse in the expedition into Scotland, and on the outbreak of the civil wars he was commissioned by the king at Nottingham (3 Sept. 1642) to raise a full regiment of twelve hundred foot, and was appointed governor of Bridgnorth. While there the king sent him (17 Oct. 1642) a commission as captain of a troop of four score horse. In 1643 he conducted Queen Henrietta Maria from Burlington, on her arrival from Holland, to the king at Oxford, and on 28 Sept. 1643 he was made governor of Ludlow. In 1644 he joined Prince Rupert at Shrewsbury, and was appointed governor of Aberystwith Castle (20 April 1644) (*Hist. MSS. Comm.* 10th Rep. App. iv. p. 399; *Powysland Club Collections*, xi. 362). In August 1648 he succeeded to his father's title and estates. He was allowed to compound for his estates, but after he had paid a large fine, the parliament ordered the demolition of Montgomery Castle (16 June 1649). Herbert was permitted to sell the old materials for his own profit. He died 13 May 1655, and was buried in Montgomery Church. His portrait (with a black lace collar) is at Powis Castle. By his wife Mary, daughter of John Egerton, first earl of Bridgewater, he was father of two sons, Edward and Henry (see below), and of four daughters (*ib.* vii. 136–9). One daughter, Florentia or Florence, married her kinsman, Richard Herbert of Dolguog. Another daughter, Frances, is said to have married William Brown of Weston, and their descendant, the Rev. Robert Fitzgerald Meredith, petitioned Queen Victoria in 1889 to revive in his favour the barony of Herbert of Cherbury.

Herbert, Edward, third Lord Herbert of Cherbury (*d.* 1678), the first lord's favourite grandson, joined the royalists under Sir George Booth, lord Delamere, when they declared for Charles II in Cheshire, and suffered a short imprisonment. After the Restoration he was made custos rotulorum for Montgomeryshire (24 Aug. 1660), and for Denbighshire (1666). Richard Davies, the quaker, of Welshpool, Montgomeryshire, often appealed to Herbert in behalf of co-religionists committed to prison, and Herbert treated Davies with much kindness. He was, Davies says, a very big fat man. He corre-

sponded frequently with his uncle, Sir Henry Herbert, who (he complained) treated him with little consideration (WARNER, *Epist. Curios.* i. 81 sq.) He died 9 Dec. 1678, and was buried in St. Edmund's Chapel, Westminster Abbey. He built in 1663 a house called Lymore, near the site of the demolished Montgomery Castle. A portrait is at Powis Castle (*Powysland Club Collections*, vii. 139–147). Herbert married first Anne, daughter of Sir Thomas Middleton of Chirk, and secondly, Elizabeth, daughter of George Brydges, lord Chandos, but had no issue.

On his death his brother, HENRY HERBERT (*d.* 1691), succeeded as fourth Lord Herbert of Cherbury. The fourth lord had been associated with Booth's rising in 1659, and served under the Duke of Monmouth as captain of a troop of horse engaged in the service of France in 1672 (cf. his letters to his cousin in WARNER, ii. 89 sq.) He withdrew from the army on succeeding to the peerage, was made custos rotulorum of Montgomeryshire 20 Dec. 1679, and joined the party of the Duke of Monmouth, in opposition to the Duke of York. On 5 Jan. 1680 he was one of the body of petitioners who demanded the summoning of parliament with a view to passing the Exclusion Bill, and he afterwards joined his cousin, Henry Herbert (1654–1709) [q. v.], in promoting the revolution. He was made cofferer of the household to William and Mary. He married Lady Catherine, daughter of Francis Newport, earl of Bradford, and died without issue in 1691. A portrait in armour (the hair is red) is at Powis Castle. He left all his property to his nephew Francis of Oakley Park, Shropshire, son of his sister Florentia or Florence, by Richard Herbert of Dolguog. Francis Herbert's son, Henry Arthur Herbert, was created Lord Herbert of Cherbury and Earl of Powis in 1748 (*Powysland Club Collections*, vii. 147–50).

[The 1886 edition of Lord Herbert of Cherbury's Autobiography, ed. Lee, supplements the information offered by Herbert himself. In an appendix some of Herbert's correspondence while abroad is printed from a letter-book in the Brit. Mus. Addit. MS. 7082. At Powis Castle remain many letters of Herbert which have not been printed (cf. Hist. MSS. Comm. 10th Rep. App. iv. pp. 378 sq.), and a few others are at the Public Record Office. M. de Rémusat, in his Lord Herbert de Cherbury, sa Vie et ses Œuvres, fully discusses Herbert's philosophy, and adds notes of his life from original French sources. See also Powysland Club Collections, vols. vii. and xi.; Aubrey's Lives of Eminent Men; Walton's Life of George Herbert; Wood's Athenæ, ed. Bliss, iii. 239; J. Churton Collins's edition of Herbert's Poems, 1881; Phillipps's Civil Wars in Wales; Reid's Works, ed. Sir William Hamilton; Academy, 10, 24, and 31 March 1888.] S. L. L.

HERBERT, SIR EDWARD (1591?–1657), judge, born about 1591, was son of Charles Herbert of Aston, Montgomeryshire, uncle of Edward, lord Herbert of Cherbury [q. v.], by Jane, daughter of Hugh ap Owen. He was admitted to the Inner Temple in November 1609; was called to the bar in 1618; entered parliament in 1620 as member for the borough of Montgomery, and sat for Downton, Wiltshire, between 1625 and 1629. He was one of the members who managed the impeachment of Buckingham in 1626, and one of the counsel for Selden on his prosecution after the dissolution of 1629. On 1 July 1630 he was appointed steward of the Marshalsea. In April 1633 he appeared with Serjeant Bramston for the Bishop of Lincoln on his prosecution by Laud for his lax views on the proper designation and position of the communion-table. In the following October he was elected a member of a committee to arrange a masque to be performed at Christmas by members of the four inns of court before the king and queen at Whitehall, by way of protest against the recent publication of Prynne's 'Histrio-Mastix' [see FINCH, SIR JOHN, BARON FINCH]. On 20 Jan. 1634–5 he was appointed attorney-general to the queen, with precedence 'immediately after the two ancientest of the king's serjeants-at-law and the attorney- and solicitor-general.' He was autumn reader at the Inner Temple in 1636; was associated with the attorney-general in the prosecution of Burton, Bastwick, and Prynne for seditious libel in 1637; and was appointed treasurer of the Inner Temple in the following year. On 25 Jan. 1639–40 he was appointed solicitor-general, and was knighted at Whitehall 28 Jan. 1640–1. On 23 March he was returned to parliament for Old Sarum, for which place he also sat in the Long parliament until 29 Jan. 1640–1, when he accepted the office of attorney-general, and thereby, according to the then existing rule, became an assistant to the House of Lords, and vacated his seat in the commons. He had not particularly distinguished himself in the commons. According to Clarendon, who, however, was one of his personal enemies, he had 'been so awed and terrified with their temper' that he had 'longed infinitely to be out of that fire,' and was glad of the change to the upper house.

On 3 Jan. 1641–2 Charles gave Herbert instructions by letter under his own hand to exhibit articles of impeachment against Lord Kimbolton and the five members of the House

of Commons (viz. Hollis, Hesilrige, Pym, Hampden, and Strode) who had been most active in securing the passing of the Grand Remonstrance. Accordingly, Herbert charged them the same day before the House of Lords with traitorously conspiring to subvert the fundamental laws, and other offences amounting to high treason. He then proceeded to have their houses searched and sealed up. On 12 Jan., after a strong protest from parliament, a royal message to both houses intimated that the impeachment would not be proceeded with. On 14 Feb. the commons impeached Herbert of high crimes and misdemeanors for his part in the affair. He pleaded (22 Feb.) that what he had done he had done by the express authority of the king, by whom the articles of impeachment had been furnished to him ready drawn, and Charles himself on 8 March sent a letter to the house to the same effect. The impeachment, however, was proceeded with, and ended in a verdict of guilty, the house at the same time refusing to inflict any punishment. On 23 April, however, in deference to the representations of the House of Commons, he was declared incapable of sitting in either house of parliament or holding any office but that of attorney-general, and was committed to the Fleet during the pleasure of the house. On 11 May he was enlarged, and had leave to reside in one of his houses within a day's journey of London, but was prohibited from coming either to London or Westminster without further order of the house. On the outbreak of the civil war he escaped and joined the king. In 1643, on the failure of the negotiations of Oxford, Herbert drafted by the king's direction a proclamation dissolving parliament. The king was dissatisfied with Herbert's draft, and protested 'that he no more understood what the meaning of it was than if it were in Welsh.' The design was abandoned. Nevertheless Charles offered Herbert the lord-keepership in 1645, which he declined, and was thereupon removed from office on 1 Nov. 1645. In July 1646 he was placed by parliament in the list of delinquents 'incapable of pardon,' and his estates were sequestered. In 1648 he went to sea with Rupert, over whom, according to Clarendon, he had a great and pernicious influence, 'all his faculties being resolved into a spirit of contradicting, disputing, and wrangling upon anything that was proposed.'

After the death of Charles I, Herbert repaired to the Hague, and was made attorney-general by the new king. He thereupon proceeded to Brussels, where, with Sir George Ratcliffe, he attached himself to the Duke of York, undertook to form his household for him, excited his military ambition, and intrigued to marry him to a daughter of the Duke of Lorraine. Herbert thus rendered himself very obnoxious to the queen-mother. In 1651 he accompanied James to Paris, and took up his quarters at the Luxembourg. On 6 April 1653 he was appointed lord keeper of the great seal, and removed to the Palais Royal. Charles II refused to take him with him to Germany in June of the following year, whereupon Herbert resigned the seal, and retired from the palace. He never saw Charles again, dying suddenly at Paris of a gangrened wound in December 1657. He was buried in the cemetery of the Huguenots in the Faubourg St. Germain, the cost of the funeral being defrayed by his friend Richard Mason. Clarendon, who had a rooted antipathy for him, nevertheless gives him credit for 'a very good natural wit improved by conversation with learned men but not at all by study and industry.' He adds that he was 'the proudest man living,' and that 'his greatest faculty was, and in which he was a master, to make difficult matters more intricate and perplexed, and very easy things to seem more hard than they were.'

Herbert married, between 1635 and 1652, Margaret, daughter of Sir Thomas Smith, master of requests, and relict of the Hon. Thomas Carey, second son of Robert, first earl of Monmouth (*Herald and Genealogist*, pt. xix. p. 45; *Cal. State Papers*, Dom. 1635–6 p. 5, 1651–2 p. 423). She survived him, and obtained at the Restoration a grant of the king's new-year's presents less 1,000*l.* for three years, in consideration of her husband's services, losses, and sufferings in the royal cause (*Notes and Queries*, 2nd ser. x. 425; *Cal. State Papers*, Dom. 1651–2 p. 423, 1660 p. 274). By her Herbert had three sons (Arthur, earl of Torrington, admiral [q. v.]; Charles, slain on the side of King William at the battle of Aughrim in 1691; and Edward [q. v.], lord chief justice in the reign of James II) and three daughters.

[The Lives of all the Lords Chancellors, 1712, i. 129 et seq.; Peerage of England, 1710, 'Herbert, Earl of Torrington;' Foss's Lives of the Judges; Clarendon's Rebellion; Clarendon's Life, i. 210–12; Lord Herbert of Cherbury's Autobiography, ed. S. L. Lee, and Genealogical Table; Inner Temple Books; Official Lists of Members of Parliament; Whitelocke's Mem. pp. 6, 19; Cal. State Papers, Dom. 1628–9 p. 556, 1629–31 p. 281, 1633–4 p. 3, 1634–5 p. 470; Hacket's Scrinia Reserata, pp. 101 et seq.; Cobbett's State Trials, iii. 719; Dugdale's Orig. pp. 168, 171; Chron. Ser. p. 109; Rymer's Fœdera, ed. Sanderson, xix. 606, xx. 380, 448; Metcalfe's Book of Knights; Nicholas Papers (Camd. Soc.); Parl. Hist. ii. 1005, 1036; Verney's

Notes of Long Parliament (Camd. Soc.), pp. 144 et seq., 161, 174; Lords' Journ. iv. 582, 603, 623, 634–5–645, 717, v. 11–12, 30, 58; Hist. MSS. Comm. 5th Rep. App. p. 350; Diary of John Rous (Camd. Soc.), p. 121; A Perfect Diurnall of the Passages, &c., 29 Aug.–5 Sept. 1642; Evelyn's Private Correspondence, 16 Oct. 1645 and 3 May 1653; Thurloe State Papers; Clarendon State Papers, iii. 158, 245; Cal. State Papers, Dom. 1650, pp. 236, 482.] J. M. R.

HERBERT, SIR EDWARD, titular EARL OF PORTLAND (1648?–1698), judge, younger son of Sir Edward Herbert [q. v.], lord keeper to Charles II, and brother of Arthur Herbert, earl of Torrington [q. v.], became a scholar of Winchester in 1661, aged 13 (KIRBY, *Winchester Scholars*, p. 191). He was elected probationer fellow of New College, Oxford, in August 1665, and, having graduated B.A. on 21 April 1669, entered the Middle Temple, where he was called to the bar. He practised for some years in Ireland, and was there created king's counsel on 31 July 1677. Returning to England he was appointed chief justice of Chester on 25 Oct. 1683 (ORMEROD, *Cheshire*, i. 59), and on 10 Feb. in the following year was knighted at Whitehall. In January 1684–5 he succeeded Sir John Churchill [q. v.] as attorney-general to the Duke of York, on whose succession to the crown he was appointed attorney-general to the queen. On 15 April he was returned to parliament for Ludlow. Like his father he had the highest notions of the royal prerogative, which much helped his advancement. On 16 Oct. 1685 he was sworn of the privy council, and on the 23rd he was called to the degree of serjeant, giving rings with the significant motto 'Jacobus vincit, triumphat lex,' and the same day took his seat as chief justice of the king's bench in succession to Jeffreys [q. v.], who had been created lord chancellor (LUTTRELL, *Relation*, &c., i. 359–61). Jeffreys characteristically exhorted Herbert on this occasion to 'execute the law to the utmost of its vengeance upon those that are now known, and we have reason to remember them, by the name of whigs,' and 'likewise to remember the snivelling trimmers,' because 'our Saviour Jesus Christ says in the gospel that they that are not for us are against us' (HARGRAVE, *Collectanea Juridica*, ii. 405 et seq.; *Lib. Hibern.* vol. i. pt. ii. p. 77; *Hatton Corresp.* Camd. Soc. ii. 36; BRAMSTON, *Autobiography*, Camd. Soc. p. 207; *Hist. MSS. Comm.* 7th Rep. App. pp. 499, 503; *Mod. Rep.* iii. 71).

At the Rochester spring assizes in 1686 Sir Edward Hales [q. v.], a Roman catholic, was convicted for holding and acting under a commission in the army without taking the sacrament and the oaths of supremacy and allegiance in the manner prescribed by the Test Act (25 Car. II, c. 2). Thereupon his coachman, Arthur Godden, brought a collusive action against him in the king's bench for the prescribed penalty of 500*l.*, to which Hales demurred, pleading a dispensation under the great seal. The case was argued before Herbert, who delivered formal judgment as follows: '(1) That the kings of England are sovereign princes; (2) that the laws of England are the king's laws; (3) that therefore it is an inseparable prerogative in the kings of England to dispense with penal laws in particular cases, and upon particular necessary reasons; (4) that of these reasons and these necessities the king himself is the sole judge.' The plaintiff was accordingly nonsuited (HOWELL, *State Trials*, xi. 166–9). The judgment occasioned general consternation in the country, and the judges were treated with scant respect on circuit. It was impugned as bad in point of law by Sir Robert Atkyns (1621–1709) [q. v.], in a tract entitled 'An Enquiry into the Power of dispensing with Penal Statutes.' Herbert replied with 'A Short Account of the Authorities in Law upon which judgment was given in Sir Edward Hales's case,' in which he argued that 'whatever is not prohibited by the law of God, but was lawful before any act of parliament made to forbid it, the king by his dispensation granted to a particular person may make lawful again to that person who has such dispensation, though it continues unlawful for everybody else.' Atkyns rejoined, and William Atwood, a barrister, also examined Herbert's vindication with much learning and ability.

On 14 July 1686 Herbert was placed on the newly created ecclesiastical commission, a tribunal invested with as extensive jurisdiction over the clergy as the old high commission court, and of which Jeffreys was the president. Having, however, refused to abet the king's design of introducing martial law by declining to order the execution of a deserter from the army, he was transferred to the chief-justiceship of the common pleas in April 1687, being succeeded in the king's bench by the more compliant Robert Wright [q. v.] (LUTTRELL, *Relation*, i. 401). He still retained his place on the ecclesiastical commission, but gave further offence to the king by expressing the opinion that his proceedings in the case of Magdalen College could not be legalised by any exercise of his dispensing power, and by voting against the inhibition of the recalcitrant fellows from the exercise of their clerical functions (HOWELL, *State Trials*, xii. 26 et seq.; *Gent. Mag.* 1852,

i. 240–1; *Magdalen College and King James II*, Oxf. Hist. Soc.)

On the flight of the king Herbert followed him to France and afterwards to Ireland, and was accordingly excepted from the bill of indemnity and included in a bill of attainder. The latter bill lapsed owing to an early prorogation (*Hist. MSS. Comm.* 5th Rep. p. 379; LUTTRELL, *Relation*, i. 550; *Comm. Journ.* x. 185), but Herbert's estates were sequestrated, the royal palace of Oatlands, Weybridge, Surrey, which had been granted to him by James shortly before his abdication, being given to his brother Arthur, earl of Torrington, who had taken the opposite side in politics (MANNING and BRAY, *Surrey*, ii. 786; LUTTRELL, *Relation of State Affairs*, iv. 86). On the suppression of the Irish rebellion Herbert returned with James to France and resided for a time at St. Germain-en-Laye. He received from James the title of Earl of Portland and the office of lord chancellor, and busied himself in writing manifestos for his master. As a protestant he had never enjoyed James's full confidence, and being a somewhat free speaker he soon lost what he had, was dismissed, and retired to Flanders in the autumn of 1692 (*ib.* ii. 600, iv. 447; KENNETT, *Complete Hist. of England*, iii. 721 *n.*) He afterwards returned to St. Germains, where he subsisted principally on the charity of his brother until his death in November 1698. He was unmarried. Burnet says of him that, though he was but an indifferent lawyer, 'he was a well-bred and a virtuous man, and generous and good-natured' (*Own Time*, p. 669).

[Lives of Lords Chancellors, &c., 1712, i. 133; Biog. Brit. iv. 2583 *n.*; Macaulay's Hist. of Engl. i. 369, 376, 462, ii. 350, 397; Campbell's Lives of the Chief Justices; Foss's Lives of the Judges; Wood's Athenæ Oxon. iv. 552; Burnet's Hist. of his own Time, pp. 669, 699–701; Clarke's Life of James II, pp. 119 sqq.] J. M. R.

**HERBERT, EDWARD**, second EARL OF POWIS (1785–1848), born on 22 March 1785, was eldest son of Edward Clive, first earl of Powis, by Lady Henrietta Antonia Herbert, only surviving daughter of Henry, first earl of Powis (created 1748), and was grandson of Robert Clive, first Baron Clive of Plassey [q. v.] He was educated at Eton and St. John's College, Cambridge, becoming M.A. 1806. At the general election in November of the same year he was elected M.P. for Ludlow, for which borough he continued to sit in eleven successive parliaments till his succession to the peerage in 1839. He was constant in his attendance at the House of Commons, and, though taking no prominent part in the debates, moved the address in 1812 and 1829 (HANSARD, *Parliamentary Debates*, xxiii. 222, new ser. xx. 48). He was a consistent supporter of the tory party. He took the arms and surname of Herbert only in lieu of Clive by royal license 9 March 1807 in accordance with the will of his maternal uncle, George, earl of Powis (*London Gazette*, 1807, p. 379). In 1828 he was elected a member of the Roxburghe Club, of which he became president 16 May 1835. In that year he contributed to the club 'The Lyvys of Seyntys; translatyd into Englys be a Doctour of Dyuynite clepyd Osbern Bokenam, Frer Austyn of the Convent of Stokclare,' London, 1835.

On 7 April 1830 he succeeded his father as lord-lieutenant of Montgomeryshire. For the active part which he took in suppressing the Chartist riots in that county (*Times*, 10 May 1839) he received a letter of thanks from Lord John Russell, the home secretary. On the death of his father, 16 May 1839, he succeeded to the earldom, and took his seat in the House of Lords 14 June following (*House of Lords' Journals*, 1839, p. 384). He strenuously opposed the scheme for the creation of a bishopric of Manchester by the union of the sees of Bangor and St. Asaph, which after a struggle lasting over four sessions (1843–6), and the appointment of a royal commission in January 1847, of which he was a member (*Parliamentary Papers*, 1847 (324), xxxiii. 115), he succeeded in defeating. For these exertions he acquired great popularity with the clergy and at the universities. A subscription, amounting to over 5,000*l.*, was collected as a testimonial to him, which was expended in the institution of 'Powis Exhibitions' for the maintenance at Oxford or Cambridge of Welsh students acquainted with the Welsh language, and intending to enter holy orders (*Narrative of the Foundation of the Powis Exhibitions*, London, 1847). On the death of the Duke of Northumberland, Powis, at the invitation from the master and fellows of St. John's College, was a candidate for the chancellorship of the university of Cambridge in opposition to Prince Albert. The prince, after a contest arousing considerable ill-feeling, a reflection of which may be found in the pages of 'Punch' of the day, was elected by 953 votes to 837 on 27 Feb. 1847 (*Annual Register*, 1847, Chron. p. 31). Powis died on 17 Jan. 1848 at Powis Castle, Montgomeryshire, being accidentally shot by one of his sons while pheasant-shooting, and was buried in Welshpool Church. He married, on 9 Feb. 1818, Lady Lucy Graham, third daughter of James, third duke of Montrose, by whom he had five sons and four daughters. His widow died 16 Sept. 1875.

Powis was created an LL.D. of Cambridge 6 July 1835, and a D.C.L. of Oxford 20 June 1844, and on 12 Dec. 1844 was installed a K.G. He was succeeded by his eldest son, Edward James, now (1891) earl of Powis.

A portrait of Powis by Sir F. Grant belongs to the present earl. It has been engraved by Cousins. His speech, 'on moving the second reading of a bill for preventing the union of the sees of St. Asaph and Bangor,' was published in 1843 (London, 12mo).

[Gent. Mag. 1848, pt. i. pp. 428–32; Annual Register, 1848, pp. 205–6; Dr. Dibdin's Reminiscences of a Literary Life, pt. i. p. 403; Martin's Life of the Prince Consort, i. 385–9; Official Return of Members of Parliament, ii. 234, 248, 263, 277, 290, 305, 319, 332, 344, 355, 369; Stapylton's Eton School Lists, 1863, pp. 32, 38; Graduati Cantabr. 1856, p. 80; Oxford Graduates, 1851, p. 315; Doyle's Official Baronage, iii. 87–8; Dod's Peerage, 1847, pp. 326–7; Times, 19 Jan. 1848; Brit. Mus. Cat.] G. F. R. B.

**HERBERT, GEORGE** (1593–1633), poet, born at Montgomery Castle on 3 April 1593, was fourth son of Sir Richard Herbert, by his wife Magdalen, and was brother of Edward, lord Herbert of Cherbury [q. v.], of Sir Henry Herbert [q. v.], and of Thomas Herbert [q. v.] [For an account of his mother and other members of his family see under HERBERT, EDWARD, LORD HERBERT OF CHERBURY.] As a child he was educated at home under the care of his mother, whose virtues he commemorated in verse, and he may have accompanied her in 1598 to Oxford, whither she went for four years to keep house for her eldest son, Edward. In his twelfth year (1604–5) George was sent to Westminster School; and obtained there a king's scholarship on 5 May 1609. He matriculated from Trinity College, Cambridge, on 18 Dec. 1609, graduating B.A. in 1612–13, and M.A. 1616. The master of the college, Dean Neville, recognised his promise, and he was elected a minor fellow on 3 Oct. 1614, major fellow 15 March 1615–16, and 'sublector quartæ classis' 2 Oct. 1617. Herbert was now a finished classical scholar. Throughout his life he was a good musician, not only singing, but playing on the lute and viol. His accomplishments soon secured for him a high position in academic society, and he attracted the notice of Lancelot Andrewes, bishop of Winchester (cf. Herbert's letter to the bishop in GROSART, iii. 466). Herbert contributed two Latin poems to the Cambridge collection of elegies on Prince Henry (1612), and one to that on Queen Anne (1619). At an early period of his university career he wrote a series of satiric Latin verses in reply to Andrew Melville's 'Anti-Tami-Cami-Categoria' (first published in 1604). Melville's work was an attack on the universities of Oxford and Cambridge for passing resolutions hostile to the puritans at the beginning of James I's reign. Herbert's answer cleverly defended the established church at all points, and he declared himself strongly opposed to puritanism, an attitude which he maintained through life. Loyal addresses to James I and Charles, prince of Wales, were prefixed, but this work, although circulated in manuscript while Herbert was at Cambridge, was not printed till nearly thirty years after his death, when James Duport, dean of Peterborough, prepared it for publication (1662).

In 1618 Herbert was prelector in the rhetoric school at Cambridge, and on one occasion lectured on an oration recently delivered by James I, bestowing on it extravagant commendation (HACKET, *Life of Williams*, i. 175; cf. D'EWES, *Diary*, i. 121). Despite his preferments, his income was small, and he was unable to satisfy his taste for book-buying. When appealing for money to his stepfather, Sir John Danvers (17 March 1617–18), he announced that he was 'setting foot into divinity to lay the foundation of my future life,' and that he required many new books for the purpose. Soon afterwards he left his divinity studies to become a candidate for the public oratorship at Cambridge—'the finest place [he declared] in the university.' He energetically solicited the influence of Sir Francis Nethersole, the retiring orator, of his stepfather, of his kinsman, the Earl of Pembroke, and of Sir Benjamin Rudyerd. His suit proved successful, and on 21 Oct. 1619 he was appointed deputy orator. On 18 Jan. 1618–19 Nethersole finally retired, and Herbert was formally installed in his place. His duties brought him into relations with the court and the king's ministers. He wrote on behalf of the university all official letters to the government, and the congratulations which he addressed to Buckingham in 1619 on his elevation to the marquisate, and to Thomas Coventry on his appointment as attorney-general in 1620, prove that he easily adopted the style of a professional courtier. He frequently attended James I as the university's representative at Newmarket or Royston, and he sent an effusively loyal letter of thanks to the king (20 May 1620) in acknowledgment of the gift to the university of a copy of the 'Basilikon Doron.' The flattery delighted the king. Herbert thenceforth was constantly at court, and received marks of favour from Lodowick, duke of Lennox, and James, marquis of Hamilton. He made the personal acquaintance of Bacon, the lord

chancellor. As orator he had thanked Bacon for a gift to the university of his 'Instauratio' (4 Nov. 1620), and had written complimentary Latin verses on it in his private capacity. Bacon dedicated to Herbert his 'translation of certaine psalms' (1625), 'in recognition of the pains that it pleased you to take about some of my writings.' In 1623 Herbert delivered an oration at Cambridge congratulating Prince Charles on his return from Spain, and he expressed regret, in the interests of peace, that the Spanish match had been abandoned. Herbert at the time undoubtedly hoped to follow the example of Sir Robert Naunton and Sir Francis Nethersole, his predecessors in the office of orator, and obtain high preferment in the service of the state. But the death, in 1625, of the king and of two of his chief patrons, and his suspicions of the wisdom of Buckingham's policy, led him to reconsider his position. His own early inclinations were towards the church, and his mother had often urged him to take holy orders. To resolve his doubts whether to pursue 'the painted pleasures of a court life, or betake himself to a study of divinity,' he withdrew to a friend's house in Kent, and studied with such energy as to injure his health. While still undecided, John Williams, bishop of Lincoln, presented him to the prebend of Layton Ecclesia. To the prebend was attached an estate at Leighton Bromswold, Huntingdonshire, on which stood a dilapidated church. Herbert was not ordained, and was thus unable to perform the duties connected with the benefice; but the presentation called into new life the religious ardour of his youth.

Two miles from Leighton was Little Gidding, the home of Nicholas Ferrar [q. v.], with whom Herbert had some slight acquaintance while both were students at Cambridge. Herbert offered to transfer the prebend to Ferrar; but Ferrar declined the offer, and urged Herbert to set to work to restore the ruined church (Ferrar, *Life of Nicholas Ferrar*, ed. Mayor, pp. 49–50). Herbert eagerly followed Ferrar's advice. Two thousand pounds were needed. His own resources were unequal to that demand, but with the help of friends he carried the work through. With Ferrar, who gave money as well as advice, Herbert thenceforth corresponded on terms of great intimacy. They styled each other 'most entire' friends and brothers, but they seem only to have met once in later years. Herbert's final absorption in a religious life was doubtless largely due to Ferrar's guidance. Donne, the friend of Herbert's mother, proved also a sympathetic friend, especially at the time of Lady Danvers's death in 1627. To Herbert, Donne gave one of his well-known seals, bearing on it a crucifix shaped like an anchor.

Owing partly to ill-health, and partly to his attendance at court, Herbert had already delegated his duties as orator at Cambridge to a deputy, Herbert Thorndike, and at the close of 1627 he resigned the post altogether. Threatened with consumption he spent the year 1628 at the house of his brother, Sir Henry Herbert, at Woodford, Essex, and early in 1629 visited the Earl of Danby, brother of his stepfather, at Dauntsey, Wiltshire. There he met, and fell in love with, a relative of his host, Jane Danvers, whose father, Charles Danvers of Baynton, Wiltshire, lately dead, had formed a high opinion of Herbert's character, and openly told him that he wished him to marry one of his daughters. The marriage took place at Edington on 5 March 1628–9. Soon afterwards, on 6 April 1630, Charles I, at the request of the Earl of Pembroke, presented Herbert to the rectory of Fugglestone with Bemerton, Wiltshire. He was in doubt whether or no to accept the presentation, but went to Wilton to thank the earl for his kind offices. Laud, bishop of London, was then with the king at Salisbury, and Pembroke immediately informed him of Herbert's hesitation. Laud sent for Herbert, and convinced him that it was sinful to refuse the benefice. Tailors were summoned to supply clerical vestments, and Herbert was instituted to the rectory by John Davenant, bishop of Salisbury, on 26 April 1630. Herbert's life at Bemerton was characterised by a saint-like devotion to the duties of his office. There he wrote his far-famed series of sacred poems. He still practised music in his leisure, and twice a week he walked to Salisbury Cathedral. He repaired Bemerton Church (thoroughly restored by Wyatt in 1866), and rebuilt the parsonage, inscribing on the latter some verses addressed to his successor. Friends contributed to these expenses, but he spent (he wrote to his brother Henry) 200*l.* from his own resources, 'which to me that have nothing yet is very much.' But consumption soon declared itself, and after an incumbency of less than three years he was buried beneath the altar of his church on 3 March 1632–3. He had no children, and left all his property to his wife, saving a few legacies of money and books to friends. His widow afterwards married Sir Robert Cook of Highnam House, Gloucestershire, whither she carried many of Herbert's writings. These were burnt with the house by the parliamentary forces during the civil war. A library of books which Herbert had deposited, with chains affixed to the volumes, in a room in Montgomery Castle, met with a very similar

fate (*Powysland Club Coll.* vii. 132). Herbert's widow was buried at Highnam in 1656 (*Notes and Queries*, 1st ser. ii. 157).

Besides the Latin poems contributed to the Cambridge collections, Herbert only published in his lifetime 'Parentalia,' verses in Latin and Greek to his mother's memory, which were appended to Dr. Donne's funeral sermon (London, 1627, 12mo), and 'Oratio quâ auspicatissimum Serenissimi Principis Caroli Reditum ex Hispanijs celebrauit Georgius Herbert, Academiæ Cantabrigiensis Orator,' printed by Cantrell Legge at the Cambridge University Press, 1623. All the poetic work by which he is remembered was published posthumously. On his deathbed Herbert directed a little manuscript volume of verse to be delivered to his friend Nicholas Ferrar of Little Gidding, with a view to publication. Ferrar at once applied for a license to the vice-chancellor of Cambridge University, who hesitated, on the ground that two lines in one of Herbert's poems ('The Church Militant') alluded somewhat contemptuously to the emigration of religion from England to America. But the prohibition was soon withdrawn. The volume was entitled 'The Temple: Sacred Poems and Private Ejaculations,' and Ferrar, the editor, described in a preface Herbert's piety. Except the opening and closing poems, entitled respectively 'The Church Porch' and 'The Church Militant,' almost all the pieces are very brief. The earliest edition, which probably appeared within three weeks of Herbert's death, bears no date on the title-page. It was apparently printed for private circulation only. A unique copy of it is in the Huth Library. The first edition issued to the public bears the date 1633. A second edition was issued in the same year, and later editions are dated 1634, 1635, 1638, 1641, 1656, 1660, 1667, 1674, 1679, 1703, and 1709. All editions earlier than 1650 were printed and published at Cambridge. Walton, writing in 1670, says that more than twenty thousand copies had been 'sold since the first impression.' 'The Synagogue' of Christopher Harvey [q. v.], which is printed in all the later editions, was first appended to that of 1641. A portrait of Herbert, engraved by R. White, was first introduced into the 1674 edition, with which Walton's life was also reprinted. The text of the 1679 edition is disfigured by misprints, which have been repeated in many later editions. An alphabetical table was first added in 1709. Modern reprints are very numerous. An attractive edition, issued by Pickering, is dated 1846. Mr. J. H. Shorthouse wrote a preface for a facsimile reproduction in 1882. But the fullest edition of Herbert's poems is that edited by Dr. Grosart in vols. i. and ii. of his collected edition of Herbert's works (1874), and reproduced in the Aldine series in 1876. A manuscript copy (fol.) of the 'Temple,' which seems to have been presented by Ferrar to the vice-chancellor of Cambridge for his license in March 1632–3, is in the Bodleian Library. A manuscript volume containing portions of the 'Temple,' with a few other English poems by Herbert which are not included in Ferrar's edition, and two collections of Latin epigrams, entitled respectively 'Passio Discerpta' and 'Lucus,' is in Dr. Williams's Library, Gordon Square, London. It seems to have belonged to Ferrar, and to have been bound by him at Little Gidding. The English verses may possibly represent an early plan of the 'Temple.' Dr. Grosart, in his complete edition of Herbert's poems, has carefully collated the text of the printed with the manuscript versions, and has published all the additional poems, both English and Latin, which are found in the Dr. Williams's MS.

Herbert is also credited with verse-renderings of eight psalms, which are signed 'G. H.,' in John Playford's 'Psalms and Hymns,' London, 1671, fol. Walton, in his 'Life of Herbert,' prints two sonnets addressed by him to his mother. Aubrey quotes inscriptions assigned to Herbert on the tomb of Lord Danvers at Dauntsey, and on the picture of Sir John Danvers, his stepfather's father. A poem by Herbert called 'A Paradox' in the Rawlinson MSS. at the Bodleian Library, and a poetic address to the queen of Bohemia in Brit. Mus. Harl. MS. 3910, pp. 121–2, were first printed by Dr. Grosart. In 1662 Herbert's reply to Andrew Melville's 'Anti-Tami-Cami-Categoria' of 1604 was published at Cambridge as an appendix to a volume entitled 'Ecclesiastes Solomonis. Auctore Joan. Viviano. Canticum Solomonis: Nec non Epigrammata per Ja. Duportum.' Herbert's verses appear with a separate title-page: 'Georgii Herberti Angli Musæ Responsoriæ ad Andreæ Melvini Scoti, Anti-Tami-Cami-Categoriam.'

Herbert's chief work in prose is 'A Priest to the Temple, or the Countrey Parson, his Character and Rule of Holy Life,' which was first issued in a little volume (Lond. 1652, 12mo) bearing the general title 'Herbert's Remains,' and including a second tract called 'Jacula Prudentum' (see below). A brief address to the reader, signed by Herbert, is dated 1632, and there is a biographical notice of the author by Barnabas Oley. The second edition (Lond. 1671, 12mo) contains a new preface by Oley, which deals only with the theological value of the volume. The book

is a record of the duties and aspirations of a pious country clergyman, but the style is marred by affectations and wants simplicity. Herbert also added to his friend Ferrar's English translation of Leonard Lessius's 'Hygiasticon' a translation from the Latin of Cornaro entitled 'A Treatise of Temperance and Sobrietie,' and made at the request 'of a noble personage.' This was first published at the Cambridge University Press in 1634. With Ferrar's translation of Valdezzo's 'Hundred and Ten Considerations . . . of those things . . . most perfect in our Christian profession' (Oxford, 1638) were published a letter from Herbert to Ferrar on his work, and 'Briefe Notes [by Herbert] relating to the dubious and offensive places in the following considerations.' The licenser of the press in his imprimatur calls special attention to Herbert's notes. In the 1646 edition of Ferrar's Valdezzo Herbert's notes are much altered. In 1640 there appeared in 'Witt's Recreations' a little tract entitled 'Outlandish Proverbs selected by Mr. G. H.'—a collection of 1,010 proverbs. This tract was republished with many additions and alterations as 'Jacula Prudentum, or Outlandish Proverbs, Sentences, &c., selected by Mr. George Herbert, late Orator of the Universitie of Cambridge,' in 1651, and with it were printed 'The Author's Prayers before and after Sermons' (which also appear in Herbert's 'Country Parson'); his letter to Ferrar 'upon the translation of Valdesso' (dated from Bemerton, 29 Sept. 1632); and Latin verses on Bacon's 'Instauratio Magna,' on Bacon's death, and on Dr. Donne's seal. The volume concludes with 'An Addition of Apothegmes by Severall Authours.' This book was reissued in 1652 as a second part of the volume entitled Herbert's 'Remains' (Lond. 12mo).

Four affectionate letters to his younger brother, Sir Henry Herbert, dated 1618 and later, appear in Warner's 'Epistolary Curiosities,' 1818, pp. 1–10. His letters to Ferrar are inserted in Webb's 'Life of Ferrar;' his letters to his mother were printed by Walton, and some official letters from Cambridge as orator are extant in the university archives.

Herbert's poems found much favour with his seriously-minded contemporaries. Richard Crashaw, in presenting the 'Temple' 'to a Gentlewoman,' speaks enthusiastically of Herbert's 'devotions' and expositions of 'divinest love.' Walton, who in his 'Angler' quotes two of his poems, 'Virtue' and 'Contemplation of God's Providence,' characterises the 'Temple,' in his life of Donne, as 'a book in which, by declaring his own spiritual conflicts, he hath comforted and raised many a dejected and discomposed soul and charmed them with sweet and quiet thoughts.' Richard Baxter found, 'next the scripture poems,' 'none so savoury' as Herbert's, who 'speaks to God like a man that really believeth in God' (*Poetical Fragments*, pref. 1681). Henry Vaughan, in the preface to his 'Silex Scintillans,' 1650, credits Herbert with checking by his holy life and verse 'the foul and overflowing stream' of amatory poetry which flourished in his day. Charles I read the 'Temple' while in prison. Archbishop Leighton carefully annotated his copy with appreciative manuscript notes. Cowper's religious melancholy was best alleviated by poring over the book all day long. Coleridge wrote of the weight, number, and compression of Herbert's thoughts, and the simple dignity of the language (*Biog. Lit.*) But in spite of these testimonies Herbert's verse, from a purely literary point of view, merits on the whole no lofty praise. His sincere piety and devotional fervour are undeniable, and in portraying his spiritual conflicts and his attainment of a settled faith he makes no undue parade of doctrinal theology. But his range of subject is very narrow. He was at all times a careful literary workman, and the extant manuscript versions show that he was continually altering his poems with a view to satisfying a punctilious regard for form. An obvious artificiality is too often the result of his pains. He came under Donne's influence, and imitated Donne's least admirable conceits. Addison justly censured his 'false wit' (*Spectator*, No. 58). In two poems, 'Easter Wings' and 'The Altar,' he arranges his lines so as to present their subjects pictorially. But on very rare occasions, as in his best-known poem, that on 'Virtue,' beginning 'Sweet day so cool, so calm, so bright,' or in that entitled 'The Pulley,' he shows full mastery of his art, and, despite some characteristic blemishes, writes as though he were genuinely inspired.

[Barnabas Oley's biographical notice of Herbert prefixed to the 1652 edition of the Country Parson is valuable as the testimony of a personal friend. The very sympathetic memoir written by Izaak Walton, who was not personally acquainted with Herbert, was first published in 1670, with some letters written by Herbert to his mother while he was at Cambridge, and extracts from Donne's correspondence with Lady Herbert. Walton's Life was republished in 1674 with his collected lives of Donne, Hooker, &c., and with the 1674 and later editions of Herbert's poems. See also Nicholas Ferrar, two lives edited by Professor J. E. B. Mayor (Cambridge, 1855, 8vo); Powysland Club Collections, vii. 132 sq.; and Dr. Grosart's valuable introduction to his collected edition of all Herbert's known writings, with his notes on Walton's memoir.] S. L. L.

**HERBERT, GEORGE AUGUSTUS,** eleventh EARL OF PEMBROKE and eighth EARL OF MONTGOMERY (1759–1827), general, eldest son of Henry Herbert, tenth earl of Pembroke [q. v.], was born 11 Sept. 1759. He was educated at Harrow School, and afterwards travelled in Switzerland and the north of Europe with his tutor, William Coxe [q. v.], the well-known archdeacon of Winchester. On 10 April 1775 he was appointed ensign in the 12th foot at Gibraltar, became lieutenant in 1777, and in January 1778 obtained his company in the old 75th (Prince of Wales's) foot, then raising and afterwards disbanded. He was transferred to the 1st royal dragoons in December the same year; became major 22nd light dragoons in 1782; and in 1783 was appointed lieutenant-colonel 2nd dragoon guards (Queen's Bays). He was returned to parliament for Wilton in 1784, but vacated his seat on being appointed vice-chamberlain of the royal household in 1785. He was again returned for Wilton in 1788 and 1790. He took his regiment to Flanders in 1793, and in command of the bays and 3rd dragoon guards was attached to a small corps of observation of Prussians and Austrians covering the left flank of the Prussian army during the siege of Valenciennes. He rejoined the Duke of York before Dunkirk, and at the head of four British and Hanoverian squadrons and some flying artillery dislodged a French post at Hundssluyt. He returned home on the death of his father in January 1794. He became a major-general in 1795 and colonel Inniskilling dragoons 1797; commanded a brigade at Canterbury in 1797–8, and at Salisbury in 1799, part of the latter time being in command of the south-west district. He became lieutenant-general in 1802, was made K.G. in 1805, governor of Guernsey in 1807, and in the same year was sent on a special mission as ambassador extraordinary to the court of Vienna, and became a full general in 1812. He was lord-lieutenant of Wiltshire. He died 26 Oct. 1827. By his improvements of the Wilton estates, at an outlay of 200,000*l.*, it is said that he trebled the rent-roll, which was 35,000*l.* on his succession to the title.

Lord Pembroke married, first, 8 April 1787, Elizabeth, daughter of Topham Beauclerk; she died 25 March 1793; secondly, 25 Jan. 1808, Catherine, only daughter of Count Woronzoff, sometime Russian ambassador in London and afterwards governor of southern Russia: she died 27 March 1856. By his first wife he had a son, Robert Henry, twelfth earl (1791–1862), and by his second wife a son, Sidney Herbert, first lord Herbert of Lea [q. v.], and five daughters.

[Doyle's Baronage, vol. i.; Foster's Peerage under 'Pembroke;' Cannon's Hist. Rec. 6th Inniskilling Dragoons; Hist. MSS. Comm. 9th Rep. ii. 380–4; Gent. Mag. 1793 i. 376, 1856 i. 515.] H. M. C.

**HERBERT, HENRY,** second EARL OF PEMBROKE (1534?–1601), elder son of William Herbert, first earl (1501?–1570) [q. v.], by his first wife, Anne, daughter of Sir Thomas Parr, and sister of Queen Catherine Parr, was educated at Peterhouse, Cambridge, under Whitgift, and is also said to have studied for a time at Douay. After 1551, when his father became Earl of Pembroke, he was known as Lord Herbert. At Queen Mary's coronation he was made a knight of the Bath (29 Sept. 1553). When in June 1554 his father was entertaining at Wilton Philip of Spain's envoy, the Marquis de las Navas, Herbert's discreet manners attracted the marquis's attention, and he was made gentleman of the chamber to King Philip on his arrival in England. In 1557 he took part in a tournament held before the queen, and subsequently accompanied his father to the siege of St. Quentin. On his father's death in 1570, he succeeded as second earl of Pembroke, and on 4 April 1570 was appointed lord-lieutenant of Wiltshire. In right of his mother he succeeded, as Lord Parre and Ros of Kendal, Fitzhugh, Marmion, and Quentin, on 1 Aug. 1571. In 1574, in order to settle disputes between his tenants and friends in Wales, he and his wife gave a great entertainment at their castle at Cardiff, which he restored at a large cost.

In the court intrigues of Elizabeth's reign Pembroke was regarded as a partisan of Leicester, and was certainly in very intimate relations with him (cf. *Cal. Hatfield MSS.* ii. 154, iii. 137). He took a prominent part in the trials of the Duke of Norfolk (16 Jan. 1571–2), of Mary Queen of Scots (October 1586), and of Philip Howard, earl of Arundel (14 April 1589). In 1586 he succeeded Sir Henry Sidney, whose daughter was his third wife, as president of Wales, and became about the same time admiral of South Wales. Thenceforth he spent much time at Ludlow Castle, the official residence of the president of Wales, and actively discharged the duties of his office. His instructions are preserved in Lansd. MS. 49, No. 82 (cf. *Hist. of Ludlow*, pp. 176, 353 sq.) In 1589 he applied without success to Sir Walter Raleigh to secure for him the rangership of the New Forest (EDWARDS, *Life of Raleigh*, i. 119; cf. *Cal. Hatfield MSS.* iii. 365).

In a letter to Lord Burghley (20 June 1590) Pembroke complained that he had spent his fortune in the queen's service, and petitioned

for some recompense from her bounty. In 1592 he visited Oxford with the queen, and was created M.A. (*Oxf. Univ. Reg.*, Oxf. Hist. Soc., II. i. 235). He was busily engaged in 1595 in fortifying Milford Haven (*Sydney Papers*, i. 355–6), and was at the same time quarrelling with Essex about some land which both claimed (*ib.* pp. 370 sq.) In 1599, when a Spanish invasion was anticipated, he offered to raise two hundred horsemen (CHAMBERLAIN, *Letters*, Camd. Soc., p. 62). In 1595 Pembroke was described as very 'pursife and maladise' (*Sydney Papers*, i. 372), and in September 1599 his life was despaired of. He died at Wilton 9 Jan. 1600–1, 'leaving his lady as bare as he could,' writes Chamberlain, and bestowing all on the young lord, even to her jewels. He was buried in Salisbury Cathedral.

Pembroke, like other members of his family, was a man of culture. According to Aubrey he was a special patron of antiquaries and heralds, and collected heraldic manuscripts. He was always friendly with his third wife's brother, Sir Philip Sidney, who left him by will a diamond ring in 1586. John Davies of Hereford recounted the many services which the earl had rendered him in 'A Dump upon the Death of the most noble Henrie, late Earl of Pembroke' (cf. DAVIES, *Wittes Pilgrimage*, n. d.) Arthur Massinger, father of the dramatist, Philip Massinger, was the earl's confidential servant, and a company of players was known as the Earl of Pembroke's men between 1589 and the date of the earl's death. He also took some interest in horse-racing, 'instituted the Salisbury race,' and gave money to the corporation of Salisbury to provide a gold bell as a prize (AUBREY, *Nat. Hist. Wilts*, ed. Britton, p. 117). He 'won the bell at the race in Salisbury' early in 1600 (*Sydney Papers*, ii. 179). According to Aubrey he largely occupied himself in building at Wilton.

Pembroke's first wife was Lady Catherine, daughter of Henry Grey, duke of Suffolk [q. v.], and sister of Lady Jane Grey. The marriage took place on Whitsunday, 21 May 1553, at Durham House, the London residence of John Dudley, duke of Northumberland, and was designed to assist Northumberland in his endeavour to secure the succession to the crown to Lady Jane Grey, who married his son Guildford on the same day. The union was never consummated, and in 1554 Queen Mary's influence led the bridegroom's father to consent to a dissolution of the marriage. On 17 Feb. 1562–3 Herbert married Catherine, daughter of George Talbot, earl of Shrewsbury. She died childless in 1575. Queen Elizabeth was much attached to her, and during her fatal illness twice visited her at Baynard's Castle (cf. NICHOLS, *Progresses*, i. 416). Pembroke's third wife, whom he married about April 1577, was the well-known Mary [see HERBERT, MARY], daughter of Sir Henry Sidney, and sister of Sir Philip Sidney, by whom he was father of William, third earl of Pembroke [q. v.], Philip, earl of Pembroke and Montgomery [q. v.], and Anne, who died young.

A portrait of Pembroke is in Holland's 'Herœologia.' Fifteen letters from Pembroke to Sir Edward Stradling appear in the 'Stradling Correspondence.'

[Doyle's Official Baronage; Cooper's Athenæ Cantabr. ii. 294; Cal. Hatfield MSS. ii. 522, 536; Sydney Papers, ed. Collins, vols. i. ii.; Dugdale's Baronage; Fox Bourne's Sir Philip Sidney; Aubrey's Natural Hist. of Wiltshire, ed. Britton, 1842.] S. L. L.

**HERBERT, SIR HENRY** (1595–1673), master of the revels, born at Montgomery in 1595, was sixth son of Richard Herbert of Montgomery, by his wife Magdalen, and was the brother of Edward Herbert, the well-known lord Herbert of Cherbury [q. v.], of George Herbert the poet [q. v.], and of Thomas Herbert [q. v.] After a good education at home he was sent to France, and gained a thorough knowledge of French. In 1618 his brother George sent him at Paris a letter full of sound moral advice, and Henry shortly afterwards sent George some books. On returning to England at the end of 1618, he spent much time with his brother Edward; acted as his second when Sir Robert Vaughan challenged him to a duel early in 1619; and went to Paris immediately afterwards to arrange for the reception of his brother, who had been appointed English ambassador there (HERBERT OF CHERBURY, *Autob.* 1886, pp. 186–7, 343). On settling again in England, his kinsman, William Herbert, earl of Pembroke [q. v.], lord chamberlain, introduced him to the king, and on 20 March 1621–2 he was sworn in as King James's servant. He carried a bannerol at James's funeral in 1625 (NICHOLS, *Progresses*, iii. 1047). According to his brother's account 'he gave several proofs of his courage in duels and otherwise, being . . . dexterous in the ways of the court' (*ib.* p. 23). A rich marriage improved his prospects, and in 1627 he obtained for 3,000*l.* full possession of a fine house at Ribbesford, Worcestershire, which had been granted by the crown jointly to himself and his brothers Edward and George. In 1629–1630 he was living at Woodford, Essex, and his brother George spent that year with him there in order to recruit his health. He

liberally helped George to restore the church of Leighton Bromswold. In 1633 he was visited by Richard Baxter [q. v.], whom he introduced to court.

Herbert was staying in Pembroke's house at Wilton in August 1623, when James paid the earl a visit. The king knighted him (7 Aug.), and, according to Herbert's account, not only 'bestowed many good words' on him, but 'received' him as master of the revels (WARNER, *Epist. Curiosities*, i. 3). The date of Herbert's appointment to the latter office presents many difficulties. From 1610 to 22 May 1622 the post had been filled by Sir George Buc [q. v.], but during Buc's term of office two reversions to the office had been granted, the first to Sir John Ashley in 1612, and the second on 5 Oct. 1621 to Ben Jonson (HALLIWELL, *Anc. Documents*, p. 41). On 22 May 1622 Ashley succeeded Buc, but Herbert seems to have acted as Ashley's deputy before July 1623, and was practically in unchallenged possession of the office from August 1623 to June 1642. On 7 Nov. 1626 he is styled 'master of the revels' without qualification in an order issued under the privy seal directing the officers of the exchequer to supply him with all that was necessary for the court revels. But on 13-23 Aug. 1629 he formally received, jointly with Simon Thelwall, a grant of the reversion on the death both of Jonson and Ashley. Jonson died on 20 Nov. 1635, and Ashley on 13 Jan. 1640-1. A document quoted by Malone (*Hist. Account*, iii. 268) suggests that Herbert purchased Ashley's interest at an early date, and probably secured Jonson's reversionary interest in the same way.

His 'place,' according to Walton, 'required a diligent wisdom, with which God [had] blessed him' (*Lives*, ed. Bullen, p. 264). He took an ambitious view of his duties, and claimed the right of licensing every kind of public entertainment throughout England. The earliest entries in his register deal with exhibitions of elephants, beavers, and dromedaries, and the public performances of quack doctors. He seems to have asserted some control over the practice in public of games like fencing, billiards, and ninepins (cf. HALLIWELL, *Anc. Documents*, p. 54). Books he contrived occasionally to take under his cognizance; he licensed Cowley's first volume for the press in 1633, and on 14 Nov. 1632 was summoned before the Star-chamber to explain his reasons for having licensed Donne's 'Paradoxes' (*Cal. State Papers*, Dom. 1631-3, p. 437). But Herbert's chief work lay in arranging dramatic performances at court and in licensing plays for the public theatres. He exacted his fees—2*l.* for every new play performed, and 1*l.* for every old play 'revived'—with unvarying regularity; required that a box at each theatre should always be at his disposal, and between 1628 and 1633 obtained from the king's company two benefit performances yearly, one in summer and one in winter, which brought him on an average 8*l.* 19*s.* 4*d.* from each performance. He read conscientiously all plays submitted to him, but in 1624 his judgment in licensing Middleton's 'Game of Chesse' was called in question (*ib.* 1623-5, p. 329). He was very careful to excise all blasphemous language. Charles I, who interested himself in Herbert's duties, went over with him his corrections in the manuscript of D'Avenant's 'Wits' (9 Jan. 1634), and 'allowed "faith," "death," "slight," for asseverations, and not oaths.' Herbert submitted with serious misgiving. On 8 June 1642 he made for the time his last entry in his register, subsequently adding the words, 'Here ended my allowance of plays, for the war began in August 1642.' Twenty shillings weekly were allowed him for a lodging (WARNER, i. 180), but he noted in 1643 that the crown owed him 2,025*l.* 12*s.* 10*d.* for personal expenses since 1638 (*ib.* p. 182).

Herbert was a zealous royalist, and was personally liked by Charles I. He was a gentleman of the privy chamber, and in May 1639 joined the expedition against the Scots at Berwick. In 1643 he was at Ribbesford, and had some correspondence with his only surviving brother, Edward, who declined a request to let him send his horses into Montgomeryshire while the civil war raged in the midland counties. His estates were sequestrated, and his plate, which he valued at 448*l.* 18*s.*, was seized in May 1646. But he compounded for his land for 1,330*l.*, and in 1648 he was acting as high sheriff of Worcestershire (*Hist. MSS. Comm.* 5th Rep. p. 299). Shortly before the king's execution he met his kinsman, Sir Thomas Herbert, in Hyde Park, and bade him advise the king to study the second book of Ecclesiasticus. Sir Thomas carried the message to the king, who commended Sir Henry's 'excellent parts' as scholar, soldier, and courtier. At the time he was much persecuted by the committee for advance of money, because when giving them an account of his property he was said to have concealed the fact that his stepfather, Sir John Danvers [q. v.], owed him 3,000*l.* (*Cal. of Committee*, ii. 832). Under the Commonwealth he lived much in London, at first in the Strand, and afterwards at Chelsea. In March 1651-2 he presented his friend Evelyn with a copy of his brother Edward's 'De Veritate' (*Diary*, ii. 38); on 18 March 1657-8 he received

permission from the council to visit York (*Cal. State Papers*, Dom. 1657–8, p. 553).

At the Restoration Herbert resumed his office of master of the revels. On 30 July 1660 he licensed at the Duke of York's request a trial of skill with eight weapons between two performers at the Red Bull playhouse. He received 200*l.* for his expenses in October 1660. But his endeavours to exercise all his former powers were thwarted at every step. The mayor of Maidstone (9 Oct. 1660) disputed his claim to license plays in a provincial town (WARNER, i. 59–60). On 11 July 1663, when a similar case was in dispute with the corporation of Norwich, the king distinctly withdrew puppet and other shows from Herbert's control. In June 1661 he sought to suppress an unlicensed exhibition of 'strange creatures' in London (*Cal. State Papers*, Dom. 1661–2). But Herbert was involved in more serious quarrels with the chief London managers and actors. In August 1660 Charles II granted licenses to Thomas Killigrew and Sir William D'Avenant to erect two new playhouses, and to form two new companies, with authority to license their own plays. Herbert petitioned against the grant, and his case was referred to the attorney-general, Sir Geoffrey Palmer (HALLIWELL, *Anc. Doc.* pp. 21–3). D'Avenant openly defied Herbert, and Herbert brought two suits-at-law against him to recover fees due to his office. He gained one action and lost the other, and the contradictory verdicts led D'Avenant to appeal once again to the king, with the result that Lord Clarendon and the Earl of Manchester, lord chamberlain, were ordered in July 1662 to arbitrate between the litigants. Herbert drew up an elaborate statement of the privileges which he had exercised earlier (MALONE, ii. 266–8), but the arbitrators apparently decided against him. Meanwhile he endeavoured to close the Cockpit playhouse in Drury Lane, which John Rhodes had opened without a license from him (HALLIWELL, p. 26), and when Michael Mohun, Charles Hart, and other members of the king and queen's company, persisted in ignoring his rights, brought an action against them, in which he was successful (December 1661) (*ib.* p. 44; MALONE, iii. 262). On 31 July 1661 Charles II issued an order generally confirming his privileges. On 4 June 1662 Herbert came to terms with Thomas Killigrew, who promised to pay him a royalty on all plays produced, to support his authority, to dissociate himself from D'Avenant, and to pay all the sums which Herbert had claimed from Mohun and their friends. In the same year Herbert brought an action against Betterton for 100*l.*, the amount of royalties due on the production of ten new plays and one hundred 'revived' plays, between 15 Nov. 1660 and 16 May 1661. By these actions and by loss of fees Herbert asserted that he was deprived of 5,000*l.* On 21 July 1663 he put forward a claim to license all plays, poems, and ballads for the press, and suggested that all entertainments at which music was performed, even extending to village wakes, should be liable to his fees (WARNER, i. 185). But to avoid further strife he leased out his office in 1663 to two deputies, E. Hayward and J. Poyntz, who were to pay him an annual salary. They soon complained that they lost heavily by the arrangement, and begged him to renew his endeavours to assert the ancient rights of the office.

Herbert sat in parliament as member for Bewdley, Worcestershire, from 8 May 1661. On 8 Feb. 1664–5 Evelyn dined with him (*Diary*, ii. 177). In 1665 he prepared for the press his brother Edward's poems, which he dedicated to his grandnephew, Edward, third lord of Cherbury. He died in April 1673, and was buried at St. Paul's Church, Covent Garden. His fortune by that date was much reduced. His brother Edward, who did not live to witness the troubles of Herbert's later years, wrongly says that he 'attained to great fortunes for himself and his posterity to enjoy.' A portrait by Dobson, painted in 1639, is at Powis Castle.

The name of Herbert's first wife is not known. By her he had a son William (*b.* 1 May 1626), who died young, and two daughters, Vere (*b.* 29 Aug. 1627), who married Sir Henry Every, bart., of Egginton Hall, Derbyshire, and Frances (*b.* 29 Dec. 1628), who died young. By his second wife, Elizabeth, daughter of Sir Robert Offley of Dalby, Leicestershire, whom he married about 1650, Herbert had a son Henry, created Lord Herbert of Cherbury [q. v.], and two daughters, Magdalene (*b.* 12 July 1655), who married George Morley of Droxford, Hampshire, son of George Morley, bishop of Winchester; and Elizabeth, who married Charles Hore of Cagford, Devonshire, in 1694, and died 30 July 1695. Herbert's second wife died 7 July 1698.

Herbert's papers passed with his house at Ribbesford to Francis Ingram, esq., of Bewdley about 1786. Ingram's son restored most of them to the Earl of Powis. While they were in the possession of the Ingram family, several of Herbert's letters, his 'praiers and meditations in old age,' and a diary which he kept at Berwick in 1639, were printed by Mrs. Rebecca Warner in her 'Epistolary Curiosities,' 1818. Herbert's papers included an original manuscript of Edward, lord Herbert of Cherbury's, autobiography, and Herbert's office-book while he was master of the

revels (1623–42). Neither of these valuable documents are now known to exist. Malone declares that in 1799 they were both mouldering in one chest at Ribbesford. He borrowed the office-book, and printed many extracts in his 'Historical Account of the English Stage,' first printed in 1799, and forming vol. iii. of the variorum edition of Shakespeare of 1821. George Chalmers also examined it, and printed some additional excerpts in his 'Supplemental Apology,' 1799. All the extracts dealing with stage history known to Malone or Chalmers are reprinted with some notes in Mr. F. G. Fleay's 'History of the Stage,' 1890 (pp. 300 sq., 333 sq., and 359 sq.) An imperfect transcript in Baron Heath's library was purchased by J. O. Halliwell-Phillipps in 1880. The accessible portions of the work throw valuable light on an important epoch in the history of the English drama. Some notices of plays licensed by Herbert between 1660 and 1663 appear in Malone's 'Account,' iii. 273, and in Halliwell's 'Ancient Documents,' pp. 33–5, 47.

[Powysland Club Collections, vii. 151 sq., xi. 344 sq.; Warner's Epistolary Curiosities, 1818; Halliwell's Collection of Ancient Documents respecting the office of Master of the Revels, 1870; Cal. State Papers, Dom.; Lord Herbert of Cherbury's Autobiography, ed. Lee, 1886; F. G. Fleay's Chronicle History of the London Stage, 1890; J. P. Collier's Hist. of Dramatic Poetry; Prolegomena to Shakespeare Variorum, 1821, vol. iii.]

S. L. L.

**HERBERT, HENRY,** created Lord Herbert of Cherbury (1654–1709), son by his second marriage of Sir Henry Herbert [q. v.], was born 2 July 1654, in King Street, Covent Garden, in the house of George Evelyn, John Evelyn's brother, who had married his mother's sister. He entered Trinity College, Oxford, 13 Jan. 1670–1 (*College Reg.*), and was praised for his application by his tutor, Abraham Campion (Warner, pp. 75–7). By the dying wish of his father he contested his father's constituency of Bewdley on Sir Henry's death in April 1673. He was opposed by Thomas Foley, and, although he was returned 7 Nov. 1673, the seat was claimed by his opponent. The dispute was decided in Herbert's favour, 10 March 1676–7. In James II's reign Herbert sided with the opponents of the crown, and joined William III in Holland in 1688. He afterwards took up arms for William in Worcestershire, and sat as M.P. for Bewdley in the convention meeting in January 1688–9, and in the parliament elected in the following March. Herbert was always in pecuniary difficulties, and on 18 July 1691 petitioned William III for the office of auditor of Wales on the ground of former services (Warner, *Epist. Curiosities*, i. 147). On 28 April 1694 he was created Lord Herbert of Cherbury—the title which had been borne by his uncle Edward [q. v.], and had become extinct on the death of Henry Herbert, fourth lord Herbert of Cherbury, in 1691. On 27 Aug. 1695 the barony of Castleisland in the Irish peerage was also granted him. In 1697 he was disappointed of the office of deputy privy seal. (Luttrell, *Rel.* iv. 203–7). He zealously supported the whigs, but in a letter to Lord Somers (2 Jan. 1700–1) threatened to retire from politics unless he gained some personal profit from his fidelity. In October 1701 he signed an address to the king from the county of Worcester, asserting that if the county's representatives in parliament did not comply with the king's wishes they would elect 'such as shall' (*ib.* v. 99). On the death of William III he reminded Godolphin that he had voted for an increase in Anne's allowance when she was princess, and entreated the minister to secure him some lucrative office (11 April 1704). In 1707 he was made a commissioner of trade and plantations (*ib.* vi. 153), and frequently acted as chairman of committees in the House of Lords (*ib.* iv. 209). He died 'of a fever' 22 Jan. 1708–9, and was buried in St. Paul's Church, Covent Garden. He married by license, dated 8 Feb. 1677–8, Anne, daughter of Alderman Ramsey of London (*d.* 1716). Many interesting letters from him or addressed to him are printed in Warner's 'Epistolary Curiosities,' 1818.

His only child, Henry, second Lord Herbert of Cherbury (*d.* 1738), was educated at Westminster School; but on 19 Sept. 1696 the head-master, Thomas Knipe, wrote to his father complaining of his 'insufferable negligence' and constant 'blubbering.' In 1699 Abel Boyer [q. v.] was his tutor, and lamented his 'averseness to books.' His father was anxious to arrange for him a wealthy marriage; in 1706 offered him to the rich widow of Lord Dudley and Ward, who declined him; and in 1707–8 corresponded with Lord Hereford with regard to a union with his daughter, but Lord Herbert demanded a dowry of 10,000*l.*, and Lord Hereford only offered 6,000*l.* Herbert finally married, towards the close of 1709, Mary, daughter of John Wallop of Farley, Southampton, and sister of John Wallop, first earl of Portsmouth. He contested Bewdley unsuccessfully in 1705, and petitioned without result against the return of his rival, Salwey Winnington (Luttrell, vi. 18–19, 184). In May 1707 he was returned for the seat at a new election, and a petition lodged by his old

rival Winnington failed (10 Feb. 1707–8) (*ib.* vi. 405–6). In January 1707–8 he succeeded to his father's place in the House of Lords. The pecuniary embarrassment which he inherited from his father increased rapidly in his hands. He was an ardent whig in politics, and spent more than he could afford in electoral contests. He was disappointed of hopes of office, and died suddenly (it is said by his own hand) at his house at Ribbesford in April 1738 (cf. W. Noake, *Guide to Worcestershire*). He had no issue, and his widow, who became lady of the bedchamber to Anne, George II's daughter and princess of Orange, died 19 Oct. 1770. His will is printed in the 'Powysland Club Collections,' vii. 157–9. He left his chief property, Ribbesford, to a cousin, Henry Morley (*d.* 1781), on whose death it fell to Morley's sister Magdalena. She died in 1782 and left it to a kinsman, George Paulet, twelfth marquis of Winchester, who sold it to Francis Ingram, esq.

[Powysland Club Collections, vii. 156 sq. and xi. 344 sq.; Warner's Epistolary Curiosities, 1818; Chester's Marriage Licenses, ed. Foster, p. 669; Annals of Anne, viii. 361.] S. L. L.

**HERBERT, HENRY,** ninth Earl of Pembroke and sixth Earl of Montgomery (1693–1751), lieutenant-general, called 'the architect earl,' eldest of the seven sons of Thomas, eighth earl of Pembroke [q. v.], by his first wife, was born 29 Jan. 1693. On the accession of George I he was appointed lord of the bedchamber to the Prince of Wales, in which appointment he was confirmed on the prince's accession to the throne as George II in 1727. Meantime he had been made captain and lieutenant-colonel of the Coldstream regiment of foot-guards, 12 Aug. 1717, and captain and colonel of the first troop of horse-guards, 10 Sept. 1721, which he subsequently exchanged for the colonelcy of the king's regiment of horse, now the 1st or king's dragoon guards (22 June 1733). He was made groom of the stole in 1735, and attained the rank of lieutenant-general on 18 Feb. 1741–2. He was one of the lords justices during the absence of the king from England in 1740, and again in 1743 and in 1748.

He appears to have inherited his father's taste as a virtuoso, but applied it chiefly to architecture. Horace Walpole (*Anecdotes of Painting*, Wornum, iii. 771–2) speaks of him as a second Inigo Jones, and instances as examples of his taste and skill in architectural design his improvements at the family seat, Wilton House, the new lodge in Richmond Park, the Countess of Suffolk's house, Marble Hill, Twickenham, and the water house in Lord Orford's park at Houghton. He rendered valuable public service in promoting the erection of Westminster Bridge (since rebuilt), for which an act of parliament was obtained in 1736 (9 Geo. II), and he advocated the claims of the Swiss architect, Charles Labelye, against the powerful interest made for Nicholas Hawksmoor [q. v.], and Batty Langley [q. v.] (*ib.*) Pembroke laid the first stone of the structure with great ceremony in 1739, and the last stone in 1750. Serious difficulties were encountered in carrying out the undertaking, which gave a great impetus in bridge-building in England, particularly in London. He was elected F.R.S. 15 Dec. 1743. He died suddenly at his residence in Privy Gardens, Whitehall, 9 June 1751. There is an engraved portrait by J. Bretherton.

Pembroke married, 28 Aug. 1733, Mary, eldest daughter of Richard, viscount Fitzwilliam in the peerage of Ireland, who had been a maid of honour to Queen Caroline. Their only son, Henry Herbert, tenth earl of Pembroke, is separately noticed. The countess survived her husband; afterwards married Major North Ludlow Barnard, and died in 1769.

[Foster's Peerage under 'Pembroke and Montgomery;' Doyle's Official Baronage; Collins's Peerage, 1812 ed., iii. 142–5; H. Walpole's Anecdotes of Painting (Wornum), iii. 771–2, which contains a portrait of Lord Pembroke; H. Walpole's Letters, passim; Nichols's Lit. Anecd. Particulars of the erection, &c., of Westminster Bridge will be found in Cresy's Encycl. of Civil Engineering, London, 1856, pp. 422–5, and in the report on Westminster Bridge in Parl. Papers, Reports of Select Committees, 1844, vol. vi.] H. M. C.

**HERBERT, HENRY,** tenth Earl of Pembroke and seventh of Montgomery (1734–1794), general, eldest son of Henry, ninth earl of Pembroke [q. v.], was born 3 July 1734. He travelled for several years on the continent, was appointed cornet in his father's regiment of dragoon guards, 12 Oct. 1752, and became captain therein in 1754, and captain and lieutenant-colonel 1st foot-guards in 1756, having previously taken his seat in the house and been made lord-lieutenant of Wiltshire. He was also appointed a lord of the bedchamber to the Prince of Wales (November 1756), in which he was confirmed on the accession of the prince to the throne as George III. He was made aide-de-camp to George II (8 May 1758). On the formation of Eliott's famous light horse (now 15th hussars) in 1759, Pembroke, who appears to have been regarded as an authority on the manége, was appointed lieutenant-colonel. He took the regiment out to Ger-

many in 1760, but on arrival was made adjutant-general to Lord Granby, which post he vacated on his promotion to the rank of major-general the year after, and appears to have had no share in the brilliant achievements in the field of the 15th, or, as it was called when the newly raised regiments of light horse were numbered separately, the 1st light dragoons. He commanded the cavalry brigade under Lord Granby in 1760–1761. He resumed his court duties, and in 1762 published his 'Method of Breaking Horses,' a very sensibly written treatise on the handling and treatment of horses as first practised in Eliott's light horse, on which is based the system since generally adopted in the British cavalry. The work went through three editions.

In 1762 he caused great scandal by throwing up his place at court and eloping (in a packet-boat) with Miss Hunter, daughter of Charles Orby Hunter, then one of the lords of the admiralty (H. Walpole, *Letters*, iii. 486, 490, 496, 500). He afterwards returned to his wife, and the young lady, who had a child by him, is said to have married the future field-marshal, Sir Alured Clarke [q. v.] (*ib.* iv. 59). He was restored to favour at court, was appointed colonel 1st royal dragoons in 1764, reappointed a lord of the bedchamber in 1769, and became a lieutenant-general in 1770. He was made colonel of the Wiltshire militia in 1778. In January 1779 he entertained George III and Queen Charlotte with great splendour at Wilton House (*Hist. MSS. Comm.* 9th Rep. (ii.) 380–1), but in February 1780 was deprived of the lieutenancy of Wiltshire for voting in favour of a motion of Lord Shelburne, afterwards Marquis of Lansdowne, for an independent parliamentary inquiry into public expenditure and particularly the method of granting contracts (*ib.* p. 383; also *Parl. Hist.* vols. xx. xxi.) He was restored to the lieutenancy of Wiltshire, was appointed governor of Portsmouth, and attained the rank of general in 1782. He died 26 Jan. 1794. His portrait was painted by Sir Joshua Reynolds and has been engraved.

Pembroke married, in 1755, Elizabeth, second daughter of Charles Spencer, second duke of Marlborough, by whom he had a family. His heir, George Augustus, eleventh earl, is separately noticed.

[Doyle's Official Baronage; Foster's Peerage; Collins's Peerage, 1812 ed., iii. 142–5; H. Walpole's Letters, passim; Cannon's Hist. Records 1st Royal Dragoons and 15th King's Hussars; Lord Pembroke's Art of Breaking Horses, preface to 3rd ed., 1778; 6th and 9th Reps. Hist. MSS. Comm.] H. M. C.

**HERBERT, HENRY HOWARD MOLYNEUX**, fourth Earl of Carnarvon (1831–1890), statesman, born on 24 June 1831, was eldest son of Henry John George Herbert, third earl [q. v.], by his wife Henrietta Anne, eldest daughter of Lord Henry Molyneux Howard, a brother of Bernard Edward Howard, twelfth duke of Norfolk. Herbert, at first known by the courtesy title of Viscount Porchester, owed much of his liberal culture to the training of his father. When only seven he spoke at a large public meeting of the Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals, over which his father presided. At the age of eight he went to Turkey, saw the coronation of Abdul Medjid in 1839, and contracted an illness the evil effects of which never wholly left him. He was educated at Eton, where Edward Coleridge was his tutor. On 17 Oct. 1849 he matriculated from Christ Church, Oxford, and on 9 Dec. following succeeded on his father's death to the earldom of Carnarvon. He read assiduously at Oxford, came much under the influence of H. L. (afterwards Dean) Mansel, and obtained a first class *in literis humanioribus* in 1852. Upon taking his degree early in the following year he made a tour with his friend Lord Sandon (now Earl of Harrowby) through Syria and Asia Minor. The little community of the Druses of Mount Lebanon, which he visited on the journey, arrested his attention, and he published in 1860 an interesting volume of recollections, with notes on the Druses' religion. As soon as he returned to England he devoted his attention to politics, and on 31 Jan. 1854, on the eve of the Crimean war, made his maiden speech in the House of Lords, when he moved the address in reply to the queen's speech, and was complimented by Lord Derby.

From the first Carnarvon's political views were conservative, but he was never a narrow partisan. As a youth he watched with deepest interest the colonial extension of the empire, and his political career was chiefly identified with endeavours to unite the colonies with the mother-country in permanent bonds that should be mutually advantageous. In one of his earliest speeches in parliament (1 March 1855) he suggested that the government should move a vote of thanks to those colonies which had evinced practical sympathy with England during the Crimean war. At the close of the war he visited the Crimea, and was conducted by Admiral Lord Lyons over the battle-fields. When in February 1858 Lord Derby became prime minister Carnarvon entered official life as under-secretary for the colonies. He held office till June 1859, and on quitting

it studied attentively the course of foreign affairs. In the session of 1863 he showed wide range of knowledge and liberality of sentiment in two important speeches—one calling attention to the connivance of Prussia in the Russian oppression of Poland, and the other describing outrages recently committed on Englishmen in Japan. At the same time he performed conscientiously all the duties of a country gentleman and landlord on his estate at Highclere, Berkshire. In 1864 he published a sensible paper on 'Prison Discipline' as a preface to a report on the subject adopted at his suggestion at the Hampshire quarter sessions. In 1859 he was appointed high steward of Oxford University, and was created D.C.L. He was an examiner in classics and theology at Eton soon afterwards.

In June 1866 Carnarvon joined Lord Derby's second ministry as colonial secretary, and on 19 Feb. 1867 brought forward in an able speech in the House of Lords a bill for confederating the British North American provinces. This great measure, which became law in June 1867, had been in contemplation as early as 1838; its primary object was to unite Canada, Nova Scotia, and New Brunswick in one federal dominion under the crown, but the dominion was empowered to admit at any subsequent time the other colonies and provinces of British North America. A dominion parliament, divided into upper and lower houses, was called into existence, and a suitable seat of government—the subject of much controversy—was ultimately found in Ottawa. The scheme included guarantees on the part of the Dominion government for the construction of an inter-colonial railway across the North American continent, and on this portion of Carnarvon's measure Mr. Robert Lowe (now Viscount Sherbrooke) led a determined but unsuccessful attack. The working of the whole plan has justified Carnarvon's sanguine prophecies as to its results. Before, however, his bill reached its final stage serious differences arose between himself and his colleagues. The government had undertaken to reform the parliamentary franchise, and two schemes were for some months under discussion in the cabinet. The one scheme was little democratic in its tendencies, and abounded in safeguards against the predominance of the uneducated voter; the other conceded with few reservations a very wide suffrage. When the first scheme was submitted to parliament in February it was so coldly received that Mr. Disraeli, chancellor of the exchequer, insisted on replacing it by the second. Carnarvon at first assented, but on further consideration withdrew his support, and on 4 March resigned, together with General Peel, secretary of war, and Lord Cranborne (now Marquis of Salisbury), secretary for India. Carnarvon objected, he said, when announcing his resolve to parliament, to any enormous transfer of political power (4 March). 'I shrink from sweeping away all intervening barriers and reducing the complicated system of the English constitution to two clearly defined, and perhaps ultimately hostile, classes—a rich upper class on the one hand, and a poor artisan class on the other.'

While his party was in opposition (December 1868 to January 1874) Carnarvon effectively criticised the chief measures of the liberal government. But in the debates on the Irish Church Disestablishment Bill (1869) and of the Irish Land Bill he showed characteristic moderation by voting for both in opposition to his own party. Speaking on the first bill he warned the House of Lords that as in 1828 so now there were only three alternatives for them to adopt in their relations with the Irish catholics, 'emancipation, reconquest, or repeal,' and begged them 'not to defer concession till it could no longer have the charm of free consent, nor be regulated by the counsels of prudent statesmanship.' Of the Land Bill he said (17 June 1870) that Ireland was exceptionally situated, and demanded exceptional legislation, but he was opposed on the whole to purchase of the land by the state. In the same session he denounced the indifference displayed by the government to colonial interests, and spoke eloquently of the possibilities of a great confederation of the British empire. Subsequently he urged the government with much earnestness to avenge the murders of four English travellers by brigands in Greece—crimes for which he held, on apparently good grounds, the Greek government responsible (cf. HANSARD, 23 May and 11 July 1870). Carnarvon's cousin, Edward Herbert, secretary of the British legation at Athens, was one of the victims. The Greek government ultimately proceeded against the murderers.

At the general election of February 1874 the conservatives were returned to office, and Carnarvon again entered the cabinet as colonial secretary. Almost his earliest act was to abolish slavery within the Gold Coast protectorate. But South Africa soon absorbed all his attention. The recent discovery of the diamond-fields of Griqualand West—a territory claimed by both English and Dutch—had accentuated the rivalry between the English and Dutch settlers. At the same time the Europeans and natives were engaged in repeated hostilities. The governments of the English colonies of Cape Colony, Natal,

and Griqualand West were, moreover, each pursuing independent policies, all more or less rigorous, towards the natives, while the Dutch Boers of the Orange Free State and the Transvaal Republic were exceeding even the harshness of the English colonists in their treatment of their native neighbours. Carnarvon determined to protect and pacify the natives. He reversed the sentence passed by the Natal government on a native chieftain named Langalibalele, whose lands lay on the borders of Natal, and who had been charged with conspiring against the colony. He recalled the lieutenant-governor of Natal, Sir Benjamin Pine, and sent out Sir Garnet (now Lord) Wolseley as temporary governor to report upon the native difficulty and questions of defence (25 Feb. 1875). On 4 May 1875 he forwarded a despatch to Sir Henry Barkly, governor of Cape Colony, directing that representatives of the three English settlements and of the two independent Dutch republics should meet together to determine collectively and on an uniformly just basis their future relations to the natives. He also suggested that the conditions of a South African confederation, on the lines of his Canadian scheme, should be discussed; named the persons who might in his opinion best represent each constituent state; and asked his intimate friend Mr. J. A. Froude, who was visiting South Africa, to explain to the colonists his own personal views. The assembly of Cape Colony hotly resented Carnarvon's proposals as an unwarranted interference with their right to independent government. Carnarvon expostulated (4 July); but, soon perceiving that popular feeling in South Africa supported the colonial ministry, withdrew his scheme (22 Oct. 1875) and substituted a suggestion that a South African conference should meet in the following year in London. That plan was very partially pursued. In 1876 the president of the Orange Free State and Mr. Molteno, premier of Cape Colony, arrived in London; but the proposals for a confederation made little progress. The personal interviews with Carnarvon resulted, however, in a settlement of the claims preferred by both the Orange Free State and Cape Colony to the possession of Griqualand West. It was arranged that that territory should be united to Cape Colony, and that the Orange Free State should abandon its pretensions in consideration of the payment of 90,000*l*. Meanwhile reports of disturbances in the Transvaal, caused not only by the Dutch Boers' quarrels with the natives but by their oppression of English settlers, seemed to Carnarvon to justify English interference. He sent Sir Theophilus Shepstone there in September 1876 to compose internal differences, and gave him for the purpose large discretionary powers. Soon afterwards he sent out Sir Bartle Frere as governor of the Cape and high commissioner for the settlement of native affairs in South Africa.

Carnarvon did not despair of meeting the accumulating difficulties by the adoption of his original scheme of a South African confederation. In April 1877 he introduced into the House of Lords a bill 'for the union under one government of such of the South African colonies or states as may agree thereto, and for the government of such union.' He followed throughout the lines of his Canada act, but the measure was merely permissive, 'a bill' (he himself described it) 'of outline and principle.' Its passage through the House of Commons in July and August was rendered notable by the obstruction on the part of a few Irish members of parliament, led by Mr. Parnell and Mr. Joseph Biggar, who then first appeared in the distinct rôle of irreconcilable enemies to the ordinary methods of parliamentary procedure. Mr. Parnell repeatedly charged Carnarvon with indifference to colonial sentiment. Before, moreover, the bill had proceeded far, news arrived that Shepstone, doubtful of remedying otherwise the anarchy prevailing in the Transvaal, had on 12 April proclaimed the annexation of that country to the British empire. Carnarvon gave this step his warm approval. The opposition, under Mr. Gladstone's leadership, bitterly denounced it in parliament and the country. Carnarvon asserted that the annexation was accepted by the Dutch with enthusiasm (31 July 1877). Later in the year, however, the Boers sent to London a deputation requesting a reversal of the proclamation, but Carnarvon stood firm. In December 1880, after Carnarvon had retired from office, the Boers rose in arms against their English governors. A disastrous war followed, and in April 1881, when Mr. Gladstone was again in power, the independence of the Transvaal Republic was re-established. Meanwhile, in 1877, after Sir Bartle Frere had promptly suppressed a Kaffir outbreak, Carnarvon enthusiastically defended Frere's energetic action in preventing what might (he said) have proved a serious trouble.

South Africa was still suffering from the results of these disturbances and from the prospects of further difficulties, when the policy of his colleagues in Eastern Europe led Carnarvon to retire from the government. On the outbreak of the war between Russia and Turkey in 1877 he had urged that England should adhere to a policy of strict

neutrality, and on 30 April 1877 it fell to him to announce to parliament the issue of a proclamation pledging England to that policy in the east of Europe. But when early in 1878 it became clear that Russia would come out victor, and it was probable that she would push her successes against Turkey to the last extremity, Lord Beaconsfield deemed it necessary for England to interfere. To this change of policy Carnarvon objected. On 2 Jan. 1878, while addressing a deputation at the colonial office, he expressed his conviction that England ought not to sanction a repetition of the Crimean war. When the cabinet met a fortnight later, the prime minister severely condemned Carnarvon's language, and a proposal, which came to nothing, was made to send an English fleet into Turkish waters. Carnarvon offered to resign, but Lord Beaconsfield induced him to withdraw his resignation. A week later it was determined at another cabinet council to send a fleet to the Dardanelles, and to appeal to parliament for a vote of credit. Carnarvon thereupon renewed his offer of resignation, and Lord Beaconsfield accepted it. In justifying his conduct in the House of Lords (25 Jan.) Carnarvon urged the government to pursue their original policy of neutrality. In 1878 he earnestly recommended the ministry on entering the congress of San Stefano, which had been suggested to the great powers by Russia, to safeguard the interests of those Christian races subject to Turkey on whom he thought England might better depend to thwart the aspirations of Russia than on Turkey herself. In the autumn he delivered an interesting lecture on 'Imperialism' before the Edinburgh Philosophical Society, in which he deprecated the identification of imperialism with 'mere bulk of territory and multiplication of subjects' protected by vast standing armies, and pointed out that England's imperial function was to draw her colonies closer to herself, and to hold the balance between her colonists and the native races.

Carnarvon was a less conspicuous figure in politics for the two following years, but became chairman in September 1879 of an important commission appointed to consider the defence of colonial possessions. The commission sat for nearly three years, and published its third and final report in July 1882. Although it recommended a large expenditure, Carnarvon claimed that its estimates were framed on the lowest possible scale. After the defeat of the conservatives at the polls in 1880 Carnarvon offered once again to devote his services unreservedly to his party, and for the five succeeding years spoke constantly in parliament and at public meetings. On the third reading of the Irish Land Bill in the House of Lords on 8 Aug. 1881 he was put forward to express the suspicions with which his party regarded the measure. He described it as 'a very great experiment,' but finally accepted it without dividing the house (Hansard, cclxiv. 1180–1186). When the franchise bill of 1884 reached the House of Lords he energetically opposed it (8 July), on the ground that a redistribution of seats must accompany any further extension of the suffrage, so as to 'give full play to all the different opinions in the country.' The Reform Bill of 1867 had led (he said) to violent oscillations of the electoral body, to lower views of duty on the part of candidates, and to a tendency to convert members of parliament into delegates. At his own and his friends' advice the bill was rejected by the House of Lords, and a fierce agitation was conducted in the following autumn throughout the country in support of the bill. The agitators threatened the second chamber with extinction. Carnarvon flung himself with enthusiasm into the conflict, and elaborately defended the action of the House of Lords both in the present and the past. When the ministry consented to combine a redistribution bill with their franchise bill, Carnarvon and his friends withdrew their opposition, but, as the two bills were passing through the upper house, he asserted that duly qualified women were logically entitled to the suffrage. On 13 Nov. 1884 he raised a debate on the proposals made by the liberal government to provide new coaling stations for the fleet and defences for the colonies, and showed the inadequacy of the suggested plans. In November 1884 the Imperial Federation League was formed, and Carnarvon vigorously supported it, taking part in its meetings to the end of his life.

In June 1885 Mr. Gladstone's ministry was defeated on their budget proposals. The Reform Bill had appointed the general election for November, and Lord Salisbury consented to take office after receiving from the liberal majority in the House of Commons promises of support for the few months intervening. The condition of Ireland was the chief difficulty which the new government had to face. The bitterest feelings of hostility against the English government had been roused by the Home Rule agitation of Mr. Parnell and his followers. A Crimes Act had been firmly administered during the last years of Mr. Gladstone's ministry, and the stringency of its provisions had supplied the agitators with their leading cry. When the conserva-

tives assumed power, that act, which had been passed for a term of three years only, was on the point of expiring. The incoming ministry determined to allow it to lapse, and to rely for the repression of crime on the ordinary law. Carnarvon was naturally inclined to such pacific courses. At the earnest request of the leaders of his party, he personally undertook, as lord-lieutenant of Ireland, to give the new conciliatory policy a fair trial; but in a letter to the prime minister he limited his period of office to the end of the year, or the opening of the new parliament. When announcing the new Irish policy in the House of Lords on the eve of his departure for Dublin (6 July 1885), he declared it no hopeless task to conjoin 'good feeling to England with good government in Ireland.' On 7 July he made his state entry into Dublin, and was received with enthusiasm by all classes.

Carnarvon claimed to approach Irish problems in a free and unprejudiced spirit, and as soon as he was firmly installed in office he resolved to obtain exact information as to the legislative demands of the Irish parliamentary party. To this end he invited Mr. Parnell to meet him in London at the close of July. Mr. Parnell accepted the invitation. At the opening of the interview, Carnarvon, according to his own account, mentioned firstly, that the invitation was the act of himself by himself, and that the responsibility for it was not shared by any of his colleagues; secondly, that his only object was to obtain information, and no agreement or understanding, however shadowy, was to be deduced from the conversation; and thirdly, that, as the servant of the queen, he could listen to nothing inconsistent with the maintenance of the union between England and Ireland. Carnarvon stated that his own part in the conversation was confined to asking questions and suggesting objections to the answers. Something was said about a second interview, which did not take place. Nearly a year later a serious controversy arose out of this meeting. Mr. Parnell made the earliest public reference to it in the House of Commons on 7 June 1886, in the course of the debate on Mr. Gladstone's Home Rule Bill. Carnarvon had promised, Mr. Parnell asserted, that in the event of the conservatives obtaining a majority in the House of Commons at the election of November 1885, they were prepared to give Ireland a statutory parliament with the right to protect Irish industries, and would propose at the same time a large scheme of land-purchase. Carnarvon at once denied having given any such undertaking (HANSARD, 10 June 1886). Mr. Parnell replied in a detailed statement (*Times*, 12 June) which the English advocates of Home Rule long quoted to prove that the conservatives were readier than themselves to yield to the demands of the Irish parliamentary party. Carnarvon, in his latest public review of the subject (10 May 1888), reproached himself with holding the interview without witnesses. Nothing is more common than for two persons to take different views of an hour's conversation in which they alone participated, and their differences may not materially reflect on their veracity. It seems clear that Carnarvon had no distinct scheme in mind when he met Mr. Parnell, but he was inclined to 'some limited form of self-government not in any way independent of imperial control, such as might satisfy real local requirements and to some extent national aspirations.' So much he subsequently stated in the House of Lords he would gladly see achieved (10 June 1886).

Carnarvon's Irish administration, which closely resembles Lord Fitzwilliam's, raised the hopes of the nationalists higher than his powers of achievement or the views of his colleagues justified. He spent a week in the west in August. He visited Galway and Sligo on the journey; received deputations from the mayors and corporations, and, while avoiding political references, spoke hopefully of improving the material condition of the people. At Belfast on 8 Sept. he announced that 'he did not come to Ireland to tread the weary round of coercion and repression.' At Dublin Castle he examined memorials begging him to reverse sentences of long terms of imprisonment passed in his predecessor's time on persons convicted of complicity in agrarian murder. On 17 July 1885 he authorised Sir Michael Hicks-Beach, the leader of the House of Commons, to state, in reply to the Irish members, that he would personally inquire into the convictions in the Maamtrasna murder case, which had excited special attention in Ireland (cf. HANSARD, 3rd ser. ccxcix. 1086 sq.) Except in one instance, Carnarvon did not, after investigation, entertain any notion of granting reprieves; but his courteous demeanour to all parties led to rumours, which were not conducive to good government, that he sympathised with the reckless charges of injustice brought by the nationalists against the recent liberal government. In November the general election brought unsatisfactory results to all parties. The conservatives, together with the Irish members, were practically equal to the liberals, but without the Irish or some liberal support it was impossible for the conservatives to carry on the government, and they

soon showed that they had no intention of making common cause with the Irish nationalists in the new parliament. Carnarvon's policy was not developing those results which he had anticipated. Crime was increasing, and his colleagues offered to strengthen by new legislation the means at his command for its repression. At the same time Mr. Gladstone allowed it to be known that he was ready, when in power, to bring in a Home Rule Bill. Amid these complications, but in accordance with his original intention on taking office, Carnarvon resigned (12 Jan.), and on 25 Jan. finally left Dublin. A few days later the conservatives were driven from office, and Mr. Gladstone in the course of the session brought forward his Home Rule and Land Purchase Bills. Carnarvon declared that these bills were financially unsound, healed none of the old sores, and by the tumult they excited virtually postponed the settlement of the Irish question to a very distant day. But, without entering into any details, he recommended 'some limited form of self-government.'

Carnarvon was not invited to take office in the conservative ministry formed in July 1886, after the defeat of Mr. Gladstone at the general election which followed the rejection of the Home Rule Bill. But he continued to give his party an independent support, and, while still looking forward to an harmonious settlement of the Irish difficulty, acknowledged the need of re-enacting stronger criminal laws. Early in 1887 the 'Times' newspaper charged Mr. Parnell and his chief followers with conniving at the Phœnix Park and other outrages which had taken place in Ireland between 1880 and 1885; the House of Commons rejected a proposal to examine the charges as infringements of parliamentary privilege; and Mr. Parnell declined the offer of the government to bring in his behalf a libel action against the newspaper. Carnarvon thereupon urged, in a letter to the 'Times' (9 May 1887), that a special commission should be appointed by parliament to determine the truth or falsehood of the accusations. This was the earliest suggestion of a measure which the government adopted a year later. In speeches and letters to the papers Carnarvon repeatedly called attention, in his last years, to the need of increasing our coaling stations, and of fortifying our home and colonial ports for the protection of the empire in case of war. He visited South Africa and Australia (August 1887 to February 1888), and thus increased his practical knowledge of the colonial side of the subject. One of his latest speeches, which was delivered before the chamber of commerce in London (11 Dec. 1889), dealt exhaustively with the details of colonial defence. A few days later, in a speech at Newbury, he described himself in general political matters as still an old conservative, who was anxious to make his party as national as possible. Early in 1890 his health, which was never strong, began to fail, and he died at his London house in Portman Square on 28 June 1890. He was buried on 3 July in the chapel which he had himself erected in the grounds of Highclere. The funeral was attended by Lord Salisbury and many of Carnarvon's political associates. A commemorative service was held at the same time in the Chapel Royal, Savoy.

Carnarvon's chivalrous sentiment rendered him the enemy of all obvious injustice, but his reverence for the past made him suspicious of rapid change. On the battle-field of Newbury, near Highclere, he helped to erect, in 1878, a monument to the memory of Falkland and of those who fell with him there in 1643, and he justly described himself in the inscription as 'one to whom the rightful authority of the crown and the liberties of the subject are alike dear.' Apart from his action in Canada, Carnarvon achieved little conspicuous success in the practical field of politics. The difficulties that beset his South African and Irish administrations were beyond his capacity to remove; but the high principle and sensitive honour that guided his conduct were apparent even in his failures. He estimated his own powers with perfect accuracy, and rendered his greatest services as a statesman by forcing on the attention of his countrymen the duties owed by the mother-country to the colonies, and the necessity of preserving friendly relations between all parts of the British empire. That topic was free from the narrowing associations of party warfare, and his wide sympathies and liberal culture enabled him to present it with exceptional effect. His speeches were always clear and often eloquent. Carnarvon's leisure was spent in study. He was interested in archæology, both ancient and modern. In 1859 he published an address on the archæology of Berkshire, delivered to the Berkshire Archæological Association at Newbury. He was admitted a fellow of the Society of Antiquaries on 15 March 1877, and was president from 23 April 1878 to 23 April 1885. He showed scholarship and taste in verse-translations of Æschylus's 'Agamemnon' (1879), and of the first twelve books of Homer's 'Odyssey' (1886). When at the Michaelmas commencement of 1885 the university of Dublin conferred on him the degree of LL.D., Carnarvon achieved the exceptional distinction of returning thanks in a felicitous

Latin speech. He edited in 1869 his father's account of travels in Greece in 1839; in 1875 a posthumous work of his Oxford tutor, Dean Mansel, on 'The Gnostic Heresies of the First and Second Centuries,' with a life of the author; and in 1889 a series of unpublished letters of Lord Chesterfield, which came, together with the Chesterfield estates at Bretby, Nottinghamshire, into the possession of his eldest son on the death, in 1885, of the Countess of Chesterfield, mother of his first wife. Carnarvon was a devout adherent of the church of England, but was exceptionally tolerant to all religious opinions. He was a useful member of the Historical MSS. Commission from 1882, and was a prominent freemason, holding the post of pro-grand-master of England.

A portrait painted by George Richmond, R.A., for Grillion's Club is in the rooms of the club at the Grand Hotel, London.

Carnarvon married, first, on 5 Sept. 1861, in Westminster Abbey, Lady Evelyn, only daughter of George Augustus Frederick Stanhope, sixth earl of Chesterfield (she died 25 Jan. 1875); and secondly, on 26 Dec. 1878, Elizabeth Catharine, eldest daughter of Henry Howard, esq. By his first wife he had a son, who succeeded him as fifth earl, and three daughters. By his second wife, who survived him, he had two sons.

[The Times (obituary), 30 June 1890, is the fullest account that has yet appeared, but it is very meagre. An appreciative sketch is to be found in Mr. G. W. Smalley's London Letters (1890), i. 171 sq. The further details supplied here are drawn from the files of the Times between 1856 and 1890; from the Pall Mall Gazette, 1884 to 1890; from the reports of the parliamentary debates in Hansard under the dates mentioned; and from memoranda supplied by personal friends. For Carnarvon's South African policy see also W. Gresswell's Our South African Empire, and a pamphlet on the South African Conference, 1877. His speeches on introducing the Canada Bill in 1867 and on announcing his resignation in 1878 were printed separately.]

S. L. L.

**HERBERT, HENRY JOHN GEORGE,** third Earl of Carnarvon (1800–1849), born 8 June 1800, was eldest son of Henry George Herbert, the second earl, by Elizabeth Kitty, daughter of Colonel John Dyke Acland of Pixton, Somerset. His grandfather, Henry Herbert (1741–1811), was elder son of William Herbert, the fifth son of Thomas Herbert, eighth earl of Pembroke [q. v.], and was created Lord Porchester of Highclere 17 Oct. 1780, and Earl of Carnarvon 3 July 1793. Henry John George, at first known as Viscount Porchester, was educated at Eton and matriculated from Christ Church, Oxford, on 22 Oct. 1817, but did not proceed to a degree. A love of adventure led him from an early age to spend much time abroad. He travelled in Barbary, and subsequently for many years in Portugal and in Spain, where he was imprisoned by the Christinos in consequence of displaying active sympathy with the Carlists. Although no learned archæologist Porchester was an intelligent observer and an excellent linguist. He was much attracted by Spanish history and literature, and in 1825 published 'The Moor,' a poem in six cantos, and in 1828 'Don Pedro, King of Castile,' a tragedy, which was successfully produced at Drury Lane during his absence abroad, on 10 March 1828, when Macready and Miss Ellen Tree filled the chief parts. On returning home he published the results of his observations in 'The Last Days of the Portuguese Constitution,' 1830, and in 'Portugal and Galicia,' 1830; 3rd edition, 1848. In 1831 he was elected M.P. for Wootton Basset, Wiltshire, and on 4 July of the same year delivered one of the most effective speeches in opposition to the Reform Bill (Hansard, 3rd ser. iv. 711), and another in committee on the discussion regarding the disfranchisement of Wootton Basset (*ib.* v. 378). The former speech was separately published. He succeeded his father as third earl 16 April 1833, and continued his opposition to liberal measures in the House of Lords. In 1839 he made an extensive tour through Greece, at a time when the country was suffering from the effects of war and civil disturbances. In 1869 his son and successor published, with a preface, his interesting notes of the tour, under the title 'Reminiscences of Athens and the Morea in 1839.' His health was never very good, and he died at the house of his brother-in-law, Philip Pusey, M.P., of Pusey, Berkshire, on 9 Dec. 1849. In 1841 he began the restoration of the family seat, Highclere, Berkshire, on a very elaborate scale. He was a popular landlord, although jealous of his rights. In 1844 he established in the law courts his claims to free-warren over the manors of Highclere and Burghclere—i.e. the exclusive right of killing game on those estates. In private life he was singularly kind and unassuming. His portrait was painted by E. Walker.

Carnarvon married, on 4 Aug. 1830, Henrietta Anne, daughter of Lord Henry Molyneux Howard. By her, who died 26 May 1876, he had three sons: Henry Howard Molyneux Herbert, fourth earl [q. v.]; Alan Percy Harty Molyneux Herbert, M.D.; and Auberon Edward William Molyneux, D.C.L.; together with two daughters, of whom the

elder married Isaac Newton Wallop, fifth earl of Portsmouth.

[Annual Register, 1849, p. 249; Gent. Mag. 1850 i. 205; Carnarvon's Reminiscences of Athens and the Morea, edited by his son, 1869; Doyle's Official Baronage.]

**HERBERT, HENRY WILLIAM** (1807–1858), a writer under the name of FRANK FORESTER, elder son of William Herbert, D.C.L. [q. v.], dean of Manchester, was born at No. 10 Poland Street, Oxford Street, London, on 3 April 1807. He was educated under a private tutor till 1819; afterwards at a school near Brighton, kept by the Rev. Dr. Hooker, where he remained one year; and then at Eton from April 1820 till the summer of 1825. In 1825 he matriculated from Caius College, Cambridge, where he obtained two scholarships and several prizes, and graduated B.A. in 1830. Having lost his property through the dishonesty of a trustee, he in November 1831 emigrated to America and was for eight years Greek and Latin preceptor in the Rev. R. Townsend Huddart's classical institute, 5 Beaver Street, New York. Annoyed at the rejection of articles offered by him to the 'Knickerbocker Magazine' and to the 'Parlour Journal,' he, in conjunction with his friend A. D. Patterson, established in 1833 the 'American Monthly Magazine,' in which he wrote largely. For a time this periodical was successful, but on Charles Fenno Hoffman succeeding Patterson as the co-editor, the two men disagreed and Herbert retired. In 1834 he sought admission to the New York bar, but, finding that it would be necessary to become an American citizen, gave up the idea. He soon became a frequent contributor to magazines and newspapers, and it has been calculated that, if collected, his fugitive pieces would probably fill about forty duodecimo volumes. In 1834 his first novel, entitled 'The Brothers, a Tale of the Fronde,' was issued anonymously. The edition was sold in a few weeks; it is, with the exception of the 'Roman Traitor,' the most carefully written of his numerous romances. On 31 Dec. 1839 he married Sarah, daughter of John Barker, mayor of Bangor, Maine; she died in March 1844, leaving a son, William George Herbert. After his marriage Herbert devoted himself solely to authorship and field-sports. Under the pseudonym of 'Frank Forester' he began in 1834 in the 'American Turf Register' a series of articles entitled 'The Warwick Woodlands,' which were afterwards collected into a volume. He followed up this success with 'My Shooting Box' for 'Graham's Magazine,' Philadelphia; 'American Game in its Season,' with illustrations by himself; 'The Deerstalker;' 'Field Sports' (one of the best of the series); and 'Fish and Fishing in the United States and the British Provinces.' In 1846 he produced 'The Roman Traitor, or the Days of Cicero, Cato, and Catiline,' which, attaining a limited circulation in the United States, was very well received in England. His first historical work, issued in 1851, the 'Captains of the Old World,' was not successful. His most profitable literary work was the translation of French romances. Of the novels of Eugène Sue he brought out 'Matilda,' 'The Wandering Jew,' 'The Mysteries of Paris,' 'John Cavalier,' 'Atar-Gull,' and 'The Salamander,' besides translating several of Dumas's shorter romances. Though making three thousand dollars a year, he was improvident and in debt. He quarrelled with and estranged many friends. During the last twelve years of his life his home was on the banks of the Passaic, where he owned a cottage and a small piece of land. This spot he called The Cedars, and here he lived most of his time alone, surrounded by his dogs. In February 1858 he married a second wife, Adela de Bulling of Providence, Rhode Island, the divorced wife of an actor. In three months' time she applied for a divorce. On 16 May 1858 Herbert, quite heartbroken, invited his friends to a dinner at Stevens House, an hotel in the Broadway, New York. Only one person came. After dining, Herbert shot himself through the head very early in the morning of 17 May. He was buried in Mount Pleasant cemetery, where a stone, bearing the word 'Infelicissimus,' marks the spot.

The following list is believed to contain the titles of all of Herbert's most important publications: 1. 'The Magnolia,' an illustrated annual (edited by H. W. Herbert), New York, 1835, 1836. 2. 'Cromwell, an Historical Novel,' 1837, 2 vols.; other editions 1840, Aberdeen, 1848. 3. 'Marmaduke Wyvil, or the Maid's Revenge,' London, 1843, 3 vols. 4. 'The Brothers, a Tale of the Fronde,' London, 1844. 5. 'Guarica, the Charib Bride,' London, 1844. 6. 'The Roman Traitor,' London, 1846, 3 vols. 7. 'The Miller of Martignè,' New York, 1847. 8. 'The Prometheus and Agamemnon of Æschylus, translated,' 1849. 9. 'The Captains of the Old World,' New York, 1851, 12mo. 10. 'The Cavaliers of England,' 1852. 11. 'The Quorndon Hounds,' Philadelphia, 1852. 12. 'The Knights of England, France, and Scotland,' New York, 1852, 12mo. 13. 'The Chevaliers of France,' New York, 1853. 14. 'American Game in its Season,' New York, 1853, 12mo. 15. 'The Puritans of New England,' 1853; reissued as 'The Puritan's Daughter.' 16. 'The Captains of the

Roman Republic,' New York, 1854. 17. 'Persons and Pictures from French and English History,' 1854. 18. 'History of the French Protestant Refugees,' by C. Weiss (a translation), 1854. 19. 'Sherwood Forest,' 1855. 20. 'Memoirs of Henry VIII of England and his Six Wives,' New York, 1858, 12mo. 21. 'Fugitive Sporting Sketches' (edited by William Wildwood), 1879. 22. 'Poems' (edited by Morgan Herbert), 1887. 23. 'The Royal Maries of Mediæval History' (left in manuscript). The works published under the name of Frank Forester were: 24. 'My Shooting Box,' Philadelphia, 1846, 12mo; another edition 1851. 25. 'Field Sports of the United States and the British Provinces of America,' London, 1848, 2 vols.; 4th edition, New York, 1852. 26. 'The Warwick Woodlands,' 1849; new edition 1851. 27. 'Frank Forester and his Friends,' London, 1849, 3 vols. 28. 'Fish and Fishing in the United States and British Provinces of North America,' London, 1849–1850, 2 vols. 29. 'The Deerstalker,' 1850. 30. 'Complete Manual for Young Sportsmen,' 1852. 31. 'The Old Forest Ranger' (edited by F. Forester), 1853. 32. 'Young Sportsman's Complete Manual of Fowling, Fishing, and Field Sports in general,' 1852. 33. 'Sporting Scenes and Characters,' Philadelphia, 1857, 2 vols. 34. 'Horse and Horsemanship of the United States and British Provinces,' New York, 1857, 2 vols.; abridged as 'Hints to Horse-keepers,' 1859. 35. 'The Dog,' by Dinks, Mayhew, and Hutchinson (edited by F. Forester), 1857.

[Judd's Life and Writings of F. Forester, 1882, 2 vols., with portrait; Picton's Frank Forester's Life and Writings, 1881; International Mag. New York, 1 June 1851, pp. 289–291, with portrait; Appleton's Cyclopædia of American Biography, 1877, iii. 179–80, with portrait; Allibone, i. 830; New York Herald, May 1858; Duyckinck's Cyclop. of American Lit. 1877, pp. 289–90, with portrait.] G. C. B.

**HERBERT, JOHN ROGERS** (1810–1890), portrait and historical painter, was born on 23 Jan. 1810 at Maldon in Essex, where his father was a controller of customs. He came to London in 1826, and was admitted a student of the Royal Academy, where in 1830 appeared his first exhibited picture, a 'Portrait of a Country Boy.' He continued for some years to paint portraits for a livelihood, but varied his work by designing book illustrations and painting romantic and ideal subjects, which were often suggested by the poetry of Byron. The first of these to attract attention was 'The Appointed Hour,' a picture representing a Venetian lover lying assassinated at the foot of a staircase which his mistress is hastening to descend. It was exhibited at the British Institution in 1834, and engraved by John C. Bromley, and again by Charles Rolls for the 'Keepsake' of 1836. This success induced Herbert to visit Italy, in order to gather materials for fresh subjects. In 1836 he sent to the Royal Academy 'Captives detained for Ransom by Condottieri;' in 1837, 'Desdemona interceding for Cassio;' and in 1838, to the British Institution, 'Haidee,' 'The Elopement of Bianca Capello,' and 'The Signal,' engraved, together with 'The Lady Ida,' by Lumb Stocks for the 'Keepsake' of 1841. 'The Brides of Venice' appeared at the Royal Academy in 1839, and this was followed in 1840 by 'Boar-hunters refreshed at St. Augustine's Monastery, Canterbury.' About the same time he became a convert to the church of Rome, chiefly through the influence of Augustus Welby Pugin [q. v.], whose portrait he afterwards painted. He exhibited at the Academy in 1841 'Pirates of Istria bearing off the Brides of Venice from the Cathedral of Olivolo,' engraved with other subjects in Roscoe's 'Legends of Venice' (London, 1841, 4to), but henceforward his works were more frequently of a religious character, and often imbued with the reverent spirit of mediæval art.

Herbert was elected an associate of the Royal Academy in 1841, and on the formation of the government school of design at Somerset House in the same year he was appointed one of the masters. In 1842 his contributions to the Academy were 'The First Introduction of Christianity into Britain' and a portrait of Cardinal Wiseman; in 1843, 'Christ and the Woman of Samaria,' engraved by Samuel Bellin; and in 1844, 'Sir Thomas More and his Daughter observing from the Prison Window the Monks going to Execution,' engraved by John Outrim, and 'The Acquittal of the Seven Bishops,' engraved by S. W. Reynolds, but painted some years earlier. In 1846 Herbert became a royal academician, and presented as his diploma work 'St. Gregory the Great teaching the Roman Boys to sing the Chant which has received his Name,' exhibited the year before. In 1847 he sent to the Academy 'Our Saviour subject to his Parents at Nazareth,' and in 1848 'St. John the Baptist reproving Herod.' About this time he painted also the 'Assertion of Liberty of Conscience by the Independents in the Westminster Assembly of Divines, 1644,' engraved by S. Bellin. For the decoration of the houses of parliament Herbert was commissioned to paint in fresco in the poets' hall 'King Lear disinheriting Cordelia,' a

replica of which in oil was exhibited at the Academy in 1849, and again at the Royal Jubilee exhibition at Manchester in 1887. To him was also assigned the decoration of the peers' robing room, for which he painted a series of nine subjects illustrative of 'Human Justice.' They represent 'Man's Fall' and 'Man's Condemnation to Labour,' 'The Judgment of Solomon,' 'The Visit of the Queen of Sheba,' 'The Building of the Temple,' 'The Judgment of Daniel,' 'Daniel in the Lions' Den,' 'The Vision of Daniel,' and 'Moses bringing the Tables of the Law.' The 'Moses' was executed in the waterglass process, and was in progress fourteen years. It is a work of great merit, and marks the culminating point of the artist's career. The principal works which he exhibited at the Royal Academy in later years were a portrait of Horace Vernet in 1855; 'The Virgin Mary,' painted for Queen Victoria, in 1860; 'Laborare est Orare,' in 1862; 'Judith,' in 1863; 'The Sower of Good Seed,' in 1865; 'St. Edmund, King of East Anglia, on the Morning of his last Battle with the Danes,' in 1867; 'The Valley of Moses in the Desert of Sinai,' in 1868; 'The Bay of Salamis,' in 1869; 'All that's Bright must Fade,' in 1871; 'St. Mary Magdalene at the Foot of the Cross,' in 1873; and 'The Adoration of the Magi,' in 1874. His subsequent works gradually grew so weak as to give rise to frequent protests against the positions assigned to them on the walls of the Royal Academy. Herbert retired from the rank of academician in 1886, but continued to exhibit till 1889. He died at The Chimes, Kilburn, London, on 17 March 1890, and his remains were deposited in the catacombs of St. Mary's catholic cemetery at Kensal Green.

Herbert's picture of 'Sir Thomas More and his Daughter' is in the Vernon collection in the National Gallery.

Of Herbert's sons, Arthur John (1834–1856) exhibited in 1855 at the Academy 'Don Quixote's first impulse to lead the life of a knight-errant,' and in 1856 'Philip IV of Spain knighting Velasquez.' He died of fever in Auvergne 18 Sept. 1856. Cyril Wiseman, another son, is separately noticed.

[Times, 20 March 1890; Athenæum, 1890, i. 377; Redgrave's Dict. of Artists of the English School, p. 209; Sandby's Hist. of the Royal Academy of Arts, 1862, ii. 179–81; Royal Academy Exhibition Catalogues, 1830–89; British Institution Exhibition Catalogues (Living Artists), 1832–43.] R. E. G.

**HERBERT LOSINGA** (*d.* 1119), bishop of Thetford and Norwich. [See Losinga.]

**HERBERT, Lady LUCY** (1669–1744), devotional writer, born in 1669, was fourth daughter of William Herbert, first marquis and titular duke of Powis [q. v.], by his wife Elizabeth, younger daughter of Edward Somerset, second marquis of Worcester. She was professed in the convent of the English Augustinian canonesses at Bruges in 1693, was elected its prioress in 1709, and died on 19 Jan. 1743–4.

She compiled: 1. 'Several excellent Methods of hearing Mass,' Bruges, 1722, 8vo; 1742, 12mo; [London], 1791, 12mo. 2. 'Several Methods and Practices of Devotions appertaining to a Religious Life,' Bruges, 1743, 12mo; [London], 1791, 12mo. These two works, together with her 'Meditations,' are reprinted in 'The Devotions of the Lady Lucy Herbert of Powis,' edited by the Rev. John Morris, S.J., London, 1873, 12mo.

[Preface to the Devotions; Dodd's Church Hist. iii. 447; Husenbeth's Colleges and Convents on the Continent, p. 55; Kirk's Biog. Collections, No. 43, cited in Gillow's Bibl. Dict.] T. C.

**HERBERT, MARY, Countess of Pembroke** (1555?–1621), born probably at Penshurst, Kent, about 1555, was third daughter of Sir Henry Sidney, by Mary, eldest daughter of John Dudley, duke of Northumberland. Sir Philip Sidney was her eldest brother, and of her three sisters none reached womanhood. Mary spent her childhood chiefly at Ludlow Castle, where her father resided as president of Wales, and was carefully educated, acquiring a knowledge of Latin, Greek, and Hebrew. Her brother Philip was her constant companion in childhood. When her last surviving sister, Ambrosia, died at Ludlow Castle in 1575, Queen Elizabeth kindly suggested to her father that Mary, 'being of good hope,' should be removed from the unhealthy climate of Wales, and reside in the royal household. Her uncle, Robert Dudley, earl of Leicester, had probably commended her to the queen's notice, and her beauty and grace of manner soon established her position at court. With her mother and brother Philip she seems to have accompanied Elizabeth on a progress through Staffordshire and Worcestershire in the autumn of 1575. In the spring of 1577 Leicester arranged a marriage between her and Henry Herbert, second earl of Pembroke [q. v.] The earl had been twice married already. Her father highly approved the match, although his poverty forced him to ask Leicester to advance a part of her dowry (4 Feb. 1576–7). In June 1577, when the new Lady Pembroke was installed in her husband's beautiful house at Wilton, Wiltshire, Leicester paid her a visit, and in

August she entertained there, for the first of many times, her brother Philip. On New-year's day 1578 she came to court to present a richly embroidered doublet of lawn to the queen. On 8 April 1580 her first child, William [q. v.], was born at Wilton.

From March to August 1580 Philip Sidney, who was in disfavour at court, stayed at Wilton in close attendance on his sister. The most perfect accord characterised their relations with one another, and they spent much time together in literary studies. A library, since dispersed, was first formed at Wilton in her time, and included much Italian literature (AUBREY, *Natural Hist.* p. 86). In the summer of 1580 they seem to have retired to a small house at Ivy Church, near Wilton, in which (according to Aubrey), the countess 'much delighted,' and it was probably there that Sidney, at his sister's desire and suggestion, began his 'Arcadia.' When dedicating to her, a year or two later, the completed manuscript—which he entitled 'The Countess of Pembroke's Arcadia'—he wrote that 'it is done for you, only to you . . . being done on loose sheets of paper, most of it in your presence, the rest by sheets sent unto you as fast as they were done.' At the same time brother and sister laboured at a metrical translation of the Psalms. On 5 May 1586 the countess lost her father, and on 11 Aug. following her mother. But more poignant grief was caused her in the same year by the death of Sir Philip Sidney at Antwerp on 17 Oct. When she recovered from the blow, she applied herself to the literary tasks which he had left unfinished or had contemplated; took under her protection the many men of letters to whom he had acted as patron, and gave pathetic expression to her personal sorrow in a poem published by Spenser with his 'Astrophel' (1595), and awkwardly named by him 'The Dolefull Lay of Clorinda.'

The 'Arcadia,' which had for some years been circulated in manuscript, was first printed in 1590, 4to, by William Ponsonby without consultation with the author's friends. The edition dissatisfied the countess, and she undertook its revision. She divided the work into five instead of three books, supplied new passages from manuscript copies in her possession, and rewrote some portions. When the corrected edition was issued in 1593 (fol.), the reader was informed in a prefatory address that the countess's 'honorable labour,' which had begun 'in correcting the faults,' had 'ended in supplying the defects' of the original work. In 1598 another edition appeared, under her auspices, with further changes from her pen, together with an appendix of her brother's poems, which she had carefully corrected in the desire of superseding two unauthorised editions which had been issued in 1591. In pursuit of her brother's design, and in accord with her own fervent piety, she completed at Wilton, in May 1590, 'A Discourse of Life and Death,' from the French of her brother's friend Plessis du Mornay (London, 1593 and 1600), and in November 1590, while at her husband's house at Ramsbury, rendered into blank verse Robert Garnier's French tragedy of 'Antonie,' adding some choral lyrics of her own. It was first published in 1592. The metrical version of the Psalms, which she and her brother had begun, she finished, but did not publish, much to the regret of Sir John Harington and other of her admirers. Her chaplain, Gervase Babington, is said to have assisted her in the undertaking. Many manuscript copies were circulated, and a copy in the Bodleian Library shows that Sidney was responsible for the first forty-three psalms, and the countess for the remainder. Another manuscript copy is among the Additional MSS. at the British Museum (Nos. 12047–8). One psalm (cxxxvii.) was printed by Steele in the 'Guardian,' No. 18. Extracts appeared in Harington's 'Nugæ Antiquæ,' and in the volume of 'Sidneiana' issued by the Roxburghe Club; but the whole was first printed by Robert Triphook in 1823. Lady Pembroke's verse has few poetic qualities, but shows culture and literary feeling. According to Aubrey her 'genius lay as much towards chymistrie as poetrie' (*Nat. Hist. of Wilts*, ed. Britton, p. 89).

The countess appears to higher advantage as the generous patron of poets and men of letters, who acknowledged her kind services in glowing eulogies. Meres, in his 'Palladis Tamia' (1598), compares her to Octavia, Augustus's sister and Virgil's patroness, and describes her as not only being 'very liberal unto poets,' but as 'a most delicate poet,' worthy of the complimentary lines which Antipater Sidonius addressed to Sappho. Her earliest *protégés* were her brother's friends. Spenser dedicated to her his 'Ruines of Time,' written about 1590, in memory of Sidney (cf. also ll. 316–22). He describes her in 'Colin Clout 's Come Home Again' (1595), ll. 481–99, under the name of 'Urania, sister unto Astrofell,' as 'the well of bountie and brave mynd,' and 'the ornament of womankind;' while in 'Astrophel' he writes that she closely resembled her brother, 'both in shape and spright,' and in a dedicatory sonnet prefixed to the 'Faerie Queene,' that 'his goodly image' lives 'in the divine resemblance of your face.' Abra-

ham Fraunce [q. v.], another literary *protégé* of Sir Philip Sidney, owed very much to her and her husband. In her honour Fraunce prepared and published 'The Countess of Pembroke's Ivychurch' (1591; 3rd part 1592) and 'The Countess of Pembroke's Emanuel' (1591). About 1590 the countess invited the poet, Samuel Daniel [q. v.], to take up his residence at Wilton, as tutor to her elder son William. She encouraged Daniel in his literary work, and he describes Wilton as 'his first school.' To her he dedicated 'Delia,' his earliest volume of poems (1592), and his tragedy of 'Cleopatra' (1593). The latter he wrote as a companion to the countess's 'Antonie.' Daniel never lost his respect for his patroness, and after they had long separated he rehearsed his obligations to her when dedicating to her the edition of his 'Civill Warres,' issued in 1609. To Nicholas Breton [q. v.] the countess was also a very faithful friend. For her he wrote in 1590 'The Pilgrimage to Paradise,' 'coyned with the Countess of Pembroke's Loue.' 'The Countess of Pembroke's Passion,' a poem on Christ's Passion, which was recently first printed from the British Museum MS. Sloane 1300, has been often attributed to the countess herself. But it is obvious that it was written by Breton. Breton's 'Auspicante Jehovah,' in prose (1597), and his 'Diuine Poem' (1601) are also dedicated to her in affectionate terms. Thomas Moffatt or Muffet, medical attendant on the earl and author of a poem on the silkworm and other works, was another of her dependents until his death at Wilton in 1605. Many other literary men paid her homage. Shakespeare, who is believed to have addressed his sonnets to her elder son, William [q. v.], doubtless refers to her in the lines (sonnet iii.):

> Thou art thy mother's glass and she in thee
> Calls back the lovely April of her prime.

Thomas Nashe, in his preface to the 1591 edition of Sidney's 'Astrophel,' wrote that 'artes do adore [her] as a second Minerva, and our poets extol [her] as the patroness of their invention.' Gabriel Harvey described her translation of Plessis du Mornay as 'a restorative electuary of gems' (1593). John Davies of Hereford writes of his indebtedness to her in his 'Wittes Pilgrimage' (1611), his 'Scourge of Folly,' and his 'Muses' Sacrifice.' Donne, in his 'Poems' (1635), commended her own and her brother's translations of the Psalms, which Sir John Harington had declared should 'outlast Wilton walls' (*Nugæ Antiquæ*, ii. 6). Ben Jonson's epigram in his 'Underwoods,' addressed to 'the Honoured Countess of * *,' is almost certainly a panegyric upon her. John Taylor included after her death a sonnet in his 'Praise of the Needle,' commending her needlework, elaborate examples of which, he writes, adorned the tapestries at Wilton House (BRYDGES, *Censura Literaria*, ii. 370).

The countess's literary interests did not obscure her strong family affections. In 1597 her eldest surviving brother, Robert, was seeking in vain his recall from the Low Countries, and she herself wrote in his behalf to Lord Burghley. In 1599, when her elder son was suffering from headache, she entreated her brother Robert, then in Germany, to send home some of his 'excellent tobacco,' which alone gave the boy relief. In 1595 the countess was at court, to present a New-year's gift to the queen, and late in 1599 Elizabeth honoured her with a visit at Wilton. No account of the royal visit is extant; but there appears in Davison's poetical 'Rhapsody' (1601) a pastoral dialogue in praise of Astrea made by the countess 'at the Queen's Majesty being at her house.' In 1601 the earl died. He left her the use of plate, jewels, and household stuff to the value of three thousand marks, the lease of the manor of Ivy Church, and the manor and park of Devizes for life. Rumours of disagreement were current in the later years of their married life, and Chamberlain reports that the earl left her 'as bare as he could, and bestowing all on the young lord, even to her jewels' (CHAMBERLAIN, *Letters*, temp. Eliz. p. 100).

Soon after James I's accession she went to Windsor to kiss the hand of James I and Queen Anne of Denmark, and in August 1603 she seems to have been at Wilton, when her son entertained the king and queen there. Between 1609 and 1615 she lived chiefly at Crosby Hall in Bishopsgate Street, which she rented of the Earl of Northampton. In 1615 James granted her for life a royal manor in Bedfordshire, Houghton Conquest, or Dame Ellensbury Park, called also Ampthill Park. There she erected a magnificent mansion, known as Houghton House, and there James I visited her in July 1621. In 1616 she went to Spa to drink the waters, but complained that the treatment rather injured her health than benefited it. Late in life she was much distressed by the disreputable adventures of her second son, Philip, and, according to Osborne, 'tore her hair' when she heard that he had been whipped at Croydon races by a Scotchman. She died at Crosby Hall on 25 Sept. 1621, and was buried beside her husband in Salisbury

Cathedral. No monument was raised to her memory, but her fame is permanently assured by the fine epitaph—

> Underneath this marble hearse
> Lies the subject of all verse;
> Sidney's sister, Pembroke's mother.
> Death! ere thou hast slain another
> Wise and fair and good as she,
> Time shall throw a dart at thee.

This epitaph, with six additional lines of grotesquely inferior value, was first published with the poems of the countess's son William and Sir Benjamin Rudyerd in 1660. Aubrey about the same time assigned the whole to William Browne (*Nat. Hist. of Wilts*, ed. Britton, 1842, p. 90), and they are to be found in the manuscript volume of William Browne's poems in the British Museum (Lansd. MS. 777). But although these facts supply strong *prima facie* evidence in favour of Browne's authorship, internal evidence suggests that the author of the first six was not author of the last six, and that while Browne may well have been responsible for the latter, Whalley's theory, that Ben Jonson was responsible for the former, deserves acceptance. The first six lines appear in all editions of Jonson's works since Whalley's time (1756).

The finest portrait of the countess is that by Gheerardts at Penshurst. It is well reproduced in Lodge's 'Portraits,' and in Jusserand's 'English Novel in the Time of Shakespeare' (English transl.) (1890). A miniature belongs to Earl Beauchamp. An engraving by Simon Pass, dated 1618, represents her with the Psalms in her hand.

[Authorities cited in the text; Gent. Mag. 1845, pt. ii. pp. 129, 254, 364 (three good articles by E. T. R.); Ballard's memoirs of Eminent Ladies, pp. 260–3; Lodge's Portraits, iii. 139–46; Breton's Works, ed. Grosart; Spenser's Works; Sydney Papers; Collier's Bibliographical Cat.; Jusserand's English Novel, translated by E. Lee, 1890; Shakespeare's Sonnets, ed. T. Tyler, 1890, pp. 48–9; Fox Bourne's Life of Sir Philip Sidney.] S. L. L.

**HERBERT**, Sir PERCY EGERTON (1822–1876), lieutenant-general, born on 15 April 1822, was second son of Edward Herbert, second earl Powis [q. v.], who took the name and arms of Herbert only, in lieu of Clive, in 1807, by his wife Lady Lucy Graham, third daughter of the third Duke of Montrose [see Graham, James, third Duke of Montrose]. He was educated at Eton and the Royal Military College, Sandhurst, and in January 1840 was appointed ensign 43rd light infantry, in which he became lieutenant in September 1841, captain in June 1846, and major in May 1853. He saw much hard service with his regiment in the Kaffir war of 1851–3 (medal), and was present with it in the expedition to the Orange River sovereignty and at the battle of the Borea. He received a brevet lieutenant-colonelcy for his services in South Africa, and on 28 May 1853 purchased a lieutenant-colonelcy unattached. In 1854 he was appointed assistant quartermaster-general of the second, or Sir De Lacy Evans's, division of the army of the East, with which he landed in the Crimea, and was dangerously wounded at the Alma. He was present with his division at Inkermann and at the siege and fall of Sebastopol (wounded), and was one of the most active and indefatigable staff-officers in the whole army (see Kinglake, vi. 66 et seq.; cf. *Sessional Papers*, 1855, vol. ix. pt. i. p. 43). After the return home of Sir Richard (afterwards Lord) Airey [q. v.] Herbert was quartermaster-general of the army up to the evacuation of the Crimea. For his Crimean services he was made aide-de-camp to the queen and C.B.; received the brevet rank of colonel, the Crimean medal and three clasps; was appointed an officer of the Legion of Honour, commander of the 2nd class of St. Maurice and St. Lazare in Sardinia; and received the 3rd class of the Medjidie and Turkish medal. On 19 Feb. 1858 Herbert was appointed lieutenant-colonel 82nd foot from half-pay unattached. He joined that regiment at Cawnpore on 21 April 1858; commanded the left wing in the campaign under the commander-in-chief in Rohilcund, including the capture of Bareilly and Shahjehanpore; and commanded the Cawnpore and Futtehpore districts until the spring of 1859. In December 1858 he was sent in pursuit of Ferozeshah and a body of rebels on the banks of the Jumna (medal). He was deputy quartermaster-general at the Horse Guards in 1860–5, and assistant quartermaster-general at Aldershot 1865–7; was appointed treasurer of the queen's household and was sworn of the privy council in March 1867. He held the treasurership until December 1868. He became major-general in 1868, K.C.B. in 1869, honorary colonel of both battalions of Shropshire rifle volunteers in 1870, lieutenant-general in September 1875, and colonel 74th highlanders in April 1876. He sat in parliament, in the conservative interest, for Ludlow from 1854 to 1860, and for South Shropshire from 1865 to his death. He died at the Styche, Market Drayton, Shropshire, on 7 Oct. 1876, aged 54.

Herbert married, on 4 Oct. 1860, Lady Mary Petty Fitzmaurice, only child of Thomas, earl of Kerry, and granddaughter of the third Marquis of Lansdowne [see Petty-Fitzmaurice, Henry, third Mar-

QUIS OF LANSDOWNE], by whom he had two sons and two daughters.

[Burke's Peerage under 'Powis;' Army Lists and London Gazettes under dates; Levinge's Hist. Rec. 43rd Light Infantry (1868); Kinglake's Invasion of the Crimea, 6th edit. (1877–88), vols. iii. v. and particularly vi. passim; Jarvis's Hist. Rec. 82nd Foot (1866); Kaye and Malleson's Hist. of the Indian Mutiny (1888–9, cabinet ed.), v. 251. In the index Herbert is confused with Colonel Charles Herbert, 75th regiment; Ann. Reg. 1876.] H. M. C.

HERBERT, PHILIP, EARL OF MONTGOMERY and fourth EARL OF PEMBROKE (1584–1650), born 10 Oct. 1584, was younger son of Henry Herbert, second earl of Pembroke [q. v.], by his third wife, Mary Herbert [q. v.] He seems to have been named Philip after his mother's brother, Sir Philip Sidney. With his elder brother William, third earl of Pembroke [q. v.], he matriculated at New College, Oxford, on 9 March 1592–3, when nine years old (*Oxf. Univ. Reg.*, Oxf. Hist. Soc., II. ii. 195). He only stayed at the university three or four months. In April 1597 'little Mr. Philip Harbert' was reported to be a suitor for the hand of Mary Herbert, heiress of Sir William Herbert of St. Julians, who ultimately married another kinsman, Edward, the well-known lord Herbert of Cherbury [q. v.] (*Sydney Papers*, ii. 43). On his first visit to court in April 1600 his forwardness caused general amazement (*ib.* p. 190). In the following year his father offered the queen 5,000*l.* if she would allow a royal ward, daughter of Sir Arthur Gorges, to marry him, but the offer was declined. After 'long love and many changes,' he was, in October 1604, 'privately contracted to my Lady Susan [Vere, third daughter of Edward, seventeenth earl of Oxford], without the knowledge of any of his or her friends' (LODGE, *Illustrations*, iii. 238). On 27 Dec. the marriage took place at Whitehall with elaborate ceremony, in which the king took a prominent part (WINWOOD, *Mem.* ii. 43). James gave the bride land worth 500*l.*, and the bridegroom land to the value of 1,000*l.* a year.

Philip is said to have been a handsome young man, and in the early years of James's reign was acknowledged to be the chief of the royal favourites. 'The comeliness of his person' and his passion for hunting and field-sports, writes Clarendon, rendered him 'the first who drew the king's eyes towards him with affection.' 'He pretended to no other qualifications than to understand dogs and horses very well.' In May 1603 he became a gentleman of the privy chamber, on 23 July was appointed a knight of the Bath, and from 1605 to the end of the reign was a gentleman of the bedchamber. He was member for Glamorganshire in the parliament of 1604, and on 4 May 1605 was created Baron Herbert of Shurland in the Isle of Sheppey, Kent, and Earl of Montgomery. On 9 Feb. 1606–7 James I bestowed on his favourite the castle of Montgomery, which he took from its rightful owner, Edward Herbert, lord Herbert of Cherbury, but in July 1613 the new earl restored it to his kinsman on payment of 500*l.* From 1608 onwards he received lavish grants of land from James. Montgomery accompanied the king to Oxford in August 1605, and was created M.A. In 1606 it was rumoured that he was deep in debt, and that the king was compounding with his creditors (*Cal. State Papers*, Dom. 1603–10, pp. 334, 348). In court-tournaments and in masques he was always a prominent figure (cf. *ib.* 1611–18, pp. 428, 512). The distinction which he gained when accompanying the king in the hunting-field or in the pursuit of other outdoor sports gave new currency to the old lines:

> The Herberts every Cockepitt day
> Doe carry away
> The gold and glory of the day

(LODGE, iii. 291). But Montgomery was very choleric and foul-mouthed. In 1607, according to Osborne's scandalous memoirs, a Scottish courtier, John Ramsay, afterwards Viscount Haddington and Earl of Holderness, switched 'him on the face' at Croydon races, and 'Herbert not offering to strike again, there was nothing spilt but the reputation of a gentleman.' In 1610 he had a quarrel with the Earl of Southampton at a game of tennis, but the king compounded the quarrel (WINWOOD, iii. 154). In 1617 he accompanied James I to Scotland, and had a violent dispute on the journey with Lord Howard de Walden (*ib.*; *Cal. State Papers*, Dom. 1611–1618, p. 443). The king's favour, however, was never alienated by his surly temper. He was made a knight of the Garter on 23 April 1608, and high steward of Oxford University 10 June 1615. In the latter year he also received a share in the glass monopoly; on 4 Dec. 1617 became keeper of Westminster Palace, Spring Gardens, and St. James's Park; on 17 March 1623–4 lord-lieutenant of Kent, and in December 1624 a privy councillor. In his last illness James I recommended Montgomery to the favourable notice of his successor, Charles, and in the first month of the new reign he was despatched to Paris as one of the embassy to conduct the Princess Henrietta Maria to England. This was the only occasion on which he left England. Montgomery bore the spurs at Charles's coronation, 2 Feb. 1625–6,

and on 3 Aug. 1626 succeeded his brother as lord chamberlain of the household.

Like his brother, Montgomery interested himself in New England and other colonial settlements. He was a member of council for the Virginia Company in 1612, and was one of the incorporators of the North-West Passage Company (26 July 1612), and of Guiana, South America, 19 May 1626. He became a member of the East India Company in 1614 (ALEXANDER BROWN, *Genesis of the United States*, 1890, ii. 920). On 2 Feb. 1627–8 he received a grant of certain islands between 8 and 13 degrees of north latitude, called Trinidado, Tobago, Barbadoes, and Fonseca, with all the islets within ten leagues of their shores, on condition that a rent of a wedge of gold weighing a pound should be paid to the king or his heirs when he or they 'came into those parts' (*Cal. State Papers*, Dom. 1627–8, p. 573). Montgomery's rights were soon disputed by James Hay, earl of Carlisle, who sent out ships to take possession of Barbadoes in 1629. In 1628 he was with Buckingham at Portsmouth, when the duke was assassinated by Felton, and protected Felton from the violence of the duke's retainers immediately after the murder. Two years later he became fourth earl of Pembroke, on the death (10 April 1630) of his brother William, the third earl [q. v.], and succeeded him as lord warden of the Stannaries (12 Aug. 1630). According to Clarendon, he extended the jurisdiction of that office 'with great fury and passion,' to the oppression of the people of Cornwall and Devonshire. The third earl had also been chancellor of Oxford University, and Philip desired to succeed to the dignity. His religious views, which do not seem to have much affected his conduct, inclined to Calvinism, and his candidature was opposed by Laud, who was elected by a narrow majority. He accompanied Charles to Oxford in August 1636, when Laud entertained the royal party, and until the civil war Pembroke entertained the king every summer at Wilton, where he was engaged in elaborate building operations, which greatly interested Charles. But Pembroke's rough manners continued to make him numerous enemies at court. In February 1634 he broke his staff over the back of Thomas May (*Strafford Letters*, i. 207). The queen disliked him, and he was generally credited with strong popular sympathies. When with the expedition against the Scots in 1639, he strongly recommended peace, and in 1640 was one of the commissioners appointed to negotiate a pacification with the Scots at Ripon. In October he, with two fellow-commissioners, Holland and Salisbury, laid before Charles at York the terms offered by the Scots and recommended their acceptance. The king directed Pembroke to return to London and raise 200,000*l.* to meet the expenses of the northern expedition.

Pembroke's alienation from the court was thenceforth rapid. At the elections to the Long parliament (November 1640) he used his influence to secure the return of many popular burgesses, and in 1641 he voted against Strafford. In the summer of 1641 he quarrelled violently with Lord Maltravers, son of the Earl of Arundel, while both were attending a committee of the House of Lords (cf. report of quarrel in *Hist. MSS. Comm.* 10th Rep. pt. vi. p. 143). The House of Lords committed the disputants to the Tower. The king resented Pembroke's attitude towards Strafford; the queen recommended his dismissal from the office of lord chamberlain, and in July 1641 advantage was taken of his recent outburst of temper to remove him from the post (23 July 1641). He was succeeded by the Earl of Essex. Pembroke thenceforth identified himself with the parliamentary opposition. Clarendon, who states that he had 'a great kindness' for the earl on account of civilities shown him in early life, attributes his action to cowardly fear that the royalists were a losing party and to the persuasions of his friend Lord Say. But he was chiefly influenced by personal pique, and the flattery of his new allies doubtless carried him further in opposition to the king than he at first intended (CLARENDON, *Hist.* iii. 214, vi. 399–401). Before the end of the year the commons petitioned the king to appoint him lord steward, but the request was refused (December 1641).

On 9 March 1641–2 Pembroke and Holland were sent to the king at Royston to lay before him the parliament's 'declarations of his misgovernments and actions.' In July 1642 Hyde endeavoured to win him over to the king's cause, and Pembroke availed himself of the opportunity to send assurances of his loyalty to Charles (*Clarendon State Papers*, ii. 144–9). In the same month Pembroke was nominated a member of the committee of safety. On 8 Aug. 1642 a parliamentary ordinance appointed him governor of the Isle of Wight in the place of the Earl of Portland, the king's governor. 'Pembroke,' says Clarendon, 'kindly accepted the post as a testimony of their favour, and so got into actual rebellion, which he never intended to do' (cf. his speech to citizens of London after Edgehill in *Old Parl. Hist.* xi. 481, 488). On 11 Nov. 1642 he and Northumberland, with three members of parliament, were deputed to present a petition to the king at Colnbrook, Buckinghamshire, entreating him to join

parliament in staying the horrors of a civil war. In January 1643 he was one of the commissioners sent by parliament to the king at Oxford with propositions for peace, and on 2 Nov. was appointed by parliament a commissioner for the plantations. In January 1644–5 he was present at the Uxbridge conferences. At Uxbridge he talked freely with Hyde, one of the king's commissioners, and, while urging Hyde to induce the king to yield to the parliamentary demands, characterised his own colleagues as 'a pack of knaves and villains.' Hyde asserts that Pembroke's adherence to the parliament and his regular attendance at Westminster through 1644 and 1645 were now mainly inspired by a fear of losing Wilton, and that his influence with his party was steadily declining. In April 1644 he accompanied a parliamentary deputation to the city of London, and addressed the common council on the resolve of parliament to bring the war to a speedy issue (cf. speech *ib.* xiii. 161). In July the parliament nominated him lord-lieutenant of Somerset, and in 1645 a commissioner of the admiralty. In December 1645, when peace propositions were again under discussion, it was proposed that Pembroke should be made a duke. On 7 July 1646 he was reappointed a commissioner to treat for peace, and in January 1646–7 was one of the parliamentary delegates who received the king's person from the Scots and conducted him to Holmby. A charge that he had given money to the king was investigated by the House of Lords on his return, and was dismissed. On 27 July 1648 he was appointed by parliamentary ordinance constable of Windsor Castle and keeper of the Great Park, and in the autumn of 1648 represented the parliament at the renewed negotiations opened with the king at Newport.

On 25 June 1641 Laud, then a prisoner in the Tower, had resigned the chancellorship of Oxford University, and Pembroke had succeeded him. An eulogistic broadside in verse, adorned with a portrait, was published by William Cartwright in honour of Pembroke's accession to the office. But on 7 Sept. 1642, when the vice-chancellor, Dr. Pinke, entreated Pembroke to protect the city and university from the attack of the parliamentary army, he brusquely replied that their safety would be assured if all cavaliers were dismissed and delinquents yielded up to the parliament (Ellis, *Orig. Lett.* 2nd ser. iii. 300–1; Rushworth, *Hist. Coll.* v. 11–13). When Oxford became the king's headquarters, Pembroke was superseded in the chancellorship by the Marquis of Hertford, but on 3 Aug. 1647 parliament issued an ordinance for his restoration, which was quickly followed by an ordinance for the visitation and reformation of the university. The visitors, headed by Sir Nathaniel Brent, began operations at Oxford in September, and a committee of lords and commons, sitting in London under Pembroke's presidency, directed them to act vigorously and to administer the solemn league and covenant to all university officials. The heads of houses proved contumacious in their dealings with the visitors, and Pembroke's committee summoned them before them in London in November. Pembroke reproached the offenders in characteristically foul language, but some delay elapsed before he proceeded to extremities. On 18 Feb. 1647–8 he nominated Dr. Reynolds, a member of his own party, vice-chancellor, together with new proctors and many new heads of houses. On 11 April 1648 he arrived at Oxford in person, and forcibly ejected those heads of houses and prebendaries of Christ Church who had declined to obey the visitors. On the same day he presided in convocation, when Reynolds was installed as vice-chancellor and degrees conferred. Thenceforth the visitors met with little opposition. Pembroke himself intervened to protect Philip Henry [q. v.] at Christ Church from ejectment. Clarendon assigns Pembroke's conduct at Oxford to 'the extreme weakness of his understanding and the miserable compliance of his nature.' Wood describes him as better fitted by 'his eloquence in swearing to preside over Bedlam than a learned academy.' 'He would make an excellent chancellor for the mews were Oxford turned into a kennel of hounds,' writes the author of 'Mercurius Menippeus,' variously identified with Butler and Birkenhead. Similar sentiments find expression in numerous satires issued at the time of Pembroke's visit; of these the best known are 'An Owle at Athens,' 1648 (verse), 'Pegasus, or the Flying Horse from Oxford,' and 'Newes from Pembroke to Montgomery, or Oxford Manchestered,' with Pembroke's speech 'word for word and oath for oath.'

Pembroke's reputation with the parliament was now very high. On 14 Feb. 1648–9 he was appointed a member of the first council of state, and on 16 April 1649 was returned to the House of Commons as member for Berkshire. The House of Commons approved the electors' choice, and received him with great respect. This 'ascent downwards' excited the ridicule of numberless royalist wits, who published mock speeches, attributed to 'the late Earl of Pembroke,' in which his habitual violence of language is amusingly satirised. The pamphleteers represent that

all his speeches were written by his secretary, Michael Oldsworth, M.P. for Salisbury. In May 1649 his enemies attacked him unmercifully in a mock 'Thanksgiving for his recovery from a pestilent feaver, which after turn'd into the Fowl disease.'

Pembroke died on 23 Jan. 1649–50, 'in his lodgings in the Cockpit,' Whitehall, and was buried in the family vault at Salisbury Cathedral on 9 Feb. following. By order of the council of state all members of parliament accompanied the cortège two or three miles on the journey from London (*Cal. State Papers*, Dom. 1649–50, p. 505). The royalist pamphleteers again venomously assailed his memory, and in their mock accounts of his 'last will and testament' dwelt at length on his blasphemous speeches, his libertinism, and his absorbing affection for dogs and horses (cf. BUTLER, *Posthumous Works*, 1715, vol. ii.) His income, including his receipts from his offices, had often amounted to 30,000*l.* a year (AUBREY), and he left a large fortune.

The earl accepted the dedication of numerous books, often in conjunction with his brother William. To 'the incomparable pair of brethren' the first folio of Shakespeare's works was inscribed in 1623, and to Massinger, Montgomery, like his mother and brother, was a constant patron throughout his life, continuing a pension to Massinger's widow. Pembroke seems to have been fond of scribbling irrelevant remarks on the margins of his books. In the British Museum Library is a copy of Chapman's 'Conspiracie of Byron' (1625), with numerous manuscript notes ascribed to him, but the binder has so cropped the edges as to make few of the notes intelligible. Walpole mentions similar treatment by Pembroke of a copy of 'Sir Thomas More's Life.' But the earl's tastes did not incline to books or poetry. Apart from his sporting proclivities he was devoted to painting and building. At the instigation of Charles I (according to Aubrey) he rebuilt the front of Wilton House on an elaborate scale in 1633. The king recommended him to employ Inigo Jones as his architect. Although Jones, who had been in the earl's service, was too busily employed at Greenwich to accept the commission, Solomon de Caus, who undertook the work [see DE CAUS], received many suggestions from him. In 1647 the south side of the house was burnt down, and it was rebuilt by Webb, who married Inigo Jones's niece. According to Walpole, Pembroke quarrelled with Jones over the plans. In a copy of Jones's 'Stonehenge,' once in the Harleian Library, Pembroke scribbled in the margin disparaging remarks of the author, whom he called Iniquity Jones. The stables were of Roman architecture, with a 'court and fountain . . . adorned with Cæsar's heads' (EVELYN, ii. 59), and there were kept racehorses (some from Morocco) and carriage horses for six coaches, besides all manner of dogs and hawks. The gardens, according to Evelyn 'the noblest in England,' were laid out by Solomon de Caus's son or nephew Isaac, who published an elaborate series of etchings of them, with a French text, dedicated to Pembroke, in 1647. Within the house Pembroke placed a magnificent collection of paintings. He employed an agent, Mr. Touars, to collect works of art on the continent at a salary of 100*l.* a year. The ceiling of one of the rooms was painted by John de Critz [q. v.], and examples of Giorgione and Titian adorned the walls. But Pembroke is best known as the patron of Vandyck. 'He had,' says Aubrey, 'the most of his paintings of any one in the world.' A family portrait by Vandyck of himself, his wife, and children is now at Wilton House, together with two other separate paintings by Vandyck of himself.

Pembroke's domestic arrangements were much complicated by his immorality. In 1622 a daughter of the Earl of Berkshire lived with him as his mistress, and caused him annoyance by suddenly running away (*Cal. State Papers*, Dom. 1619–23, p. 366). In his last years the royalist pamphleteers constantly made offensive references to his mistress Mrs. May. His first wife died in January 1628–9. On 1 June 1630 he married his second wife, Anne, daughter of George Clifford, earl of Cumberland, and widow of Sackville, earl of Dorset [see CLIFFORD, ANNE]. By his first wife he had seven sons and three daughters. The eldest daughter, Anne Sophia, married Robert Dormer, earl of Carnarvon [q. v.] The third son, Charles, was created K.B. in 1626; married, at Christmas 1634, Mary, daughter of George Villiers, duke of Buckingham, and died at Florence in the following month. Massinger addressed to his father an elegy on his death.

PHILIP HERBERT (1619–1669), the fourth and eldest surviving son, became fifth EARL OF PEMBROKE. Like his father he sided with the parliament, was M.P. for Glamorgan through the Long parliament, and on his father's death succeeded to his seat in the House of Commons for Berkshire. He was elected a member of the council of state 1 Dec. 1651, and was president of the council from 3 June to 13 July 1652. He made his peace with Charles II at the Restoration; was appointed a councillor for trade and navigation (7 Nov. 1660), and bore the spurs and acted as cupbearer at Charles II's coronation, 23 April 1661. He sold the chief

books and pictures collected by his predecessors at Wilton, and died 11 Dec. 1669, having married (1) Penelope, daughter and heiress of Sir Robert Naunton, and widow of Paul, viscount Bayning, and (2) Catherine, daughter of Sir William Villiers, bart., of Brooksby, Leicestershire. The only son of the first marriage, William, who was M.P. for Glamorgan from 1660 to 1669, became sixth earl of Pembroke, and died unmarried, 8 July 1674. The eldest son of the second marriage, PHILIP HERBERT (1653–1683), became seventh EARL OF PEMBROKE, and his barbarous conduct made him notorious. He nearly killed a man in a duel in November 1677 (*Hatton Correspondence*, i. 158–9). He was committed to the Tower by the king in January 1678 'for blasphemous words,' and was only released on the petition of the House of Lords. On 5 Feb. 1678 one Philip Rycaut petitioned the upper house to protect him from Pembroke's violence, and Pembroke entered into recognisances to keep the peace. Meanwhile he killed one Nathaniel Cony in a drunken scuffle in a Haymarket tavern (4 Feb. 1678). After being committed to the Tower, he was tried by his peers for murder, and was convicted of manslaughter (4 April). He was, however, pardoned (*State Trials*, vi. 1310–50). On 18 Aug. 1680 he killed an officer of the watch while returning from a drinking bout at Turnham Green. Many pamphlets described the incident, and denounced Pembroke as one who had drunk himself into insanity (cf. *Great and Bloody Newes from Turnham Green*, 1680; *Great Newes from Saxony, or a New and Straunge Relation of a mighty Giant, Koorbmep*, by B. R., 1680). 'An Impartial Account of the Misfortune' (1680) is an attempt to exculpate Pembroke. On 21 June 1681 he came into court, pleaded the king's pardon, and was discharged (LUTTRELL). The earl, like his predecessor in the title, 'espoused not learning, but was addicted to field-sports and hospitality' (AUBREY). He died on 29 Aug. 1683, and was buried at Salisbury. He married Henrietta de Querouaille or Keroual, sister of the Duchess of Portsmouth, but had no issue, and was succeeded by his brother Thomas as eighth earl [q. v.]

[Doyle's Baronage; Collins's Peerage, ed. Brydges, iii. 127–40; Aubrey's Natural History of Wiltshire, ed. Britton, 1847; Clarendon's History; Whitelocke's Memorials; Register of the Visitors of the University of Oxford, 1647–1658, ed. Professor Burrows (introd.); Osborne's James I; Nichols's Progresses of James I; Cal. State Papers, Dom. 1603–50; Sydney Papers, ed. Collins; Winwood's Memorials; Gardiner's Hist.; 'A True Memoriall of Lady Ann Clifford' in Archæolog. Institute Proc. York, 1846; Walpole's Anecdotes of Painting, ed. Wornum.]

S. L. L.

HERBERT, ST. LEGER ALGERNON (1850–1885), war correspondent, was son of Frederick Charles Herbert, commander R.N. (grandson of Henry Herbert, first earl of Carnarvon), who married, at Glanmire, co. Cork, Bessie Newenham Stuart, daughter of the late Captain Henry Stuart of the 69th regiment. He was born at Kingston, Canada, 16 Aug. 1850, and received his early education at the Royal Naval School, New Cross, Kent. He was scholar of Wadham College, Oxford, from 1869 to 1874. From 1875 to 1878 he was in the Canadian civil service, and occasionally served as private secretary to Lord Dufferin, the governor-general. Herbert acted as private secretary to Sir Garnet (now Lord) Wolseley during the annexation of Cyprus in 1878, and when Sir Garnet was high commissioner in South Africa. He was attached to Ferreira's horse at the storming of Sekokoeni's Mountain, and for his services was made a C.M.G. While in Cyprus and South Africa he acted as correspondent for the 'Times,' and on returning to England was employed during the autumn and winter of 1880 in writing leading articles for that paper. In February 1881 Herbert went to Africa as secretary to Sir Frederick Roberts, and on that general's immediate return he was appointed in the same capacity to the Transvaal commission. From September to December 1883, and from February to June 1884 he served in Egypt as special correspondent of the 'Morning Post.' He was present at the battles of El Teb and Tamai, and was shot through the leg, above the knee, at the latter engagement. In September 1884 Herbert returned to Egypt, and was attached to the staff of General Sir Herbert Stewart, K.C.B., in the expedition to Khartoum for the relief of Gordon. He escaped, unwounded, at Abu Klea, but was killed at the battle of Gubat, near Metammeh, in the Soudan, 19 Jan. 1885. He wrote on a variety of subjects in many papers and magazines. A monument has been placed in the crypt of St. Paul's to the memory of Herbert, John Alexander Cameron [q. v.], and the other war correspondents who died during the Soudanese campaigns.

[Morning Post, 29 Jan. 1885; information from family.]

J. W–s.

HERBERT, SIDNEY, first LORD HERBERT OF LEA (1810–1861), born at Richmond, Surrey, 16 Sept. 1810, was second son of George Augustus, eleventh earl of Pembroke [q. v.], by his second wife, the Countess Catherine, only daughter of Simon, count Woron-

zoff, formerly Russian ambassador at the court of St. James, and long resident in England. He was educated at Harrow School under Dr. Butler, and matriculated at Oriel College, Oxford, 17 May 1828. There he proved himself an elegant scholar, and was admired as a speaker at the Union Debating Society even by the side of Mr. Gladstone, Roundell Palmer, and others. In his final schools in 1831 he went in for a pass degree. He was invited by the examiners upon his first papers to seek honours, but declined, and received an honorary fourth class. As half-brother and heir presumptive to the twelfth Earl of Pembroke he had great influence in Wiltshire, and possessing a handsome person and winning manners, was returned in the conservative interest to the first reformed parliament for the southern division of Wiltshire, a seat which he held till he quitted the House of Commons. He at once attracted the attention of Peel. His first speech was made in June 1834, when he seconded Estcourt's amendment to Wood's bill for admitting dissenters to the universities. He is said (H. MARTINEAU, *Biographical Sketches*) to have shown himself at first a hesitating speaker. Greville calls his speech 'one of those pretty first speeches which prove little or nothing.' Nevertheless Peel, on taking office in December 1834, offered Herbert a lordship of the treasury, which he refused because sufficient duties were not attached to it. He then accepted the offer of the laborious post of secretary to the board of control, which he held during Peel's short administration. In 1838 he led the opposition to Grote's motion in favour of the ballot. He returned to office with Peel in 1841 as secretary to the admiralty, and in that capacity reformed the naval school at Greenwich. He was at this time a strong protectionist, and not yet aware of the change which was coming over Peel's opinions. When on 12 March 1845 Cobden was making his motion for a select committee to inquire into the effect of protection upon the landed interest, Peel, who was sitting next to Herbert, said, 'You must answer this, for I cannot.' In his reply he expressed dislike of members coming to parliament 'whining for protection.' Disraeli afterwards said that Peel had 'sent down his valet, a well-behaved person, to make it known that we are to have no whining here' (MORLEY, *Life of Cobden*, i. 318). In the same year he was transferred to the office of secretary at war, with a seat in the cabinet. This was very rapid but well-deserved promotion (see ASHLEY, *Life of Palmerston*, ed. 1879, i. 488). As secretary at war he reformed the system of regimental schools by the creation of a post of enhanced importance, that of 'schoolmaster-sergeant,' the regimental schoolmasters having previously possessed no qualifications for the post. This was just before he quitted office with Peel, whom he had followed in his conversion to free trade, and defended with much warmth (see his speech in the House of Commons 25 Nov. 1852). He remained out of office for six years. About this time he and Lord Lincoln, afterwards Duke of Newcastle, become interested in the 'Morning Chronicle,' a paper by which they lost heavily, and in 1852 he wrote articles in it attacking the members of the Derby administration for their inexperience.

In December 1852 Herbert took office under Lord Aberdeen as secretary at war. In 1854 the organisation of the army sent out to the Crimea broke down. Lord Palmerston in consequence succeeded Lord Aberdeen as premier in January 1855, and Herbert became colonial secretary in the new government. Roebuck, however, was allowed by Palmerston to nominate the members of the committee which had been appointed on his motion to examine into the conduct of the war, and Herbert at once resigned office, considering himself one of the ministers to be charged before the committee. In a speech on 23 Feb. 1855 he explained his reasons for the step. His Russian family connections had exposed him to suspicion from the outbreak of the war, and the responsibility for the official shortcomings at first sight appeared to rest upon him, but upon inquiry it was universally admitted that he was not to blame for the breakdown of the military organisation. He had been particularly energetic in seeking to remedy the condition of the hospitals at Scutari, and gave to Miss Florence Nightingale, who was his personal friend, the fullest official support, although, as the war office was then constituted, this department was not strictly within his official obligations. 'I wish,' wrote Mr. Gladstone to R. M. Milnes, afterwards Lord Houghton (15 Oct. 1855), 'some one of the thousand who in prose justly celebrate Miss Nightingale would say a single word for the man of "routine" who devised and projected her going — Sidney Herbert' (REID, *Life of Houghton*, i. 521; see *Reports of the Sebastopol Committee*, No. 2, pp. 11, 103 et seq., No. 4, pp. 19, 161–98, 756; KINGLAKE, *Crimean War*, vi. 14, 91). He had also dealt with the subject of military education in 1854, constituting three classes of schoolmasters, establishing regimental industrial and infant schools, and formulating a plan for the examination of officers. A speech of his on the education of officers, 5 June 1855, was printed.

In bringing up the report of the Sebastopol Committee, 17 July 1855, Mr. Roebuck said of him 'no man could have been more intent upon the honour of his country and on performing the duties of his office. He was conscientiously endeavouring to perform his duty, and was always at his post.'

During the session of 1856 he gained more in parliamentary estimation than did any other member. Though nominally only one of the 'Peelites,' and anxious to maintain the separate existence of that party, he was already talked of as a possible prime minister. He took the lead in the movement for army reform which succeeded the Crimean war, and was the mainspring of the royal commission on the sanitary condition of the army. He drafted its report, and wrote an article upon it in the 'Quarterly Review,' No. 105, p. 155. At his suggestion and with his assistance, four supplementary commissions were issued, namely on hospitals and barracks, on the army medical department, on army medical statistics, and on the medical school at Chatham, and he drafted the code of regulations for the army medical department which appeared in October 1859. When Lord Palmerston returned to power in June 1859 Herbert took office as secretary for war. It now fell to him to complete the reorganisation of that office, and especially to work out the transfer of the Indian army to the crown, to develope and encourage the volunteer movement, and to deal with the necessity for adopting rifled ordnance. This triple task involved immense labour, which rapidly told upon his health. Bright's disease made its appearance, and although advised that only rest could save him, he refused to quit his post. In 1860 he was persuaded to accept a peerage as some step towards relieving the strain of his office, and he was raised to the House of Lords as Baron Herbert of Lea. The relief came too late. In July he was compelled to resign his office. He visited Spa in vain, was brought home to Wilton House, Salisbury, and died three days after his return on 2 Aug. 1861. 'He was just the man to rule England,' wrote Lord Houghton, on hearing the news; 'birth, wealth, grace, tact, and not too much principle' (Reid, *Life of Houghton*, ii. 72). The last words are scarcely just. With every advantage of wealth, mental cultivation, a generous and sanguine temper combined with strong natural caution, fine appearance and manners, considerable eloquence and great industry, Herbert would certainly have achieved the highest political dignity, had not his determination to retrieve during his second administration of the army the misfortunes of his first sacrificed his health to unremitting devotion to duty. In private life he was munificently charitable. He and his wife erected a model lodging-house at Wilton for agricultural labourers, and took a personal share in promoting emigration. Both on his Wiltshire estates and at Donnybrook, near Dublin, he laid out large sums in improvements, and built or contributed to build many churches, especially that at Wilton, upon which he spent 30,000*l.*, and one at Sandymount, near Dublin. He published in 1849, privately, a pamphlet on the 'Better Application of Cathedral Institutions.' He married, on 12 Aug. 1846, Elizabeth, daughter of General Ashe A'Court, by whom he had seven children, of whom George Robert Charles, born 1850, succeeded him.

At a public meeting, held 25 Nov. 1861, it was resolved to erect a statue of him by J. H. Foley, R.A., which was placed in front of the war office, Pall Mall, and inaugurated 1 June 1867, and to found exhibitions in his memory at the Army Medical School, Chatham, which had been established under his auspices.

[Letters of Sir G. Cornewall Lewis; Life of Bishop Wilberforce; Ann. Reg. 1861; Times, 3 Aug. 1861; Harriet Martineau's Biog. Sketches; Recollections of Lord Malmesbury; E. Forçade in Revue des Deux Mondes, November 1858; Fraser's Mag. 1861.] J. A. H.

HERBERT, THOMAS (1597–1642?), seaman and author, sixth and posthumous son of Richard Herbert, by Magdalen, daughter of Sir Richard Newport, and brother of Edward, first lord Herbert of Cherbury [q. v.], was born at Montgomery on 15 May 1597. He served as page to Sir Edward Cecil [q. v.] in Germany, and distinguished himself by his gallantry at the siege of Juliers in 1610. In 1616 he took service under Captain Benjamin Joseph, commander of the Globe, East Indiaman. When Joseph was killed in an engagement with a Portuguese carack, Herbert assumed the command, and eventually beat off and disabled the enemy. He pursued his voyage to Surat, arriving there in March 1617. Thence he went up the country to Mandow, where the great mogul kept his court. He returned in the autumn to Surat, and to England next year. Herbert served under Sir Robert Mansel [q. v.] in the expedition to Algiers (1620–1), and commanded the ship which brought Prince Charles home from Spain in October 1623. He also carried Count Mansfeldt from Dover to Flushing on his expedition for the recovery of the Palatinate, January 1624–5, when he lost the ship near the Dutch coast, but got Mansfeldt ashore

in the long-boat. He was appointed to the command of the Dreadnought, 25 Sept. 1625. From that date he had no promotion, and thinking himself ill-used, 'retired,' says his brother, 'to a private and melancholy life, being much discontented to find others preferred to him; in which sullen humour having lived many years, he died and was buried in London in St. Martin's, near Charing Cross.' The registers at St. Martin's contain no record of his death.

Herbert is probably the author of the following trifles: 1. 'Stripping, Whipping, and Pumping; or, the Five Mad Shavers of Drury Lane,' London, 1638, 8vo. 2. 'Keep within compasse Dick and Robin, There's no harm in all this, or a merry dialogue between two or three merry cobblers, with divers songs full of Mirth and Newes,' 1641, 12mo. 3. 'An elegie upon the death of Thomas, Earle of Strafford' (heroic couplet), London, 1641, 4to. 4. 'Newes newly discovered in a pleasant dialogue betwixt Papa the false pope and Benedict an honest fryer, shewing the merry conceits which the friers have in their Cloysters amongst handsome nuns, and how the pope complains for want of that pastime: with the many shifts of his friends in England,' London, 1641, 12mo. 5. 'An answer to the most envious, scandalous, and libellous Pamphlet, entituled Mercuries Message: or the copy of a Letter sent to William Laud, Archbishop of Canterbury, now prisoner in the Tower' (heroic couplet), London, 1641, 4to. 6. 'A Reply in the Defence of the Oxford Petition, with a declaration of the Academians teares for the decay of learning, or the Universities feares: also the description of a Revd. Coachman which preached before a company of Brownists,' London, 1641, 4to. 7. 'Vox Secunda Populi. Or the Commons Gratitude to the most Honourable Philip, Earle of Pembroke and Montgomery, for the great affection which hee alwaies bore unto them,' London, 1641, 4to, with verses by Thomas Cartwright appended in some copies. 8. 'Newes out of Islington; or a Dialogue very merry and pleasant between a knavish Projector and honest Clod the Ploughman, with certaine songs,' London, 1641, 12mo, reprinted by J. O. Halliwell in 'Contributions to Early English Literature,' London, 1849, 4to.

[Autobiography of Lord Herbert of Cherbury, ed. Sidney L. Lee; W. C. Hazlitt's Bibliographical Handbook; Brit. Mus. Cat.] J. M. R.

**HERBERT**, SIR THOMAS (1606–1682), traveller and author, son of Christopher Herbert, by Jane, daughter of Henry Akroyd of Foggathorpe in the East Riding of Yorkshire, was born in 1606 at York, where his family, which descended from Sir Richard Herbert of Colebrook, Monmouthshire [see under HERBERT, SIR WILLIAM, EARL OF PEMBROKE, *d.* 1469], had been settled for some generations as substantial merchants (DRAKE, *Eboracum*, pp. 298–300; DUGDALE, *Visitation of Yorkshire*, Surtees Soc., xxxvi. 165). According to Wood he was admitted commoner of Jesus College, Oxford, in 1621; but his name does not appear in the register of the university, and in the 'History and Antiquities of the University of Oxford' (ed. Gutch, ii. 944) he is described as 'some time of Queen's.' He certainly took no degree at Oxford. Wood also says that he subsequently went into residence for a short time at Trinity College, Cambridge, of which his uncle, Dr. Ambrose Akroyd, was a fellow. In 1627 he obtained, through the influence of his kinsman William Herbert, third earl of Pembroke [q. v.], a place in the suite of Sir Dodmore Cotton, accredited as ambassador to the king of Persia, with whom and Sir Robert Shirley [q. v.] he sailed in March in the Rose, East Indiaman, for Gombrun, in the Persian Gulf, where, after touching at the Cape of Good Hope, Madagascar, and Swali in Surat, they arrived on 10 Jan. 1627–8. Cotton, with Herbert and Shirley in his train, then proceeded to Ashraff, where he had an audience of the king. They then visited Mount Taurus and Casbin, where Cotton and Shirley died. Towards the end of July Herbert with the rest of the party left Casbin, and, having obtained letters of safe-conduct from the king, made an extensive tour in his dominions, visiting Coom, Cashan, Bagdad, and other important towns. He suffered much from dysentery, and returned to Swali early in the following year, whence he took ship for England on 12 April. On his homeward voyage he touched at Ceylon and various ports on the Coromandel coast, Mauritius, and St. Helena, arriving in Plymouth Sound towards the end of the year (1629). The Earl of Pembroke died on 10 April 1630. Herbert's hopes of advancement were dashed, and he again left England and travelled in France and other parts of Europe. He returned home in 1631, and settled in London, keeping up an occasional correspondence with Thomas, lord Fairfax of Cameron (1611–1671) [q. v.], to whom he was related through his mother (*Fairfax Corresp.* i. 238). On the outbreak of the civil war he adhered to the side of the parliament, and was appointed commissioner to attend Lord Fairfax's army (*Cal. State Papers*, Dom. 1644, p. 328). He was also one of the commissioners to arrange the terms of the surrender of Oxford in May 1646 (WOOD, *Hist. and Antiq. Oxford*, ii. 483);

in the following July he carried the seals of state to London, and delivered them to the parliament (WHITELOCKE, *Memorials*, p. 214). Early in 1647 he was appointed to attend the king during his confinement at Holdenby (*Hist. MSS. Comm.* 4th Rep. App. 274, see also 6th Rep. App. 64, 7th Rep. App. 39), and in May of that year was employed by him to carry his answer to the overtures from the parliament which had been received at Newcastle. Shortly afterwards the king appointed him one of his grooms of the bedchamber, in which capacity he served him until his execution, being during the last few months of his life his sole attendant, sleeping in his bedchamber, and attending him on the scaffold. On his last walk from St. James's Palace to Whitehall the king gave Herbert his large silver watch. Herbert was also one of the commissioners entrusted with the interment of the king's body in the chapel at Windsor. The cloak which the king wore on the scaffold and a cabinet with some books which had belonged to him, including the 1632 folio edition of Shakespeare, on the flyleaf of which Charles had written the words 'Dum spiro spero,' also came into Herbert's possession, and with the watch were religiously preserved by him as relics. The cloak was sold by one of his descendants to the Princess of Wales, afterwards Queen Caroline, consort of George II; the watch passed, on the marriage of another descendant, into the Townley Mitford family, in which it has since remained. The folio Shakespeare is now in Windsor Castle Library (THORESBY, *Diary*, ii. 376; RUSHWORTH, *Hist. Coll.* vi. 487; ASHBURNHAM, *Narrative*, i. 407, ii. 159; *Sussex Archæological Collections*, iii. 103).

On 3 July 1660 Herbert was rewarded by a baronetcy for his faithful services to Charles I. He now occupied himself mainly in antiquarian and literary pursuits, and took little part in public affairs. His town house was in Petty France, Westminster, now York Street; he had also a house in Petergate, York, and an estate at Tintern, Monmouthshire, to which his son, Sir Henry Herbert of Middleton Quernhow, bart., succeeded. He died at his house at York on 1 March 1681–2, and was buried in the church of St. Crux in that city, where his widow placed a brass tablet to his memory. Herbert married, on 16 April 1632, Lucia, daughter of Sir Walter Alexander, gentleman usher to Charles I. She died in 1671. On 11 Nov. 1672 he married Elizabeth, daughter of Sir Gervase Cutler of Stainborough, Yorkshire. By his first wife he had several sons and daughters who survived him; by his second wife he had one daughter only, who died in infancy. One of his daughters was married to Colonel Robert Phayre [q. v.] The title apparently became extinct on the death of Sir Henry Herbert, the fifth baronet, in January 1732–3 (*Cal. State Papers*, Dom. 1661–2, p. 290; WOTTON, *Baronetage*, iv. 276).

Herbert wrote an account of his Eastern travels, with many digressions by the way into historical and geographical topics, under the title 'A Description of the Persian Monarchy now beinge: the Orientall Indyes Iles and other parts of the Greater Asia and Africk,' London, 1634, fol., reprinted with additions as 'Some yeares Travels into divers parts of Asia and Afrique. Describing especially the two famous empires the Persian and Great Mogull weaved with the history of these later times,' &c., London, 1638, fol.; also in 1665, 1675, 1677, fol.; again in 1705, by the Rev. J. Harris, D.D., in 'Navigantium atque Itinerantium Bibliotheca,' vol. i., and in 1785 by John Hamilton Moore in 'New and Complete Collection of Voyages and Travels.' The book had great vogue in its time, and was translated into Dutch in 1658, and from the Dutch into French in 1663. Written in a lively and agreeable style, it contains much that is interesting and curious, particularly a dissertation to prove that America was discovered three hundred years before Columbus by one Madoc ap Owen. Herbert also made extensive antiquarian collections, chiefly relating to Yorkshire, now in the possession of F. B. Franke, esq., of Campsall Hall in that county (*Hist. MSS. Comm.* 6th Rep. App. 461), and collaborated with Dugdale on the 'Monasticon' (WOOD, *Fasti*, ii. 26), perhaps also on the 'History of St. Paul's Cathedral.' A brief account of the collegiate church of Ripon was published from one of his manuscripts by Drake (*Eboracum*, App. xci–iv). In 1666 Herbert gave twenty manuscripts to the Bodleian Library. They include a manuscript copy of Wycliffe's bible (WOOD, *Hist. and Antiq. Univ. Oxford*, ed. Gutch, ii. 944; MACRAY, *Annals of the Bodl. Libr.* 2nd edit. p. 132). 'Threnodia Carolina,' his reminiscences of the captivity of Charles I, appeared in 1678, was reprinted with some other original papers relating to that subject under the title of 'Memoirs of the last two years of the reign of that Unparallell'd Prince of very Blessed Memory, King Charles I,' in 1702 and 1711, and again, with the addition of a letter from Herbert to Dugdale relating to the interment of the king, in 1813, 8vo. A French translation of this edition was published in 'Collection des Mémoires relatifs à la Révolution d'Angleterre,' tom. iv. 1827, 8vo.

Another Thomas Herbert held the office of clerk of the council in Ireland between 1654

and 1657 (*Liber Hibern.* vol. i. pt. ii. p. 83; *Thurloe State Papers*, iii. 124, 142, 364; PRENDERGAST, *Cromwellian Settlement of Ireland*, 2nd edit. pp. 377 et seq.; WOOD, *Athenæ Oxon.* ed. Bliss, iv. 19).

[The primary authority is Anthony à Wood's Athenæ Oxon. iv. 15–41, see also Fasti, ii. 26, 131, 138, 143–4, 150; but there is also a careful memoir by Davies in Yorkshire Archæological and Topographical Journal, vol. i.] J. M. R.

**HERBERT, THOMAS**, eighth EARL OF PEMBROKE (1656–1733), third son of Philip Herbert, fifth earl of Pembroke [see under HERBERT, PHILIP, fourth EARL], was entered as a nobleman at Christ Church, Oxford, in 1672. By the death of his elder brothers, the sixth and seventh earls, he succeeded to the title on 29 Aug. 1683, and was appointed lord-lieutenant of Wiltshire. He raised the militia of the county against the Duke of Monmouth in 1685. In 1687, on refusing to assist in 'regulating' the municipal corporations, he was summarily dismissed from the office, but was reappointed to it after the revolution, to which he early gave in his adhesion, and carried the sword of justice at the coronation of William and Mary. In 1690 he was appointed first lord of the admiralty, and after the battle of Beachy Head was one of the commissioners sent down to the fleet to inquire into the circumstances of the action [see HERBERT, ARTHUR, EARL OF TORRINGTON]. He was also one of the council of nine appointed to advise the queen as regent during the king's absence in Ireland. In 1692 he resigned his seat at the admiralty on being nominated lord privy seal. After the death of the queen he was one of the lords justices entrusted with the regency in the absence of the king. He became prominent by his opposition to the execution of Sir John Fenwick (1645?–1697) [q. v.], his opposition to the Resumption Bill in 1700, and his defence of the second Partition Treaty in 1701. In 1697 he was first plenipotentiary at the treaty of Ryswick. In 1700 he was installed as a knight of the Garter. In January 1701–2 he was appointed lord high admiral, in consequence (according to Burnet) of the factious disputes at the board and of its secrets having been ill-kept. He was neither seaman nor soldier, and his determination to take command of the fleet himself excited some dismay among his fellow-ministers, but the difficulty was got over by inducing him to nominate Byng as his secretary and first captain (see BYNG, GEORGE, VISCOUNT TORRINGTON; *Memoirs relating to the Lord Torrington*, Camden Soc., p. 80). But before they got to sea the king died, and as Anne wished to appoint Prince George as lord high admiral, Pembroke was removed, 'with the offer of a great pension, which he very generously refused, though the state of his affairs and family seemed to require it' (BURNET). At the coronation of Queen Anne he again carried the sword; he was then appointed lord-lieutenant of Wiltshire, Monmouth, and South Wales; and in July to be president of the council. In 1706–7 he was one of the commissioners for the union; and in 1707 was appointed lord-lieutenant of Ireland. After the death of Prince George he was again appointed (29 Nov. 1708) lord high admiral, when he was succeeded as president of the council by Lord Somers, and as lord-lieutenant of Ireland by the Earl of Wharton. Towards the end of 1709 he resigned the admiralty as too 'heavy a load' (*ib.*), and the office was accordingly put in commission, the Earl of Orford succeeding as first lord (8 Nov.) On the death of the queen Pembroke was nominated one of the lords justices till the arrival of George I, at whose coronation he, for the third time, carried the sword, as again, for a fourth time, at the coronation of George II. During both reigns he continued lord-lieutenant of Wiltshire, Monmouth, and South Wales, till his death on 22 Jan. 1732–3. He was three times married, and left a numerous family, of whom the eldest son by his first wife, Henry, ninth earl of Pembroke and sixth earl of Montgomery, is separately noticed.

He is described as a man of 'eminent virtue,' and of great learning, especially in mathematics. Though somewhat too fond of a retired life he was beloved. He was president of the Royal Society in 1689–90; and as a virtuoso and collector of 'statues, dirty gods, and coins' had a high reputation, which has scarcely stood the test of time. The statues still decorate the hall of Wilton House, but are said to be of very second-rate merit, even where they are not modern forgeries. Macaulay describes him as 'a high-born and high-bred man, who had ranked among the Tories, who had voted for a Regency, and who had married the daughter of Sawyer' (sc. Sir Robert Sawyer, *d.* 1706 [q. v.]), and admits that although he was a tory he was not illiberal, as is proved by the dedication to him of Locke's 'Essay,' 'in token of gratitude for kind offices done in evil times.'

[Collins's Peerage, ed. 1779, iii. 125; Burnet's Hist. of his own Time; Macaulay's Hist. of England.] J. K. L.

**HERBERT, SIR THOMAS** (1793–1861), rear-admiral, second son of Richard Townsend Herbert of Cahirnane, co. Kerry, by

his second wife, Jane, daughter of Anthony Stoughton of Ballyhorgan, was born in February 1793, and in July 1803 entered the navy on board the Excellent with Captain Sotheron, in which he went out to the Mediterranean, and was present at the operations on the coast of Italy and in the Bay of Naples in 1806. He was afterwards moved into the Blonde frigate with Captain Volant Vashon Ballard [q. v.] In her he was present, December 1807, at the reduction of the Danish West Indian Islands, and on Ballard's recommendation was made lieutenant by Sir Alexander Cochrane on 1 Aug. 1809, a promotion which was confirmed by the admiralty on 10 Oct. During the four following years he was lieutenant of the Pompée with Sir James Athol Wood [q. v.] on the West Indian, home, and Mediterranean stations; and in 1814 was appointed first lieutenant of the Euryalus, with Captain (afterwards Sir Charles) Napier (1786–1860) [q. v.], and took active part in the operations in the Potomac, consequent on which he was promoted to the rank of commander on 19 Oct. 1814. In September 1821 he commissioned the Icarus for the West Indies, where in the following May he was transferred to the Carnation, and on 25 Nov. 1822 was posted to the Tamar. After destroying three piratical vessels on the coasts of Cuba and Yucatan, she was brought home by him and paid off in August 1823. In 1829 he was high sheriff for co. Kerry. He had no further service afloat till November 1837, when he was appointed to the Calliope frigate, and sent to the coast of Brazil. After acting as senior officer there and in the river Plate, in January 1840 he was ordered round to Valparaiso, and thence on to China. On his arrival in October he was for a couple of months, pending the arrival of Rear-admiral George Elliot [q. v.], senior officer in the Canton River, and after the admiral's arrival had the actual command of the operations against Chuenpee and the Bogue Forts, himself, in the Nemesis steamer [see HALL, SIR WILLIAM HUTCHEON], opening a way through creeks behind Annunghoy, and destroying a 20-gun battery which guarded the rear of that island. Continuing in command of the advanced squadron he captured the fort in Whampoa Reach, and silenced the batteries commanding the approach to Canton. In June and July he was again senior officer in the Canton River, and on the arrival of Sir William Parker [q. v.] he was moved into the Blenheim of 72 guns, in which he took a distinguished part in the capture of Amoy and Chusan, and commanded the naval brigade at the reduction of Chinghae. As a recognition of his service throughout this troublesome war, he was nominated a C.B. on 29 Jan., and a K.C.B. on 14 Oct. 1841; and peace having been concluded at Nankin October 1842, he returned to England in the Blenheim, which he paid off in March 1843. From 1847 to 1849 he was commodore on the east coast of South America, with a broad pennant in the Raleigh of 50 guns. From February to December 1852 he was a junior lord of the admiralty under the Duke of Northumberland, and on 26 Oct. 1852 he became a rear-admiral. From 1852 to 1857 he was M.P. for Dartmouth. He died 4 Aug. 1861.

[O'Byrne's Nav. Biog. Dict.; Burke's Landed Gentry; Annual Reg. 1861, ciii. 451; Times, 6 Aug. 1861.] J. K. L.

HERBERT, WILLIAM (*d.* 1333?), Franciscan, is said to have entered the Minorite order at Hereford. Thence he was sent by his convent to the university of Oxford, and in 1290, the only date of any certainty in his life, he was at Paris (*Lanercost Chronicle*, p. 135). Later he returned to Oxford, where he won great renown as a preacher and philosopher, and became the forty-third reader in divinity to the Franciscans. Before his death—the date of which is arbitrarily placed by Pits in 1333, and by Stevens in 1337 (*Cont.* to DUGDALE'S *Monasticon*)—he returned to Hereford, where he was buried. According to Leland, he wrote quodlibets and commentaries on Deuteronomy and the Apocalypse.

[Monumenta Franciscana, vol. i. app. ii.; Lanercost Chronicle; Leland, De Scriptoribus Britann.] A. G. L.

HERBERT, SIR WILLIAM, EARL OF PEMBROKE (*d.* 1469), was elder son of Sir William Herbert of Raglan Castle, called also William ap Thomas, and in Welsh Margoah Glas, or Gumrhi, who fought in France under Henry V, and was made a knight-banneret in 1415. Herbert's mother was Gladys, daughter and heiress of David Gam [q. v.], and widow of Sir Robert Vaughan. Sir Richard Herbert of Colebrook was a younger brother. Sir William's grandfather, Thomas ap Gwillim ap Jenkin (*d.* 1438), secured Raglan Castle on his marriage with Maud, daughter and heiress of Sir John Morley. The Herbert family claimed descent from 'Herbertus Camerarius,' a companion of William I, and his son 'Henry Thesaurarius,' both of whom were tenants *in capite* in Hampshire (cf. *Domesday*, 49 *b*). The descendants of Henry Thesaurarius in the fifteenth century claimed that he was 'son natural of King Henry the First,' and that they were thus connected

with 'the Royal Blood of the Crown of England' (DUGDALE, *Baronage*, ii. 256), but the pretension contradicts established fact. Peter, the great-grandson of Henry Thesaurarius, seems to have been the first of the family to settle in Wales. He received from John in 1210 many grants of land there forfeited by William of Braose. Peter's descendants by intermarriages with Welsh heiresses acquired very large estates in South-east Wales, and practically became Welshmen.

Herbert was a warrior from his youth. He was knighted by Henry VI in 1449, and in 1450 was on active service in France under the Duke of Somerset. He was taken prisoner at the battle of Formigny in 1450, but was apparently soon released. He played a prominent part on the side of the Yorkists in the wars of the Roses. In Wales he did very notable service against Jasper Tudor, earl of Pembroke, Henry, duke of Exeter, and James, earl of Wiltshire. On 1 May 1457 it was reported that the Lancastrians had offered him his life and goods if he would come to Leicester and ask pardon of Henry VI; but the Yorkists were still strong, and he remained faithful to them (*Paston Letters*, ed. Gairdner, i. 417). On Edward IV's accession Herbert was made a privy councillor (10 March 1461). On 8 May following he was granted the offices of chief justice and chamberlain of South Wales, and some subordinate posts; on 7 Sept. he was made steward of those castles, including that of Brecknock in South Wales, which had belonged to Humphrey, duke of Buckingham. On 4 Nov. he was created Baron Herbert, and received in consideration of his services the castle, town, and lordship of Pembroke, with numerous manors and castles on the Welsh marches. On 29 April 1462 he appeared in the House of Lords, and was made a knight of the Garter. Shortly afterwards he joined Edward IV in an expedition to the north of England, where the Lancastrians still held out. In 1463 he was appointed justice in Merionethshire, and received new grants of land, including Dunster, and those manors in Devonshire and Suffolk which had been forfeited by Sir James Luttrell. On 3 June 1466 he was in London, and accompanied Edward IV on a visit to the Archbishop of York. In 1467 he was nominated chief justice of North Wales for life, and made constable of Carmarthen and Cardigan castles.

In August 1468 Pembroke and his brother, Sir Richard, advanced against the castle of Harlech, the last Lancastrian stronghold in Wales, where Jasper Tudor, with his young nephew Henry (afterwards Henry VII), still resisted the power of Edward IV. After a siege the castle, although strongly fortified, surrendered, but Sir Richard promised the governor to do what he could to save his life. Sir Richard petitioned Edward IV to that effect, and the request was unwillingly granted. Herbert seems to have taken Prince Henry prisoner, and he was appointed his guardian; but a plan to marry Henry to his daughter Maud failed. He was advanced to the dignity of Earl of Pembroke (8 Sept. 1468), after the attainder of Jasper Tudor, and received the manor of Haverfordwest and the offices of chief forester of Snowdon and constable of Conway Castle. Soon afterwards the two brothers proceeded to Anglesey to apprehend seven brothers who had been guilty of 'many mischiefs and murders.' The mother pleaded strongly with Pembroke to spare the lives of two of her sons. Richard seconded her prayer, but Pembroke refused to yield, and executed all. Whereupon the mother cursed him on her knees, 'praying God's mischief might fall to him in the first battle he should make' (LORD HERBERT, *Autobiog.* 1886, p. 14).

Meanwhile Pembroke and the Earl of Warwick had quarrelled. Pembroke, it is said, desired to marry his infant son to the daughter of Lord Bonvile, and Warwick opposed the arrangement. Pembroke thenceforth sought to widen the breach which was threatening the king's relations with Warwick, and as early as 1466 he had captured in Wales a messenger of Queen Margaret of Anjou, with whom he showed that Warwick was intriguing. In January 1467 the disagreement seemed subsiding, and Pembroke and Warwick both attended a meeting of the king's council. But in July 1469 a rebellion, which was largely fomented by Warwick, broke out in the north. The rebels declared for Henry VI, and rapidly marched south. Pembroke readily prepared an army of Welshmen to resist their progress. He and his brother were ordered with their army to join at Banbury a strong detachment of archers under the command of Humphrey Stafford, earl of Devonshire, and to intercept the enemy there. The first part of the manœuvre was successfully accomplished. But a skirmish between a detachment of Pembroke's army under Sir Richard and some rebel troops ended in the total rout of the former. Immediately afterwards Pembroke and Devonshire encamped at Hedgecote, near Banbury. A quarrel between the commanders, however, caused Devonshire to lead his archers away, almost in presence of the enemy. On 26 July Pembroke, with his strength thus seriously impaired, was forced to give battle. Panic

seized his Welsh followers. He and his brother fought desperately. Sir Richard is said to have twice passed through the 'battail of his adversaries,' armed with a poleaxe, and 'without any mortal wound returned.' But the defeat was decisive, and both brothers were taken prisoners. Pembroke pleaded for his brother's life in vain, on the ground of his youth; he declared that he was willing to die. On 27 July he made his will, giving directions for his funeral, making many pious bequests to Tintern Abbey and other religious foundations, and providing almshouses for the relief of six poor men. On 28 July Pembroke and Sir Richard were brought to Northampton and beheaded there. Pembroke was buried in Tintern Abbey, and Sir Richard in Abergavenny Church, where his wife Margaret was also buried (cf. COXE, *Tour in Monmouthshire*, 1801, p. 189; CHURCHYARD, *Worthines of Wales*, 1587, p. 53).

Pembroke married Anne, daughter of Sir Walter Devereux, lord Ferrers of Chartley, and had by her four sons, William, Walter, George, and Philip, and six daughters. By a mistress, Maud, daughter of Adam ap Howell Graunt, he had some illegitimate issue, including Sir Richard Herbert, father of Sir William, first earl of Pembroke of the second creation (1501?–1570) [q. v.]

The eldest legitimate son, WILLIAM HERBERT, second EARL OF PEMBROKE, and afterwards EARL OF HUNTINGDON (1460–1491), born on 5 March 1460, succeeded his father as second earl of Pembroke in 1469, and undertook in 1474 to serve Edward IV in war in France and Normandy, with forty men-at-arms and two hundred archers. On 4 July 1479 he gave up the earldom of Pembroke in exchange for the earldom of Huntingdon at the request of the king, who desired to bestow it on his son Edward. He was captain of the army in France, June to September 1475; was appointed justice of South Wales on 15 Nov. 1483, and acted as commissioner of array in Wales, Monmouth, and Herefordshire. He died in 1491. On 29 Feb. 1484 he covenanted to marry Princess Catherine, daughter of Richard III; but the princess died before the time appointed for the marriage, and Huntingdon married Mary, fifth daughter of Richard, earl Rivers. By her he had an only child, Elizabeth, who married Charles Somerset, earl of Worcester, the ancestor of the Dukes of Beaufort.

[Collins's Peerage; Dugdale's Baronage; Doyle's Official Baronage; William of Worcester's Collection and Annales in Stevenson's Letters, &c., during the Reign of Henry VI (Rolls Ser.), vol. ii. pt. ii. pp. 626, 630 sq.; Hall's Chronicle; Fabyan's Chronicle; Grafton's Chronicle; Holinshed's Chronicle; Warkworth's Chronicle (Camd. Soc.); Lord Herbert of Cherbury's Autobiog., ed. Lee, 1886.] S. L. L.

**HERBERT, SIR WILLIAM, first EARL OF PEMBROKE** of the second creation (1501?–1570), was eldest son of Sir Richard Herbert of Ewyas, Herefordshire, by his wife Margaret, daughter of Sir Matthew Cradock of Swansea. Sir Richard, who lies buried under a fine canopied tomb in Abergavenny Church, was illegitimate son of William Herbert, earl of Pembroke of the first creation (*d.* 1469) [q. v.], by a mistress, Maud, daughter of Adam ap Howell Graunt. According to the statement on a portrait at Wilton that he was sixty-six years old in 1567, William was born in 1501. As a youth he seems to have entered the service of his kinsman Charles Somerset, earl of Worcester, and soon attracted notice at court. He became a gentleman-pensioner in 1526 and esquire of the body to the king. Aubrey in his 'Lives' states that he was 'a mad young fighting fellow.' On Midsummer-day 1527, Aubrey continues, he took part in an affray at Bristol between some Welshmen and the watchmen, and a few days later killed a mercer named Vaughan on account of 'a want of some respect in compliment.' Thereupon he is said to have fled to France; to have joined the French army; and to have distinguished himself so conspicuously by his courage and wit that the French king wrote in his favour to Henry VIII. He soon returned home, and married Anne, younger daughter of Sir Thomas Parr, and sister of Catherine Parr [q. v.], who became, on 12 July 1543, Henry VIII's sixth queen. Thenceforth Herbert's place in the royal favour was assured, and royal grants soon made him a man of fortune. In 1542 and 1544 he and his wife received the rich estates belonging to the dissolved abbey of Wilton, Wiltshire. He destroyed the monastic buildings and built a magnificent mansion. In 1543 he was knighted, and on 24 Jan. 1543–4 was appointed captain of the town and castle of Aberystwith. On 27 April 1546 he became gentleman of the privy chamber, and was granted the keepership of Baynard's Castle on the banks of the Thames, near the spot now occupied by St. Paul's Wharf. At the same time he was appointed steward of much royal property in the west of England, and became owner of Cardiff Castle and of much additional land in Wales. The manor of Hendon, Middlesex, also fell to him. Baynard's Castle was thenceforth his London residence, and remained in the possession of his descendants. Herbert was an executor of Henry VIII's will, and the king bequeathed to him 300*l.*, and nominated him one of

Edward VI's new privy council of twelve. Herbert and Sir Anthony Denny rode in the chariot carrying the coffin at Henry VIII's funeral.

Herbert supported the election of Seymour as protector on Edward VI's accession. On 10 July 1547 the young king granted him the manors of North Newton and Hulcot, and in the following year he was made master of the horse and a knight of the Garter. When disturbances broke out in 1549 in the west of England, he raised a force of two thousand Welshmen from his Welsh estates, and with Lord Russell relieved Exeter, which was threatened by an irruption of Cornishmen. His own park at Wilton had been invaded earlier, and he had dealt severely with the rioters. To repay him the heavy expenses of the campaign, the council allowed him to take the profits of minting two thousand pounds of bullion silver, which are said to have amounted to 6,709*l.* 19*s.*

Meanwhile the quarrel between Protector Somerset and his rival Warwick [see DUDLEY, JOHN, DUKE OF NORTHUMBERLAND] had come to an open rupture. Both were anxious to gain Herbert's support. Somerset entreated him to bring his Welsh followers to his aid in London, while Warwick warned him that Somerset was engaging in treasonable practices. Herbert informed Somerset that his forces were still required to meet the rebels in the west (8 Oct.), and thenceforth acted with Warwick. On 8 April 1550 he was appointed president of Wales, and held the post till the end of the reign. On 9 July 1550 he took part in the examination of Gardiner, bishop of Winchester, and on 20 Dec. 1550 was allowed to maintain a hundred horsemen. In April 1551 Somerset made a new attempt to gain Herbert's support, but Herbert declined his advances. Herbert, Warwick, and Northampton had become supreme in the king's council, and Somerset seems to have meditated the forcible capture of the triumvirate. But Warwick was too powerful. Somerset was thrown into the Tower, and Warwick became undisputed dictator. Herbert, who took part in Somerset's trial, 1 Dec. 1551, was richly rewarded for his acquiescence in Warwick's promotion. He was raised to the peerage as Baron Herbert of Cardiff (10 Oct.) and Earl of Pembroke (11 Oct. 1551). He received Somerset's Wiltshire estates, including Ramsbury and a newly built mansion at Bedwin Broil, and much woodland on the borders of the New Forest (7 May 1553). He was also granted, on Sir Thomas Arundel's attainder, Wardour Castle and park, and obtained some property belonging to the see of Winchester. The Wardour property subsequently reverted to the Arundel family by exchange and purchase, but Pembroke's increase of wealth exceeded that of any of his colleagues. He was in attendance on the queen-dowager of Scotland when she visited London in November 1551, and on 21 Dec. he and Northumberland took the great seal from the custody of Lord-chancellor Rich (WRIOTHESLEY, *Chron.* ii. 61). In April 1552 he resigned the office of master of the horse to Northumberland's eldest son. In June 1552 he accompanied the king in his progress through the west with fifty horsemen, and on 28 Aug. 1552 conducted him to Wilton, where Edward stayed the night. In October rumours were spread that Pembroke and Northumberland had quarrelled, and these were repeated in April, but there was no outward sign of dissension. Pembroke arranged the marriage of his eldest son Henry to Lady Catherine Grey on the same day (21 May 1553) as Lady Jane Grey was married to Northumberland's son, Guildford, and he acted with Northumberland in all the negotiations for securing Lady Jane Grey's succession to the throne on Edward's death. He signed the engagement of the council and the letters patent confirming Jane's claims. According to Northumberland's account, Pembroke was the original deviser of the whole conspiracy, and was moved by a personal dread of losing his property if a Roman catholic sovereign should ascend the throne.

Throughout Lady Jane's short reign Pembroke was with her and Northumberland at the Tower of London, but when Northumberland left London to meet Mary's forces in the eastern counties, Pembroke declared for Mary, and was with the lord mayor when her proclamation was read in Cheapside (19 July). On Mary's arrival at the Tower her advisers regarded his attitude as ambiguous. He was directed to confine himself to his house at Baynard's Castle. On 8 Aug., however, he acted as one of the chief mourners at Edward VI's funeral; on 13 Aug. was appointed a privy councillor, and on 1 Oct. attended Mary's coronation. On the outbreak of Wyatt's rebellion the queen again entertained suspicions of his loyalty. But after some hesitation she allowed him to take chief command of the army gathered in London to resist Wyatt's entry. He placed his cavalry at what is now the Piccadilly end of St. James's Street, and his infantry at Charing Cross (9 Feb. 1553–4); but his troops made so slight a resistance to Wyatt's passage from Hyde Park to Ludgate Hill, that Pembroke's good faith was once more questioned. After the capture and execution of Wyatt general

confidence in his fidelity seems to have been re-established.

Pembroke's religious views inclined to Calvinism. He had stood godfather to a son of Edward Underhill, 'the hot gospeller,' and he never pretended to sympathise with the Roman catholic revival. According to an improbable statement of Aubrey, Wilton Abbey was restored by Mary, and the nuns reinstated there, to Pembroke's disgust. In the council he was avowedly opposed to Gardiner, Petre, and the ardent catholic party, but his political principles were pliant, and he assented to the queen's marriage with Philip. The gift of a pension of two thousand crowns from Charles V's envoy Egmont seems to have dispelled some early misgivings. He introduced into the royal chamber the Spanish ambassador, who came to represent Philip at the formal betrothal of the queen (6 March 1553–4). Even then Gardiner expressed a fear that Pembroke was playing the queen false, and Mary was advised to arrest him. But the suspicions of his foes were finally lulled when in June he sumptuously entertained at Wilton Philip's ambassador, the Marquis de las Navas. On 19 July he met Philip on his arrival at Southampton, and attended him with a large retinue to Winchester, where the queen was awaiting him. Pembroke was one of the four peers who gave Mary away at the wedding in Winchester Cathedral, and carried the sword of state before Philip after the ceremony (25 July). He rapidly secured the prince's favour, and when Mary sought to arbitrate between France and the empire, Pembroke was sent early in 1555 to Calais with Pole, Gardiner, and Paget in order to discuss terms with the French envoys. The negotiations failed, and Pembroke on his return to England retired to Wilton. In March Philip hastily summoned him to London, and ordered him to Calais to superintend the fortifications of Guisnes, and to advise the warden of Calais as to the action to be taken in case of a French attack. On his journey Pembroke attended Pole's consecration as archbishop of Canterbury at Greenwich. The Venetian ambassador at Charles V's court reported at the time that Pembroke was the chief personage in England, and the French, with whom he had served in early life, are stated to have held him in esteem. But in May he was recalled from Calais, according to some writers, because Philip desired his society and counsel; according to others, because his inability to speak any other language but his own rendered him nearly useless. On 4 Sept. 1555 he accompanied Philip to Brussels, where Philip introduced him to Charles V. He was nominated governor of Calais in November 1556, and resumed the office of president of Wales for the years 1555–8. In March 1557 Philip paid a last visit to England to organise an English expedition in aid of the Spanish troops who were fighting against the French in Flanders. Pembroke was appointed captain-general of the English army, and arrived two days after the defeat of the French outside St. Quentin, but took part in the storming of the town, and made prisoner Duke Anne de Montmorency, constable of France. The armour worn by the constable, as well as that worn at St. Quentin by Pembroke himself, is still preserved at Wilton.

Immediately after Mary's death Pembroke travelled to Hatfield and attended Elizabeth's first privy council. He and Cecil were, with two others, appointed a committee to discuss the ecclesiastical situation with the queen. Pembroke zealously supported a protestant revival. On 25 April 1559 the queen supped with him at Baynard's Castle. When Cecil went to arrange peace with Scotland in May 1560, Pembroke maintained his interests at court, and afterwards welcomed the Scottish ambassadors who were sent to negotiate Elizabeth's marriage with the Earl of Arran. In July Pembroke was taken seriously ill at his house at Hendon, and for a year his recovery was doubtful. In 1561, when Cecil was much embarrassed by rivalries at court and disturbances in Ireland, he declared that in Pembroke's absence he was without a supporter in the council. Late in 1561 Pembroke again attended the council, advocating the policy of alliance with the Huguenots. In 1562 he agreed to support the claims of the Earl of Huntingdon [see HASTINGS, HENRY] to the throne in succession to Elizabeth, who was at the time seriously ill. In September 1564 Pembroke's health was again failing, and for some years he took a subordinate part in politics. The distressed merchant-staplers of Calais, which had fallen to the French in January 1558, petitioned him to secure relief for them, and he invited to England oppressed protestant weavers from the Low Countries, arranging for the settlement of some at Wilton. In March 1563 the queen lent him, Dudley, and others a ship known as the Jesus of Lambeth, which they fitted out for a voyage to the coasts of Africa and America, and two years later he was interesting himself in the hydraulic inventions of one Daniel Hochstetter.

In 1568 Pembroke was appointed lord steward of the royal household, but in the next year he compromised his reputation by supporting the scheme for the marriage of the Duke of Norfolk with Mary Queen of Scots.

He was ordered to Windsor, and placed under arrest in September 1569. He at once admitted sympathy with the scheme, but denied the charges of disloyalty to Elizabeth. On 5 Dec., when the Earls of Northumberland and Westmorland were in open revolt in the north of England, Pembroke wrote to the queen that they had wickedly and falsely used his name to his discredit; vehemently denied that he had ever thought of acting against Elizabeth or the protestant religion, and begged to be allowed to prove his words in action. He was appointed captain of an army of reserve, but his services were not required. He died at Hampton Court on 17 March 1569-1570. He was buried (18 April), as he desired, in St. Paul's Cathedral, where an elaborate monument was erected to his memory. His will was dated 28 Dec. 1569, and his son and heir was sole executor. His friends Leicester, Sir Walter Mildmay, Sir Nicholas Throgmorton, and Sir Gilbert Gerard were the overseers, and to these a codicil (16 March 1569-70) added Sir Nicholas Bacon, Sir James Croft, and Cecil. To the queen he left his 'best jewel, named the Great Ballace,' and his richest bed. On 26 March Elizabeth sent his widow a sensible letter of condolence.

A silver medallion-portrait, dated 1562, by Stevens, a Dutch medallist, is in the British Museum. A painting of Pembroke with a dog is at Wilton House, and Pembroke also appears in Streetes's picture of Edward VI at Bridewell Hospital. Other portraits belong to Earl Beauchamp and Charles Butler, esq. (*Cat. Tudor Exhibition*, 1890). An engraved portrait is in Holland's 'Heroologia.' A stained-glass window in Wilton Church contained portraits of Pembroke and his first wife. The latter is extant, but the existing portrait of himself is a modern restoration. Aubrey, who preserves many anecdotes of the earl, describes him as 'strong sett, but bony, reddish favoured, of a sharp eye, stern look.' He adds that Pembroke could neither read nor write, but documents with his signature in capital letters are extant. The favourite 'cur-dog,' which appears in the Wilton picture, is said by Aubrey to have died on his hearse. Aubrey declares that he was regarded by the Wiltshire gentry as an 'upstart,' and his retainers were constantly engaged in brawls with the retainers of neighbouring noblemen. Lord Stourton and he were certainly on very bad terms. Pembroke belonged to the new aristocracy, which the Tudor sovereigns created and encouraged, and his views in politics and religion were largely moulded by his personal interests; but he was a brave soldier, and faithfully served those with whom he allied himself. Of his buildings at Wilton the east front, much altered, alone survives, together with an elaborate porch, traditionally known as Holbein's porch, and now standing by itself in the gardens of the house. The porch cannot be from the designs of Holbein, who died in 1543 before Herbert was granted Wilton. A drawing of Wilton House, dated 1563, is engraved in Mr. Nightingale's 'Notices.'

Pembroke's first wife, Anne, was buried in St. Paul's Cathedral, 28 Feb. 1551. By her he had two sons, Henry, second earl [q. v.], his heir, and Edward, and a daughter Anne. The daughter married Francis, lord Talbot, son and heir of George, sixth earl of Shrewsbury, in February 1562. At the same time the bride's elder brother, Henry, married the bridegroom's sister Catherine (Wright, *Queen Elizabeth*, i. 130). Pembroke's second wife was Anne, sixth daughter of George Talbot, fourth earl of Shrewsbury, and widow of Peter Compton. By her he had no issue; she was buried at Erith, Kent, on 8 Aug. 1588.

[Some Notices of William Herbert, first Earl of Pembroke of the present creation, by J. E. Nightingale, F.S.A., 1878; Camden's Annals; Froude's Hist. of England; Aubrey's Lives, ii. 478; Dugdale's Baronage, ii. 258; Collins's Peerage, ed. Brydges, iii. 116 sq.; Doyle's Baronage; Lit. Remains of Edward VI, ed. Nichols (Roxb. Club); Machyn's Diary (Camden Soc.); Wriothesley's Chronicle (Camden Soc.); Chronicle of Queen Mary and Queen Jane (Camd. Soc.); Cal. State Papers, Dom.; Hoare's Modern Hist. of South Wiltshire, vol. ii. pt. i. pp. 140 sq.; Aubrey's Topographical Collections for Wiltshire, ed. Jackson, 1862.] S. L. L.

**HERBERT or HARBERT, Sir WILLIAM** (*d.* 1593), Irish 'undertaker' and author, was son of William Herbert of St. Julians, an estate in Monmouthshire lying between Caerleon and Newport. His mother was Jane, daughter of Edward Griffith of Penrhyn or Anglesea. He claimed to be 'heir in blood of ten earls.' He was undoubtedly sole surviving legitimate heir-male of William Herbert, earl of Pembroke (*d.* 1469) [q. v.], being great-grandson of Sir George Herbert of St. Julians, that earl's second son. Born after 1552, he was a pupil of Laurence Humphrey [q. v.], president of Magdalen College, Oxford (cf. *Croftus*), but none of the many William Herberts whose names appear on the Oxford University register can be identified with him, and if he studied at Oxford at all, it must have been as Humphrey's private pupil. He seems to be the William Herbert who was knighted by Queen Elizabeth at Richmond on 21 Dec. 1578

(METCALFE, *Knights*, p. 133). Herbert was described by his friends as learned, and 'of a very high mind.' Throughout his life he was 'much conversant with books, and especially given to the study of divinity,' astrology, and alchemy (HERBERT OF CHERBURY'S *Autobiog.* 1886, p. 41; *Cal. State Papers*, Irish, 1588–92, p. 133). As early as 1 May 1577 he sent Dr. John Dee [q. v.] the astrologer notes for Dee's 'Monas Hieroglyphica.' In 1581 he was residing at Mortlake, and was benefitting by Dee's curious learning (DEE, *Diary*, Camd. Soc., pp. 3, 10). Thomas Churchyard the poet was another admirer, and to Herbert Churchyard dedicated his 'Dream,' which forms 'the ninth labour' of 'the first parte of Churchyardes Chippes,' 1575.

On 14 Feb. 1587–8 Herbert wrote to Walsingham that he desired to show posterity his affection for his God and his prince 'by a volume of my writing,' by 'a colony of my planting,' and by 'a college of my erecting.' The first two objects he accomplished, the last he did not carry further than a resolve to place a college at Tintern, where he owned a house and property. The colony he planted in Ireland. He was a distant relative and an intimate friend of Sir James Croft [q. v.], whom he always calls 'cousin,' and who had been lord-lieutenant of Ireland in 1551–2. Acting probably at Croft's suggestion, he became an 'undertaker' for the plantation of Munster on 5 May 1586, and on 17 June applied for three 'seignories' in Kerry. In April 1587 he arrived at Cork, and was allotted many of the confiscated lands which had been the property of Gerald Fitzgerald, fifteenth earl of Desmond (*d.* 1583) [q. v.] Herbert's property included Castleisland and its neighbourhood, and covered 13,276 acres (cf. *Cal. State Papers*, Irish, 1592–6, p. 55, and *Dep.-Keeper's Reports of Records of Ireland*, xvi. 95). He flung himself with energy into the work of colonisation, recommending that Desmond and Kerry should be combined into a single county; that the government should be wholly in English hands; that Limerick should be garrisoned and fortified, and that an army formed of Monmouthshire men should be maintained to resist foreign invasion. He also desired to see all the worst lands in Kerry colonised by English gentlemen, and such Irish customs as tanistry abolished. On the whole he treated the native Irish with more consideration than many of his colleagues in the plantation, but he put into execution many clauses of the statute against Irish customs, expressly forbidding, under heavy penalties, the wearing of the native mantle. As a zealous protestant he tried to induce the Irish to abandon Roman catholicism; had the articles of the creed, the Lord's Prayer, and the ten commandments translated into Irish, and directed all the clergy on his estate to read the religious services in the native language. With the Dean of Ardagh, whom he describes as 'a reverend old man' inclined to papistry, he held many conferences, directing his attention to passages in St. Augustine and St. Chrysostom, and to works by Whittaker and Sadaell, copies of which he was careful to carry to Ireland with him. After nearly two years' residence at Castleisland, he wrote home that he had hopes of making Kerry and Desmond 'a little England, after the example of Pembrokeshire in times past' (9 Jan. 1588–9). About the same time he acted as vice-president of Munster, in the temporary absence of Sir Thomas Norris, and sat on many commissions to settle disputes among the undertakers. But Herbert's work was severely attacked by Sir Edward Denny, high sheriff of Kerry, and owner of Tralee and the neighbourhood, who complained of Herbert's self-conceit, and declared that his constables were rogues, and that the native Irish under his care were ruthlessly pillaged. Herbert replied that Denny encouraged pirates on the Kerry coast, and did not treat with consideration native converts to protestantism (cf. *Cal. State Papers*, Irish, 1588–92, pp. 189–92). Denny's complaints tally ill with the commendatory letters which Herbert carried with him to Lord Burghley and Sir Francis Walsingham when he finally returned to England in the spring of 1589. Meiler Magrath, archbishop of Cashel, wrote of Herbert as 'one able and willing to do good,' and of his 'articles' for his Kerry tenants as 'godly, politic, and wise,' adding that six men like him would win the people's hearts better than six thousand soldiers (*ib.* p. 133). Adam Loftus, the lord chancellor, and Sir Warham St. Leger wrote in similar terms, and emphasised Herbert's success as a protestant missionary (cf. *Lansd. MS.* lviii. 81; STRYPE, *Annals*, III. ii. 74–5; *Cal. State Papers*, Irish, 1588–92, pp. 119, 126). In September 1589 Herbert was at his house at Tintern. He died at St. Julians on 4 March 1592–3. He married early in life Florence or Florentia, daughter of William Morgan of Llantarnan, Pembrokeshire, and left an only child, Mary, who was born about 1578. He settled by will, dated 12 April 1587, all his property, which included, besides St. Julians and his Irish estates, land in Anglesea and Carnarvonshire, upon his daughter, on condition that she married 'one of the surname of Herbert.' On 28 Feb. 1598–1599 she satisfied this condition by marrying her kinsman, Edward Herbert, afterwards

lord Herbert of Cherbury [illegible]
tion of Herbert's widow [illegible]
survey of his Irish property [illegible]
rent reduced in [illegible]
temp. Eliz. pp. [illegible]
Castle-Island was [illegible]
of 1566. Churchyard [illegible]
Wales,' 1587, describes [illegible]
house.' Coxe, in his [illegible]
1801, gives two views [illegible]
ruin. The porch is still [illegible]
and Wilkins, *Rude* [illegible]
*Residences*, Newport, [illegible]

Herbert was author [illegible]
by a true Christian [illegible]
pretended Catholike [illegible]
troversie touching the [illegible]
the 12, 13, and [illegible] chapters [illegible]
tions are briefly and [illegible]
London by John Windet, [illegible]
anonymous, with Sir William [illegible]
back of the title-page [illegible]
tish Museum. [illegible]
describes the book in [illegible]
Revelations' (*Lit. among* [illegible]
initialed Sir William [illegible]
licensed by the Stationers' [illegible]
Winder on 14 Jan. [illegible]
*scripts*, [illegible]). The [illegible]
'Sidney, or Emperiall [illegible]
ing out the rare and noble virtues of
that most honourable and [illegible]
Sir Philip Sidney,' London [illegible]
1586, 4to. This work [illegible]
(*Typogr. Lit.*, [illegible]) [illegible]
ascribes it to [illegible] Herbert, [illegible]
copy is unknown. [illegible] Herbert has been identified with the [illegible] W. H. [illegible] poet
lyric in the 'Phœnix Nest' [illegible] of Brit.
*Helicon*, 1613, [illegible] A [illegible]
prose by Herbert [illegible] Camp [illegible]
favour of Roman [illegible] Nations,' 1587, has not been printed, and is
now in Brit. Mus. Lansd. MS. 97, No. 7.
Strype refers to [illegible] of Parker, p.
166. 5. 'Conference [illegible] Hibernia Liberi' an historical, political, and geographical treatise by Herbert on Ireland, also in Latin
prose, and named in compliment to Sir James
Croft, was first printed in [illegible] preserved
among Earl Powis's manuscripts at Powis
Castle for the Roxburghe Club, under the
editorship of the Rev. W. E. Buckley, in
1887. 6. Abstracts of three valuable tracts
by Herbert on the plantation of Munster
appear in 'Calendar of Irish State Papers,'
1586–8, pp. 527–47. In the latter series of
publications are also printed many of Herbert's letters to Walsingham and Burghley,
written while he was in Ireland. A fiercely-worded letter from Herbert to one Morgan,

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible] Henry, son of William Herbert, [illegible] seems to have [illegible] Church, [illegible] in [illegible] He was apparently [illegible] Prince Henry soon after [illegible] A William Herbert [illegible] Sir William [illegible] in 1613, and [illegible] with the poet. Lodge [illegible] and describes him as a [illegible] gentleman. Wyndham [illegible] *Life of Henry*, [illegible] 1724, [illegible] It is likewise published as the [illegible] and accompanied poem [illegible] poem—a very rare [illegible] A [illegible] of Dowlais, last King of the [illegible] a comparison of the [illegible] with many worthy Romans [illegible] William Herbert [illegible] Henry the Fifth [illegible] life and death. [illegible] between the two houses of York and Lancaster. The Field of Bosworth. The [illegible] of Elizabeth. The praise of King James, and lastly a poem to the young Prince, London, by Thomas Creede for Roger [illegible] 1604. In a dedication to Sir Philip Herbert, K.B., afterwards Earl of Pembroke and Montgomery (q.v.), the author [illegible] with the guidance of Sir Philip Sidney, and at the close of the volume other verses to Sir Philip Herbert precede the poem to the young prince.' The section dealing with the battle of Banbury supplies a speech of William Herbert, earl of Pembroke (d. 1469 [q.v.]), after being condemned to death, but the poet does not appear to claim relationship with the Pembroke family. The address to James I includes enthusiastic praises of Sidney and Spenser. The poem is, with rare exceptions, in seven-line stanzas, rhyming *a b a b b c c*, and is promising as the work of a young man. It has been reprinted in Dr. Grosart's 'Fuller Worthies' Miscellany,' vol. i. Imperfect

copies are in the British Museum and Bodleian Libraries; perfect copies are in the Huth and Britwell collections.

The author of 'Cadwallader' contributed verses 'in laudem authoris' to Peter Erondelle's 'French Garden,' 1608, and lines by him addressed 'to his worthily-affected friend, Mr. W. Browne,' precede Browne's 'Britannia's Pastorals,' 1625. An epigram on him appears in Gamage's 'Linsie Woolsie,' 1613.

Care must be taken to distinguish the poet from Sir William Herbert (*d.* 1593) [q. v.], with whom Ritson and others have confused him. There seems little doubt, too, that he is to be distinguished from WILLIAM HERBERT (*fl.* 1634–1662), a voluminous author of pious manuals and French conversation-books. This author lived for some years at Pointington, Somerset, where he married Frances Sedgwicke, 27 April 1635 (parish register). In 1640 he was tutor to the sons of Montague Bertie, second earl of Lindsey [q. v.], and seems to have travelled abroad with them. He had a perfect knowledge of French, calls himself Guillaume Herbert when translating Daniel Featley's 'Ancilla Pietatis' into English, and spent much time abroad. He was a zealous opponent of Roman catholicism, and took so much interest in the French and Dutch protestants in London as to suggest that he joined their congregation. In his 'Reponse aux Questions de Mr. Despagne adressées à l'Eglise Française de Londres,' London, 1657, he charges Jean d'Espagne [q. v.], a French protestant minister in London, with blasphemy and immorality, and quotes information obtained from the Hague. In 1662 he published, while living at the Charterhouse, London, 'Considerations in the behalf of Foreigners which reside in England, and of the English who are out of their own Country,' and pleaded earnestly for universal toleration in matters of religion and politics. In the dedication of his 'Careful Father' to Philip Herbert, earl of Pembroke and Montgomery, he addresses the earl as 'the chiefe Herbert,' but claims no near relationship. By his wife Frances (*d.* 10 March 1644–5) (cf. HERBERT, *Childbearing Woman*) he had a son, Benjamin (*b.* 18 Feb. 1644–5), and a daughter, Elizabeth (*b.* 1639).

His works, besides those mentioned, are: 1. 'Herbert's Beleefe and Confession of Faith made in clx articles for the instruction of his wife and children,' London, 1646, 12mo, dedicated to his son Benjamin; 2nd edit. London, 1648, 'with scripture proofes and some words and lines for illustrations,' dedicated to Montague Bertie, earl of Lindsey. 2. 'Herbert's Careful Father and Pious Child, lively represented in Teaching and Learning. A Catechisme made in all Questions. . . . For th' instruction of his daughter,' London, 1648, 12mo, dedicated to Philip Herbert, earl of Pembroke and Montgomery, with an 'appended' catalogue of 210 Popish errors. 3. 'Herbert's Childbearing Woman from the Conception to the Weaning of the Child, made in a Devotion containing above clx Meditations, Prayers, and Songs for the use of Mrs. Frances Herbert,' London, 1648, 8vo, dedicated to his wife from Pointington in 1638. The verse includes lullabies and songs to be sung while the children are being dressed, carried into the fields, and the like. 4. 'Herbert's Quadripartit Devotion for the Day, Week, Month, and Year,' London, 1648, 8vo, 4 pts.; dedicated to the pastors, elders, and deacons of all the French and Dutch congregations in Great Britain. 5. 'Herbert's French and English Dialogues,' London, 1660, 8vo; a projected grammar is stated in the advertisement to have been delayed by the writer's illness.

A book by Herbert, entitled 'La Mallette de David,' was licensed for publication to N. Bourne on 2 March 1634–5. In 1658 Herbert edited the fourth edition of Paul Cogneau's 'Sure Guide to the French Tongue.'

[For the poet see Dr. Grosart's reprint noticed above; Corser's Collectanea Anglo-Poetica, vii. 152 sq.; Ritson's Bibliographia Anglo-Poetica; Collier's Bibliographical Cat. i. 361. For William Herbert the prose writer see his works enumerated above.] S. L. L.

HERBERT, WILLIAM, third EARL OF PEMBROKE (1580–1630), eldest son of Henry Herbert, second earl [q. v.], by his third wife, Mary Herbert [q. v.], was born at Wilton 8 April 1580. In his childhood his mother secured the services of Samuel Daniel [q. v.] as his tutor. A later tutor was named Sandford. On 8 March 1592–3 he matriculated from New College, Oxford, where he stayed two years. In April 1597 he was persuading his father to allow him to live in London, and in August his parents were corresponding with Burghley respecting a proposal to marry him to Burghley's granddaughter, Bridget Vere, daughter of the Earl of Oxford. The girl was only thirteen years old, and it was intended that Herbert should travel before settling down to married life. Both considerations suggested difficulties, and the proposal came to nothing, although the match was agreeable to Herbert, and the Earl of Oxford wrote of him as well brought up and 'faire conditioned,' with 'many good partes in him' (TYLER, *Shakespeare's Sonnets*, pp. 45–7).

In the spring of 1598 Herbert seems to have settled in London. In August 1599 he announced that he meant to 'follow the camp' at the annual musters, and he appears to have attended her majesty with two hundred horse, 'swaggering it among the men of war' (*Sydney Papers*, ii. 43, 113, 115). Although handsome and accomplished, Herbert was no model courtier; he was constant in his attendance, but pursued the queen's favour in a 'cold and weak manner.' 'There [was] a want of spirit laid to his charge, and that he [was] a melancholy young man' (*ib.* p. 122); but he was from the first 'exceedingly beloved of all men' (*ib.* p. 143). The illness of his father recalled him to Wilton in September 1599, but when again in London in November Elizabeth began to notice him, and he had an hour's private audience with her (*ib.* p. 144). The rest of the winter he spent in the country, suffering from ill-health. He complained of a continual pain in his head, and found 'no manner of ease but by taking of tobacco' (*ib.* p. 165). In December another match for him was suggested with Anne, daughter of Lord Hertford. On 22 March 1599–1600, Whyte, the confidential correspondent of his uncle, Sir Robert Sidney, wrote of his return to court, where Whyte anticipated that he would yet prove a great man (*ib.* p. 182). On 16 June 1600 he took part in the festivities at Blackfriars, graced by the queen's presence, to celebrate the wedding of Lord Herbert, the Earl of Worcester's son, and Anne Russell, a maid of honour. At the end of the month he expressed an intention of volunteering for military service in the Low Countries (CHAMBERLAIN, *Letters*, p. 82). In September and October 1600 he was vigorously practising at Greenwich for a court tournament. On the death of his father on 19 Jan. 1600–1 he succeeded to the earldom of Pembroke.

'I don't find any disposition at all in this gallant young lord to marry,' wrote Whyte on 16 Aug. 1600, but Whyte allowed that he was 'well thought of, and was keeping company with the best and gravest' courtiers. Herbert, however, was to some extent deceiving his friends. All his life he was 'immoderately given up to women,' and indulged himself in 'pleasures of all kinds, almost in all excesses' (CLARENDON, *History*, i. 72). Before his father's death he had formed an illicit connection with Mary Fitton [q. v.], a lady of the court, who was in high favour with the queen. Very soon after Herbert had become earl of Pembroke, the lady was proved with child. Elizabeth treated the scandal very seriously. Pembroke was examined and admitted his responsibility, but renounced 'all marriage.' In March 1601 a boy was born, but died soon after birth. Pembroke was committed to the Fleet prison, and although released apparently within a month, he was banished the court. On 29 June he begged Cecil to obtain permission for him to 'go abroad to follow mine own business,' and declared that exclusion from the queen's favour and presence was 'hell' to him. On 13 Aug. he renewed his request to Cecil; 'the change of climate may purge me of melancholy, for els I shall never be fitt for any civil society.' An endeavour to obtain for himself the post held by his father of keeper of the Forest of Dean failed; he felt the indignity keenly, and was more desirous than before 'to wipe out the memory of his disgraces' by a long foreign tour. Although his father's death gave him a large fortune, he was at the time involved in pecuniary difficulties due to his personal extravagance. At the end of 1602 he was spending 'a royal Christmas' with Sir John Harington and a distinguished company at Exton, Rutland (CHAMBERLAIN, *Letters*, p. 171; *Sydney Papers*, ii. 262). In 1603 his mother conjured him, 'as he valued her blessing, to employ his own credit and that of his friends to ensure' the pardon of Raleigh. On 4 Nov. 1604 he married Lady Mary, the wealthy daughter of Gilbert Talbot, seventh earl of Shrewsbury (LODGE, *Illustrations*, iii. 56, 83). The wedding was celebrated by a tournament at Wilton (AUBREY).

Pembroke shared the literary tastes of his mother and uncle, Sir Philip Sidney. He wrote verse himself, and was, according to Aubrey, 'the greatest Mæcenas to learned men of any peer of his time or since.' Donne was an intimate friend. He was always well disposed to his old tutor Daniel and to his kinsman George Herbert [q. v.] William Browne lived with him in Wilton House. He was generous to Massinger the dramatist, son of his father's steward. Ben Jonson addressed an eulogistic epigram to him in his collection of epigrams, which is itself dedicated to him. Every New-year's day Pembroke sent Jonson 20*l.* to buy books (*Conversations with Drummond*, pp. 22, 25). Inigo Jones, who is said to have visited Italy at his expense, was in his service. Chapman inscribed a sonnet to him at the close of his translation of the 'Iliad,' and Davison's 'Poetical Rhapsody' (1601) is dedicated to him. The numerous books in which a like compliment is paid him, often in conjunction with his brother Philip, amply attest the largeness of his patronage. The two Herberts, William and Philip, are 'the incomparable pair of brethren' to whom the first folio of Shakespeare's works is dedicated

(1623); and the editors justify the selection of their patrons on the ground that the Herberts had been pleased to think Shakespeare's plays something heretofore, and had 'prosecuted both them and their author living with so much favour.' Other parts of the dedication prove as clearly that Shakespeare was on friendly terms with Pembroke, and the fact confirms the suggestion that the publisher's dedication of Shakespeare's 'Sonnets' 'to *the onlie begetter* of these insving sonnets, Mr. W. H.,' is addressed to Pembroke, disguised under the initials of his family name—William Herbert. The acceptance of this theory gives Shakespeare's 'Sonnets' an important place in Pembroke's early biography. The 'Sonnets,' though not published till 1609, were written for circulation among private friends more than ten years earlier. The opening series was addressed by Shakespeare to a handsome youth above his own rank, to whom the poet was deeply attached. He advises the youth to marry, is disconsolate when they are separated, and prophesies that his verse will secure his friend immortality. Some of the early sonnets seem to imply that the friend had temporarily robbed Shakespeare of his mistress, and the poet subsequently describes an estrangement between them owing to the young man's corruption by bad company. A reconciliation follows, but the concluding series of sonnets (clxxvi–cliv.) appears to relate how the friend supplanted the poet in the affections of 'a dark lady' associated with the court. Shakespeare's young friend was doubtless Pembroke himself, and 'the dark lady' in all probability was Pembroke's mistress, Mary Fitton. Nothing in the sonnets directly contradicts the identification of W. H., their hero and 'onlie begetter,' with William Herbert, and many minute internal details confirm it (cf. T. Tyler, *Shakespeare's Sonnets*, 1890, passim, and esp. pp. 44–73).

On the accession of James I Pembroke returned to court, and soon secured a high position there. He was wealthy, despite his reckless expenditure, and was popular with all parties. Although James never 'loved or favoured him,' he 'regarded and esteemed him' from the first. As early as 17 May 1603 Pembroke received the office of keeper of the Forest of Clarendon, and on 25 June 1603 he was installed a knight of the Garter. He entertained the king at Wilton on 29–30 Aug. 1603 (Nichols, *Progresses*, i. 254). On 28 Jan. 1603–4 he was appointed lord warden of the Stannaries and high steward of the duchy of Cornwall, and on 21 May following became lord-lieutenant of Cornwall. He performed in the court masque on St. John's day, 1604, which celebrated the marriage of his brother Philip. He showed his active intelligence, and some love of speculation, in becoming governor of the Society of London for Mineral and Battery Works, which was incorporated on 18 Jan. 1603–4, and subsequently obtained government protection for waterworks erected at Trelleck, Monmouthshire, in October 1607 (*Cal. State Papers*, 1603–10, pp. 68, 378). He accompanied the king to Oxford in August 1605, and was created M.A. In June 1606 he was prominent in a tournament at Greenwich, and, with the Duke of Lennox, Lord Arundel, and his brother, spoke a challenge addressed in chivalric language, for which William Drummond of Hawthornden is said to have been responsible, to all 'knights adventurers of hereditary note' (*ib.* p. 319). On 8 Jan. 1607–8 he obtained that post of warden of the Forest of Dean which Queen Elizabeth had refused him. In 1608 a quarrel between Pembroke and Sir George Wharton over a game of cards led to an undignified scuffle between them in the hunting-field near Bagshot. A challenge followed, but the king and council forbade a duel, and compounded the dispute (Lodge, iii. 241). On 16 Oct. 1609 Pembroke was nominated captain of Portsmouth, and he became a privy councillor 29 Sept. 1611.

Pembroke was deeply interested in the explorations in New England. He became a member of the king's council for the Virginia Company of London 23 May 1609, and was an incorporator of the North-West Passage Company 26 July 1612, and of the Bermudas Company 29 June 1615. On 3 Nov. 1620 he was made a member of the council for New England. His interest in the Bermudas was commemorated by a division of the island being named after him, and in Virginia the Rappahannock river was at one time called the Pembroke river in his honour. In 1620 he patented thirty thousand acres in Virginia, and undertook to send over emigrants and cattle. In January 1622 the council in Virginia promised to choose the land for him out of 'the most commodious seat that may be.' On 19 May 1627 he was an incorporator of the Guiana Company. It is said that on 25 Feb. 1629 Pembroke obtained a grant of Barbadoes, and that it was revoked on 7 April 1629, owing to the prior claims of the Earl of Carlisle, but Barbadoes was included in a grant to his brother Philip of 2 Feb. 1627–8 (cf. Alexander Brown, *Genesis of the United States*, 1890, ii. 921). From 1614 Pembroke was a member of the East India Company.

At home Pembroke was no friend to James's imperious domestic policy, nor to his tortuous diplomacy abroad. He had opposed the alliance with Spain, which the king favoured,

and was one of the councillors who had suggested the summoning of a parliament in the autumn of 1615 (SPEDDING, *Bacon*, v. 203). James then desired to conciliate his opponents. Somerset's fall in December of that year left the office of lord chamberlain vacant, and the appointment of Pembroke as Somerset's successor seemed to James a graceful concession to his opponents. Pembroke's amiability at the same time fitted him for the post. Although he never acted with much strength of will, his preferment made no impression on his political views. He distrusted Buckingham, and had difficulties with the favourite as soon as he assumed office concerning the chamberlain's rights of patronage to minor posts about the court. In 1616 he joined Ellesmere and Winwood in urging the despatch of Raleigh on his last expedition, undoubtedly in the expectation that Raleigh's action would compromise James's policy of peace with Spain; and there was some foundation for Raleigh's later charges that Pembroke and his friends had instigated his attack on the Mexico fleet, for which Raleigh suffered death. In 1619 Pembroke went to Scotland with Hamilton and Lennox. He used his personal influence to obtain the payment of the benevolence of 1620, and late in the summer James visited him at Wilton. It is said that while there the king visited Stonehenge, and that Pembroke directed Inigo Jones, whom he presented to James at the time, to prepare for the king his account of the monumental remains. Early next year Pembroke supported, in opposition to the king and Buckingham, the demand of the House of Commons for an inquiry into the monopoly-grants. In April 1621 charges of corruption were brought against Bacon, who offered to make his submission to the House of Lords. Pembroke took a prominent part in the debates that followed. He advocated further inquiry, supported Buckingham's motion to invite the chancellor to send a message to the house, and spoke strongly against the proposal to deprive Bacon of his peerage. He was a joint commissioner of the great seal on Bacon's retirement (3 May–10 July 1621). Memoranda made by Bacon after his degradation show that he intended writing to Pembroke to thank him for 'the moderation and affection his lordship showed in my business,' and to solicit his future favour 'for the furtherance of my private life and fortune' (SPEDDING, vii. 209).

At the end of 1621 Pembroke spoke with warmth in the council against the king's determination to dissolve parliament. The commons had just presented their famous protestation, and Pembroke was taunted by Buckingham with wishing to insult the king (cf. *Court and Times of James I*, ii. 287). Illness prevented Pembroke from attending the council when the oath was taken to the Spanish marriage treaty (26 July 1623), but in the following August James paid him a third visit at Wilton. After the failure of Buckingham's and Prince Charles's visit to Spain, Buckingham urged on James a declaration of war. Pembroke boldly denounced the favourite's counsel, and an open rupture between them took place. Prince Charles intervened to bring about a reconciliation, which Pembroke's affable manners made an easy task. On 2 Feb. 1624 Pembroke amiably defended Buckingham for his conduct in Spain, but tried to dissuade him from directly attacking Bristol, who was his own personal friend (April). In September 1624 Buckingham's subserviency to France in the French marriage negotiations excited Pembroke's distrust anew. In March 1625 Pembroke attended at Theobalds the deathbed of James I, who entreated him to testify publicly that he died a protestant.

On 9 April 1625 Pembroke was made a member of the committee of council appointed to advise the king on foreign affairs, and he took a prominent part in the negotiations for the surrender of those English ships to France which were employed against the French protestants (July 1625). He afterwards explained that he believed the ships were intended for employment against Genoa. Pembroke carried the crown at Charles I's coronation (2 Feb. 1625–6), and joined the permanent council of war (3 May 1626). But his misgivings of Buckingham's French policy soon revived. He expressed himself with sufficient freedom on the point to offend the king, and entered into communications with the parliamentary opposition. Pembroke was too rich and powerful for his support to be neglected. He had many seats in parliament at his disposal, and once again a reconciliation between him and Buckingham was patched up. It was arranged that Pembroke, who had no children, should make the eldest son of his brother Philip his heir, and should marry him to Buckingham's daughter (*Court and Times of Charles I*, i. 123–132). In July 1626 Pembroke was seriously ill of the stone, but on 18 Aug. 1626 he became lord steward. In September 1628 he recommended a peace with France as a needful preliminary to the despatch of assistance to the German protestants, whose cause he desired that England should actively support.

On 10 April 1630 Pembroke suddenly died at his London house, Baynard's Castle, 'of an apoplexy after a full and cheerful supper'

the night before either at the Countess of Bedford's or the Countess of Devonshire's (*ib.* ii. 73). His death is said to have been exactly foretold by his tutor Sandford (CLARENDON); by Thomas Allen of Gloucester Hall (WOOD); and by Eleanor, lady Davies (ECHARD). He was buried in the family vault in Salisbury Cathedral. A very eulogistic funeral sermon by T. C., 'The Ivst Man's Memorial, as it was delivered at Baynard's Castle before the interment of the Body,' was published in 1630, with a dedication to the earl's brother and heir, Philip. Pembroke died intestate, and his debts are said to have reached a total of 80,000*l.* His income had amounted to 22,000*l.* a year (*Court and Times of Charles I*, ii. 73). Clarendon's eulogy on Pembroke (ed. Macray, i. 71–5) states that he was the most universally loved and esteemed of any man of his age, that he was always ready to advance worthy men, that he maintained an honourable independence amid court factions, and that he was a great lover of his country and of the religion and justice which he believed could only support it. He was 'loyal and yet a friend to liberty.' Clarendon admits, however, that late in life 'his natural vivacity and vigour of mind began to lessen' by immoral indulgences. He was unhappy in his domestic affairs. 'He paid much too dear,' writes Clarendon, 'for his wife's fortunes by taking her person into the bargain.' As a statesman, Pembroke lacked force of character. 'For his person,' said Bacon, 'he was not effectual.' He opposed Buckingham tamely, although their views were on most subjects diametrically opposed, and readily agreed to patch up their quarrels. Mr. S. R. Gardiner characterises him as the Hamlet of Charles's court (GARDINER, *Hist.* vii. 133). Wood describes his person as majestic rather than elegant, and his presence, whether quiet or in motion, as 'full of stately gravity.' His delight in the society of men of letters remained with him to the last.

From 29 Jan. 1617 till his death Pembroke held the office of chancellor of Oxford University. In 1624 Broadgates Hall was replaced by Pembroke College, the new society being thus named in compliment to the chancellor (cf. LLOYD, *State Worthies*, ii. 232; WOOD, *Colleges and Halls*, ed. Gutch, p. 617). Pembroke became the visitor and a member of the new college's governing board, and, according to Aubrey, intended to prove 'a great benefactor' to it, but his sole gift was 'a great piece of plate,' which is no longer in existence. In 1629 Pembroke purchased the famous Barocci library, which had been brought from Venice by a London stationer, and on 25 May, at Laud's instigation, presented the greater part of the collection —250 Greek manuscripts—to the Bodleian Library. Twenty-two other Greek manuscripts and two Russian manuscripts which the earl retained were bought after his death by Oliver Cromwell, and given to the same library in 1654. Pembroke, in making the gift, stated that the manuscripts should, if necessary, be borrowed by students.

In 1660 the younger Donne edited and published 'Poems written by the Right Honourable William, Earl of Pembroke, Lord Steward of Her Majesties Household, many of which are answered by way of repartee by Sr Benjamin Ruddier, knight, with several distinct Poems written by them occasionally and apart.' There is a dedication to Christian, dowager-countess of Devonshire, to whom, according to the editor, Pembroke presented most of the verses included in the volume. A few of the poems undoubtedly by Pembroke are signed 'P.,' and were written in association with his friend Sir Benjamin Rudyerd, but mingled with them are poems by Sir Walter Raleigh, Sir Edward Dyer, Carew, William Strode, and others. According to the editor's address to the reader, he had only printed a portion of Pembroke's manuscripts; Henry Lawes and Nicholas Laniere, who set some of Pembroke's songs to music, had supplied him with a few of those published, and were ready to supply him with more. One of Pembroke's published poems appears in the Browne MS. in the British Museum (*Lansd. MS.* 777, f. 73; cf. TYLER, p. 69). The whole volume was reprinted by Sir S. E. Brydges in 1817. Pembroke's verse is always graceful, but lacks higher qualities. A religious work, 'Of the Internal and Eternal Nature of Man in Christ,' London, 1654, is ascribed to Pembroke in the 'British Museum Catalogue,' on the ground of a contemporary manuscript note, but Pembroke's authorship is very doubtful.

A fine portrait by Mytens has been engraved by Vandervoerst. It was painted for Charles I's gallery at Whitehall in 1627 and is now at Wilton (DEVON, *Issues of the Exchequer under James I*, p. 358). There are rare engraved prints of the earl by Simon Pass, 1617, and by Stent. A brass statue of the earl, cast by Hubert Le Soeur from a design of Rubens, was placed at Wilton, and was presented to Oxford University in 1723 by Thomas, seventh earl of Pembroke, a great-nephew. It is now in the picture gallery adjoining the Bodleian Library. A portrait painted by Vandyck from the statue is at Wilton.

[Doyle's Official Baronage; Collins's Peerage; Lloyd's State Worthies, 1766, ii. 230 sq.; Brydges's Peers of England during the reign of James I, pp. 148 sq.; Sydney Papers, ed. Collins; Nichols's Progresses of James I; Cal. State Papers, Dom. 1603–30; Hoare's Hist. of South Wiltshire, vol. ii. pt. i. p. 143; Aubrey's Nat. Hist. of Wiltshire, ed. Britton, 1847; Macray's Annals of the Bodleian Library; T. Tyler's Shakespeare's Sonnets, 1890; Wood's Athenæ Oxon. ed. Bliss, ii. 482–486; Wood's Fasti, i. 313; Gardiner's Hist.; Brit. Mus. Cat.] S. L. L.

**HERBERT, WILLIAM**, first MARQUIS and titular DUKE OF POWIS (1617–1696), born in 1617, was the son of Percy Herbert, second baron Powis of Powis, by Elizabeth, daughter of Sir William Craven, knight, of London. Before 1661 he married Lady Elizabeth Somerset, younger daughter of Edward, second marquis of Worcester. He succeeded his father as third baron on 19 Jan. 1667, and was advanced to be Earl of Powis on 4 April 1674. An upright and moderate man, he was generally regarded as the chief of the Roman catholic aristocracy. In religious matters he held very tolerant views. Richard Davies, a quaker of Welshpool, frequently appealed to him to use his influence to relieve his friends of persecution. 'I must say,' Davies wrote in his 'Memoirs,' 'that the Earl of Powis and his countess were very ready and willing at all times to do our friends any kindness that lay in their way, and to help them out of their troubles and afflictions; and I am apt to believe they did it conscientiously.' According to Titus Oates, Powis was to have been prime minister if the Popish plot of 1678 had succeeded. Suspected of complicity in that imaginary design, he was one of the five lords arrested on 25 Oct., at the instance of the House of Commons, and committed to the Tower. The proceedings were interrupted by the dissolution of parliament in the following January. But in March 1679 it was decided that this did not invalidate the impeachment, which was accordingly resumed in April. Except, however, as regarded Stafford, the public proceedings were stopped in December 1680. Powis, Arundell, and Bellasyse were left in the Tower [see more fully under ARUNDELL, HENRY]. His wife, whom Burnet calls 'a zealous managing papist,' was also committed to the Tower, on the information of Thomas Dangerfield [q.v.], for her supposed share in the 'Meal-tub plot' on 4 Nov. 1679 (LUTTRELL, i. 25; BURNET, *Own Time*, i. 475; *Hatton Correspondence*, Camd. Soc., i. 200–2), but she was released on bail on 12 Feb. 1680 (LUTTRELL, i. 36), and on the following 11 May the indictment against her was thrown out by the grand jury of Middlesex (*ib.* pp. 43, 45). On 7 Dec. 1681 Powis was presented for recusancy at the Old Bailey (*ib.* i. 149). He was not permitted to give bail until 12 Feb. 1684, when the lord chief justice remarked that in 'justice and conscience' he ought to have been allowed out long since (*ib.* i. 301); he was accordingly released from the Tower after an imprisonment of over five years. At five in the morning of 26 Oct. 1684 his house at the north-west angle of Lincoln's Inn Fields was burnt down, and he with his family had a narrow escape (*ib.* i. 318). He soon rebuilt the house. When, in May 1685, Dangerfield was prosecuted for libel, Herbert and his wife gave evidence against him (*ib.* i. 345).

During the reign of James II Powis led the moderate party among the Roman catholics, who perceived that their sudden good fortune was only temporary, and unless wisely used might be fatal to them. On 21 May 1685 Powis, Arundell, and Bellasyse successfully petitioned the House of Lords to annul the charges against them, and thus liberty was formally assured them on 1 June. With some reluctance Powis accepted, 17 July 1686, a seat in the privy council, where he endeavoured to persuade James not to allow Tyrconnel in Ireland to repeal the Act of Settlement. It was through the mediation of Powis that Richard Baxter obtained pardon in November. On 24 March 1687 he was created marquis of Powis, and in the following November was appointed a commissioner to 'regulate' the corporations of England by expelling those members known to be unfavourable to the abolition of the penal laws and Test Act, and by supplying their places with more pliable material (*ib.* i. 421). He became also steward and recorder of Denbigh, and recorder of Shrewsbury (1688), lord-lieutenant of the county and city of Chester (15 Feb. to 23 Dec. 1688), vice-lieutenant of Sussex (15 Feb. 1688), and steward of the royal manors in Carmarthenshire (7 April 1688). Lady Powis was appointed governess of the king's children on 10 June 1688 (*ib.* i. 443). After James's flight the mob were only prevented (12 Dec. 1688) by the trained bands from destroying Powis's London house. Powis followed James to St. Germains, and was attainted in July 1689. James made him Marquis of Montgomery and Duke of Powis 12 Jan. 1689, and took him with him to Ireland, where he was appointed a privy councillor and lord chamberlain in July 1690. On his return to St. Germains in that year he was constituted lord steward and chamberlain of James's household (MACPHERSON, *Original*

*Papers*, i. 229). The marchioness, who was present at the birth of the Prince of Wales, 10 June 1688, remained governess to the royal children until her death on 11 March 1693. At a chapter of the Garter held by James at St. Germains in April 1692 Herbert was admitted into the order. Meanwhile he was outlawed (9 Oct. 1689) in England, and his estates confiscated; some of them, including Powis Castle, were granted in 1696 to the Earl of Rochfort. He died at St. Germains on 2 June 1696, and was buried there. Portraits of Powis and his wife are in the drawing-room of Powis Castle. His eldest son, William, second marquis, and his fifth and youngest daughter, Lucy, are separately noticed. Winifred, his second daughter, married William Maxwell [q. v.], earl of Nithsdale, and her conspicuous devotion to her husband rendered her very famous.

[Powysland Club Collections, v. 190-8, 353-364; Luttrell's Brief Historical Relation; Hist. MSS. Comm. 11th Rep. App. pt. ii. pp. 8-9, 24, 26, 29, 39, 45, pt. v. pp. 167, 224-5, 12th Rep. App. pt. vi. pp. 228, 230, 236; Doyle's Official Baronage, iii. 82-3; Macaulay's Hist. of England.] G. G.

**HERBERT, WILLIAM**, second MARQUIS and titular DUKE OF POWIS (*d.* 1745), born before 1667, was the son of William Herbert, first marquis of Powis [q. v.], by Lady Elizabeth, younger daughter of Edward Somerset, second marquis of Worcester. Until 1722 he was known as Viscount Montgomery. At the coronation of James II, 23 April 1685, he acted as page of honour. From 8 May 1687 until November 1688 he was colonel of a regiment of foot, and was also deputy-lieutenant of six Welsh counties from 26 Feb. to 23 Dec. 1688. His efforts in behalf of James II resulted in his committal to the Tower on 6 May 1689 (LUTTRELL, *Relation of State Affairs*, 1857, i. 530), and he was not admitted to bail until 7 Nov. following (*ib.* i. 601, 610). On 5 July 1690, and again on 23 March 1696 a proclamation, accompanied by a reward of 1,000*l.*, was issued for his apprehension; on the later occasion he was suspected of complicity in the plot of Sir John Fenwick [q. v.] In May 1696 he was outlawed (*ib.* iv. 64), but a technical error on the part of the sheriffs of London enabled him to retain his estate (*ib.* iv. 305, 315). He surrendered on 15 Dec. 1696, and was imprisoned in Newgate (*ib.* iv. 155). Though he was reported to have given information concerning Fenwick's plot (*ib.* iv. 157, 164), he remained in prison until 19 June 1697, when, owing to an outbreak of gaol fever, he succeeded in obtaining his release on bail (*ib.* iv. 241). He was not tried, and in November 1700 was lying dangerously ill at Ghent (*ib.* iv. 708). In January 1701 the king allowed him to come from Flanders in order to raise money upon his estate to discharge his debts (*ib.* v. 6). He paid a second visit to London on 25 May 1703, surrendered himself, and was admitted to bail (*ib.* v. 301). Pecuniary difficulties compelled him to sell his house in Lincoln's Inn Fields to the Duke of Newcastle for 7,000*l.* in May 1705 (*ib.* v. 547). But he appears to have already built Powis House in Great Ormond Street, where he was living in 1708. He was arrested during the Jacobite alarm in September 1715, when a friendly writer calls him as innocent and harmless a man as any that suffered in the Popish plot (*Hist. MSS. Comm.* 11th Rep. App. pt. iv. p. 160). He was eventually restored to his titles and estates, including Powis Castle, and was summoned to parliament as Marquis of Powis on 8 Oct. 1722. By Jacobites he was styled Duke of Powis, and he and his eldest son prepared a statement of their claim to that title; but the claim does not seem to have been pressed. He died on 22 Oct. 1745. He married Mary, eldest daughter and coheiress of Sir Thomas Preston, bart., of Furness, Lancashire (BURKE, *Extinct Baronetage*, p. 428). Three portraits of her—one by Kneller—are at Powis Castle. She died on 8 Jan. 1723-4, and was buried at Hendon, where the marquis had property. By her Powis had two sons and four daughters. William, the eldest son, died unmarried on 8 March 1748. Edward, the younger son, died in 1734, having married Henrietta, daughter of Earl Waldegrave, by whom he had an only child, Barbara, born posthumously. Barbara married a kinsman, Henry Arthur Herbert, who was created Baron Herbert of Cherbury in 1743, and Earl of Powis in 1748.

[Authorities quoted; Powysland Club Collections, v. 381-91; Hist. MSS. Comm. 10th Rep. App. pt. iv. p. 398; Doyle's Official Baronage, iii. 83-4.] G. G.

**HERBERT, WILLIAM** (1718-1795), bibliographer, was born 29 Nov. 1718, and was educated at Hitchin, Hertfordshire. He was apprenticed to a hosier, and on the expiration of his articles took up his freedom of the city, and opened a shop in Leadenhall Street, London. He was admitted to the livery of his company and chosen a member of the court of assistants. In order to learn the art of painting on glass he gave up the hosiery business, but about 1748 accepted a situation as purser's clerk to three ships belonging to the East India Company. After an adventure with some French men-of-war at Tellicherry, he made a long overland journey with a small company of natives. While

in India he adopted a kind of oriental dress and let his beard grow. On returning to England he drew plans of various settlements, for which the company gave him 300*l*. These plans were included in a publication issued by Bowles, printseller, near Mercers' Chapel. Herbert established himself as a chart-engraver and printseller on London Bridge; there is a mezzotint with this imprint. A fire, which took place on the bank of the Thames the very night of his entrance upon his new premises, suggested to him the plan of a floating fire-engine, which was afterwards carried into practical effect. In 1758 he published, 'at the Golden Globe, under the Piazzas, London Bridge,' 'A new Directory for the East Indies, with general and particular charts for the navigation of those seas, wherein the French Neptune Oriental has been chiefly considered and examined, with additions, corrections, and explanatory notes,' a quarto volume, with folio charts. Herbert, who calls himself 'hydrographer,' states in the dedication to the East India Company, 'all that has been set forth in the Neptune Oriental has been carefully examined and compared with the particular remarks and journals of ships in your honour's service, as also some country ones, besides many curious charts and plans I have been favoured with, as well as many collected whilst I was in India.' A second and third edition, unaltered, were issued. William Nicholson supplied the practical sea-knowledge. A fourth edition, 'with additions,' was published by Herbert's successor in 1775; a fifth edition, 'enlarged by S. Dunn,' appeared in 1780. When the houses on London Bridge were pulled down, about 1758, Herbert removed to a shop in Leadenhall Street, on the site afterwards covered by an addition to the India House. He married his first wife about the time of his residence on London Bridge. After a short stay in Leadenhall Street he moved to 27 Goulston Square, Whitechapel, and was married a second time to a niece of the Rev. Mr. Newman, 'pastor of the meeting in Carter Lane,' a woman with money, but of weak intellect. He brought out catalogues of 'books, charts, and maps,' and his business profits, added to his wife's income, enabled him to live well and to buy old books and manuscripts. When in Goulston Square he published the second edition of 'The Ancient and Present State of Gloucestershire,' by Sir Robert Atkyns (1768). The first edition (1712) had become very rare, a number of copies having been burnt at the great fire of Bowyer's printing-office; the greater part of the second edition was also destroyed by fire, and it also is extremely rare.

Herbert sold his business and stock to Henry Gregory for a thousand guineas, and retired to a country house at Cheshunt, Hertfordshire. He purchased the house, and among other additions built a library, in which he used to sit all day 'under a circular skylight, in the intervening period of every meal.' After the death of his second wife he married Philippa, daughter of John Croshold, mayor of Norwich, and niece of Robert Marsham of Stratton Strawless, Norfolk, who also brought him a good fortune. She died in 1808.

Ames's interleaved copy of his 'Typographical Antiquities,' with the plates, blocks, and copyright, came into Herbert's possession [see AMES, JOSEPH], and in 1780 he issued proposals for a new edition, upon which he had then been engaged twenty years. In 1785 was published the first volume, a quarto, printed with worn type, on poor paper, of 'Typographical Antiquities, or an Historical Account of the Origin and Progress of Printing in Great Britain and Ireland; containing Memoirs of our ancient Printers, and a Register of Books printed by them, from the year 1471 to 1500. Begun by the late Joseph Ames, considerably augmented, both in the Memoirs and number of books.' Five hundred copies of the small-paper and fifty large-paper copies composed the edition. The book was very favourably reviewed (*Gent. Mag.* lv. 117, and *Monthly Review*, lxxiii. 326, &c.) A second volume appeared in 1786 (*Gent. Mag.* lvi. 421, &c.), and the third and concluding volume in 1790. He busied himself in the preparation of a reimpression, and left an interleaved copy in six volumes, with a number of 'small-paper books in which he took his extracts from such books as were discovered since his publication.' He died childless, 18 March 1795, in his seventy-seventh year, and was buried in Cheshunt churchyard.

In Dibdin's edition of the 'Typographical Antiquities' (i. 71) there is a mezzotint of Herbert, 'from an original painting upon glass,' and a vignette by an imaginative oriental artist (*ib.* p. 95). Herbert is described as short and stout, shy and reserved with strangers, diffident as to his attainments, and a strict presbyterian in religion. He had many small eccentricities, among others that of always writing the personal pronoun with a small i (see his Preface). His rich library of old English books was dispersed after his death; his name, written in a bold clear hand on title-page or fly-leaf of the volume, is familiar to book-collectors. A catalogue of some of his books was published in 1796 by his nephew, Isaac Herbert, bookseller, of 29 Great Russell Street, Bloomsbury. He

spared no labour in the preparation of his great work; he searched the registers of the Company of Stationers, ransacked the public and private libraries of the kingdom, and carried on an extensive correspondence with owners of rare books. Some of his letters to Cole, Steevens, Chiswell, Dalrymple, G. Mason, and others are preserved by Nichols (*Lit. Anecdotes* and *Illustrations*, passim), and a part of his manuscript collections may be seen in the British Museum. His knowledge of old English books in their outward form was very great, but the literature itself had small interest for him; his edition of the 'Typographical Antiquities' increased three times the size of the original of Ames. The unfinished edition of Dibdin has not superseded it, and it remains a monument of industry, and the foundation of our bibliography of old English literature.

[Dibdin prefixed a biography to his edition of the Typogr. Antiq. 1810, i. 73–95, chiefly based on a notice by Gough in Gent. Mag. March 1795, pp. 261–2; see also Nichols's Lit. Anecd. v. 264–266.] H. R. T.

HERBERT, WILLIAM (1778–1847), dean of Manchester, third son and fifth child of Henry Herbert, first earl of Carnarvon, by Lady Elizabeth Alicia Maria, eldest daughter of Charles Wyndham, earl of Egremont, was born on 12 Jan. 1778, and was educated at Eton. While still at school he edited the volume of poems entitled 'Musæ Etonenses' in 1795, and, on quitting Eton, obtained a prize for a Latin poem on the subject 'Rhenus,' which was published. A translation appeared in 'Translations of Oxford Prize Poems,' 1831. On 16 July 1795 Herbert matriculated from Christ Church, Oxford, but soon migrated to Exeter College, where he graduated B.A. on 6 June 1798. Subsequently removing to Merton, he proceeded M.A. 23 Nov. 1802, B.C.L. 27 May 1808, D.C.L. 2 June 1808, and B.D. 25 June 1840. Inclining to a political career, he was elected M.P. for Hampshire in 1806, and for Cricklade in 1811, and also seems to have practised at the bar. But soon after retiring from parliament in 1812 he changed his plans. In 1814 he was ordained, and was nominated to the valuable rectory of Spofforth in the West Riding of Yorkshire. He left Spofforth in 1840 on his promotion to the deanery of Manchester. He died suddenly at his house in Hereford Street, Park Lane, London, on Friday, 28 May 1847. He married the Hon. Letitia Emily Dorothea, second daughter of Joshua, fifth viscount, Allen, on 17 May 1806, and was father of Henry William Herbert [q. v.] and three other children.

As a classical scholar, a linguist, and a naturalist, Herbert made a high reputation. In 1801 he brought out 'Ossiani Darthula,' a small volume of Greek and Latin poetry. In 1804 appeared part i. of his 'Select Icelandic Poetry, translated from the originals with notes.' Part ii. followed in 1806. Both are noteworthy for containing the first adequate illustration of ancient Scandinavian literature which had appeared in England. Herbert's efforts secured sufficient attention to induce Byron to mention him in his 'English Bards and Scotch Reviewers' (1809). Byron writes:

> Herbert shall wield Thor's hammer, and sometimes
> In gratitude thou 'lt praise his rugged rhymes.

Other translations from German, Danish, and Portuguese poems, with some miscellaneous English poems (1804), attest his exceptional command of foreign languages. He continued his literary career by articles of a non-political character to the 'Edinburgh Review.' 'Helga,' a poem in seven cantos, followed in 1815, with a second edition in the following year; 'Hedin, or the Spectre of the Tomb,' a tale in verse from Danish history, Lond., 1820; 'Pia della Pietra,' 1820; 'Iris,' a Latin ode, York, 1820; and the 'Wizard Wanderer of Jutland' in 1820–1. The epic poem entitled 'Attila, or the Triumph of Christianity,' in twelve books, with an historical preface, came out in 1838, the fruit of many years' labour, and a final volume of poems, 'The Christian,' in 1846.

Early attached to the study of natural history, and a good shot, he helped Rennie to edit White's 'Selborne' in 1833, and Bennett's edition of the work in 1837 was also indebted to him for many notes. For a long series of years the pages of the 'Botanical Register' and the 'Botanical Magazine' were enriched by articles from his pen, particularly on the subject of bulbous plants. He cultivated a large number of these plants at Spofforth, Yorkshire, and at Mitcham, Surrey, and many of them are now lost to cultivation. His standard volume on this group of plants, 'Amaryllidaceæ,' was issued in 1837. His 'Crocorum Synopsis' appeared in the miscellaneous portion of the 'Botanical Register' for 1843–4–5. Extremely valuable contributions on hybridization made by him to the 'Journal of the Horticultural Society' were the outcome of close observation and experiment. A 'History of the Species of Crocus' was reprinted separately from that journal, edited by J. Lindley in 1847, just after his death. The genus *Herbertia* of Sweet appropriately commemorates his name. His chief works, including his sermons, reviews, and

scientific memoirs, besides his early poetical volumes, appeared in 2 vols. in 1842.

[Gent. Mag. 1843 pt. i. pp. 115 sq., and 1847 pt. ii. pp. 425–6; Ann. Reg. 1847, Chron. p. 234; Gardeners' Chron. 1847, p. 234; Journal of Botany, 1889, p. 83; Encycl. Brit. 9th edit. xi. 721.] B. D. J.

**HERBERT, WILLIAM** (1771–1851), antiquary, was born in 1771. He appears to have lived in London, where he became intimately acquainted with Edward Wedlake Brayley the elder [q. v.], a young man of his own age, whose ardent interest in topographical and antiquarian studies he warmly shared. With Brayley he produced in 1803 a volume of tales and poems, entitled 'Syr Reginalde, or the Black Tower; a romance of the Twelfth Century' (London, 8vo), and in 1806 a history of Lambeth Palace, which he dates from Globe Place, Lambeth. Another edition of the latter work was published for the illustrators in the same year. He was also associated with Robert Wilkinson in producing 'Londina Illustrata,' a sumptuously illustrated account of ancient buildings in London and Westminster (London, 1819–25, 2 vols. 4to). According to the plates of this work he lived at Marsh Gate, Lambeth, in 1808–9.

In 1828 he was elected librarian of the Guildhall Library, which had been recently re-established by the corporation of London. He prepared a second edition of the catalogue in 1840, and retired in 1845. He died, aged 80, on 18 Nov. 1851, at 40 Brunswick Street, Haggerston; he was survived by Eliza Herbert, probably his daughter (certificate of death, registrar-general's office).

Herbert is best known by his 'History of the Twelve great Livery Companies of London,' 1836–7, 2 vols. 8vo, a work of great labour and research, which still remains the principal authority upon the subject. All Herbert's works are lavishly illustrated, and he took great pains to secure accuracy in this respect. Besides the works already mentioned he published: 1. 'Antiquities of the Inns of Court and Chancery . . . with a concise history of the English law,' 1804, 8vo; illustrated. 2. 'Select views of London and its environs . . . from original paintings and drawings, accompanied by copious letterpress descriptions' (by William Herbert), 1804–5, 2 vols. 4to. 3. 'London before the Great Fire,' parts 1–2, 1817, folio. In the Guildhall Library is preserved a unique copy of part 3, which contains a manuscript note on the fly-leaf by the author (dated 22 Aug. 1831), stating that it consists of proof-sheets of the letterpress and proof impressions of the plates. 4. 'Illustrations of the site and neighbourhood of the new Post Office . . . with an account of the antient Mourning Bush tavern, &c., Aldersgate, and various London taverns,' 1830, 8vo. 5. 'The history and antiquities of the parish and church of St. Michael, Crooked Lane, London; with historical sketches of the Boar s Head tavern, Eastcheap,' 1831, 8vo; illustrated. This work was published by subscription, and was intended to be finished in six parts, of which only two appeared. 6. 'School elocution, or the young academical orator,' 1853, 8vo; published posthumously. 7. Collections, chiefly manuscript, for the history of various London livery companies and of London chantries and monasteries, now preserved in the Guildhall Library.

[Official Records of the Corporation of London; Cat. of Guildhall Library.] C. W–H.

**HERBISON, DAVID** (1800–1880), poet, was born on 14 Oct. 1800 in Ballymena, co. Antrim, where his father was an innkeeper. When three years old he lost his sight through an infantile malady, and for four years was totally blind. Through skilful medical treatment he regained the use of one eye, but his health continued delicate, and in consequence he received a very scanty education. At fourteen he was put to learn linen-weaving on one of the old hand looms. In April 1827, his father having died, he and an elder brother sailed from Belfast for Canada. Their vessel was wrecked in the St. Lawrence, and many of the passengers drowned. The two brothers escaped with difficulty and made their way to Quebec. The climate of Canada, however, did not suit David, and in 1830 he returned to Ireland, and settling down again beside Ballymena, resumed his old occupation of weaving. Before emigrating he had begun to write poetry, and shortly after his return he commenced to send contributions to Belfast newspapers, and to the 'Dublin Penny Journal.' Encouraged by the success of these ventures, he published, in 1841, a volume entitled 'The Fate of McQuillan and O'Neill's Daughter, a Legend of Dunluce, with other Poems,' Belfast, 12mo, which was well received. In 1848 he collected a number of other effusions into a work entitled 'Midnight Musings.' In 1858 his 'Woodland Wanderings' appeared, and in 1869 'The Snow-Wreath,' followed in 1876 by 'The Children of the Year.' He continued to publish fugitive pieces in the Belfast and other newspapers. On 26 May 1880 he died in his cottage at Dunclug, near Ballymena, from which he derived the title 'The Bard of Dunclug.' A monument to his memory was erected beside Ballymena by public subscription.

[Autobiog. Preface to the Snow-Wreath; Memoir by the Rev. D. McMeekin, Ballymena, prefixed to the collected edition of his works, Belfast, 1883; obituary notices.] T. H.

**HERD, DAVID** (1732–1810), collector of Scottish ballads, was the son of John Herd, farmer, of Balmakelly, in the parish of Marykirk, Kincardineshire, where he was born in 1732. The entry of his baptism in the parish records is dated 23 Oct. of that year. The traditional assumption of biographers that Herd was born in the parish of St. Cyrus, Kincardineshire, probably rests on the fact that the family for a time was resident there. But the original home was in Marykirk, and in the churchyard of the parish the epitaph over Herd's mother, Margaret Low, is still fairly legible. It is surmised that after leaving school Herd served an apprenticeship to a country lawyer. But he was essentially a citizen of Edinburgh, where he was a clerk from early manhood. For many years before his death he was in the service of David Russell, an Edinburgh accountant. His quiet bachelor life admitted of studious leisure, and he was a trusted adviser of Constable, the publisher, and other literary friends. He was popular in society, and as 'Sir Scrape' he was for a time president of the somewhat fantastic Cape Club, which was literary as well as convivial in temper and aim, and had many distinguished members (DANIEL WILSON, *Memorials of Edinburgh in the Olden Time*). In 1772, on Herd's initiative, Robert Fergusson was enrolled among the Cape knights, and in his 'Auld Reikie' he eulogises the club. Herd sometimes dates his letters from John Dowie's tavern, in Liberton's Wynd, a social resort visited both by Fergusson and Burns. Here the assembled worthies talked, 'and enjoyed a bottle of ale and a "saut-herring"' (Note to a letter of Herd's in *Letters from Thomas Percy, D.D., afterwards Bishop of Dromore, John Callander of Craigforth, Esq., David Herd, and others, to George Paton*, Edinburgh, 1830). When inviting his friend George Paton to meet another friend at tea, Herd adds that they will 'adjourn together to some strong ale-office in the evening.' In the same letter he states his intention of comparing Paton's version of 'Philotus' with Pinkerton's, 'in order to advise Mr. Constable which would be the best copy to print it from.' He died on 25 June 1810, aged 78 (*Scots Mag.* August 1810). He was buried in Buccleuch parish churchyard, Edinburgh, where the memorial tablet, placed by his friends in the wall opposite his grave, is ruinous from neglect. The inscription was deciphered by Andrew Jervise, who gives it, together with evidence regarding Herd's birth and baptism, in his account of Marykirk (*Epitaphs and Inscriptions from Burial Grounds and Old Buildings in the North-East of Scotland*, Edinburgh, 1875). Herd's curious library was dispersed by auction, and realised 254*l.* 19*s.* 10*d.* There is a legend that his heir was an illegitimate son, who died an army major (Introduction to the *Paton Letters*).

Sir Walter Scott and Archibald Constable, who knew Herd well, commend his attainments and editorial skill, and praise the simplicity and uprightness of his character. Scott mentions (*Minstrelsy*, i. 71) that his striking personal appearance 'procured him, amongst his acquaintance, the name of Graysteil.' Constable acknowledges numerous literary obligations to Herd, whom he met 'not unfrequently in John Dowie's' (*Archibald Constable and his Literary Correspondents*, i. 20).

According to the notice in the 'Scots Magazine' Herd did much miscellaneous writing, and one of his books—a copy of 'Hardyknute,' with manuscript notes by him—is known to have drifted among the booksellers. But his single separate publication is the 'Ancient and Modern Scottish Songs, Heroic Ballads, &c., collected from Memory, Tradition, and Ancient Authors,' 2 vols., Edinburgh, 1776. An anonymous collection, in one volume, had appeared in 1769, and in the 1776 preface Herd calls that 'the first edition of this collection.' Undoubtedly he was mainly responsible for both, though he may have been assisted by George Paton, who is sometimes credited with a chief share in the volume of 1769. Bishop Percy, writing to Paton, 22 Aug. 1774, expresses a hope that the editor of the coming edition will extract from a projected new selection of 'Reliques' 'in like manner as he did in his first volume.' In his preface to the 1776 edition Herd says that the demands for the first volume 'since it has become scarce encouraged the editor to extend and arrange it.' By its manifest scholarship, discrimination, and good faith the edition of 1776 at once asserted itself. Pinkerton alone criticised it adversely. Others instantly recognised Herd's superiority to Ramsay and previous editors. Ritson (*Scottish Songs*, vol. i.) acknowledges indebtedness 'in gratitude;' Scott, in 'Border Minstrelsy,' i. 71, hails the collection as 'respectable and well-chosen;' and Chambers, Aytoun, and other editors are in full accord with Scott. An imperfect reissue of the work, manifestly without Herd's supervision, appeared in 1791, and a full and satisfactory reprint was published at Glasgow in 1869. Constable mentions that Herd presented to him his own

copy of the 1776 edition and a manuscript prepared for a second collection (*Constable and his Literary Correspondents*, i. 22).

[Authorities in text; Chambers's Eminent Scotsmen; information from Dr. Alex. Laing, Newburgh-on-Tay, the Rev. T. C. M'Clure, Marykirk, the Rev. R. Davidson, St. Cyrus, and Mr. James Stillie, bookseller, Edinburgh.] T. B.

**HERD, JOHN, M.D.** (1512?–1588), historian, was born about 1512 'in that part of Surrey which adjoins the city of London.' After being educated at Eton, he was admitted a scholar of King's College, Cambridge, on 16 Aug. 1529, and a fellow on 17 Aug. 1532. He proceeded B.A. in 1534, and commenced M.A. in 1546. On 19 Oct. 1557 he became prebendary of Lincoln. In 1558 he was created M.D. On 14 April 1559 he became prebendary of York. He died in the early part of 1588. Sir William Cecil asked Herd on 14 April 1563, by request of the queen, to deliver up at once for perusal certain collections and commonplace notes in his possession made by Cranmer. Cecil wrote to Archbishop Parker on 25 Aug. 1563 that he had recovered five or six of Cranmer's books from Herd. Herd wrote 'Historia Anglicana, heroico carmine conscripta: inscripta D. Gul. Cecilio. Continet autem Regna RR. Edw. IV et V, Ric. III et Hen. VII' (Cotton. MS. Julius, C. ii. 136). At the beginning are several copies of verses in praise of the author. In Addit. MS. 1818, art. 5, is a copy of the part relating to Henry VII. A copy of the entire work is mentioned in R. Scott's 'Catalogue of Books,' 1687 (p. 175). Herd contributed to the university collection of verse issued on the death of Martin Bucer, 1550–1.

[Cooper's Athenæ Cantabr. ii. 40–1, 543.] G. G.

**HERDMAN, JOHN, M.D.** (1762?–1842), medical writer, was born in Scotland about 1762. He became a member of the Medical Society of Edinburgh on 14 Dec. 1793 (*List of Members*, 1820, p. 40), and a member of the College of Surgeons of Edinburgh on 26 Dec. 1797, being subsequently elected a fellow (*List of Fellows of Coll. of Surg. of Edinburgh*, 1874, p. 36). He practised for some years at Leith. On 12 July 1800 he took the degree of M.D. at Aberdeen, and on 31 March 1806 was admitted a licentiate of the College of Physicians. Removing to London, he was chosen physician to the City Dispensary and physician to the Duke of Sussex. He withdrew from practice upon entering Trinity College, Cambridge, where he graduated B.A. in 1814, and M.A. in 1817. Then, having received ordination in the church of England, he preached occasionally at Alnwick, Howick, and other towns in Northumberland. He died at Lesbury House, near Alnwick, on 26 Feb. 1842, aged 80 (*Gent. Mag.* 1842, pt. i. p. 447). His marriage with the daughter of C. Hay of Lesbury brought him considerable wealth, a large portion of which he spent in charity. His writings are: 1. 'An Essay on the Causes and Phenomena of Animal Life,' 8vo, Edinburgh, 1795; 2nd edit. London, 1806. 2. 'Dissertations on White Swelling of the Joints and the Doctrine of Inflammation,' 8vo, Edinburgh, 1802. 3. 'Discourse on the Epidemic Disease termed Influenza,' 8vo, Edinburgh, 1803. 4. 'Discourses on the Management of Infants and the Treatment of their Diseases,' 8vo, Edinburgh, 1804; London, 1807. 5. 'A Letter proposing a Plan for the Improvement of Dispensaries and the Medical Treatment of the Diseased Poor,' 8vo, London, 1809.

[Munk's Coll. of Phys. 1878, iii. 33; Dict. of Living Authors, 1816, p. 153; Watt's Bibl. Brit.] G. G.

**HERDMAN, ROBERT** (1829–1888), painter, born at Rattray, Perthshire, on 17 Sept. 1829, was the fourth and youngest son of the Rev. William Herdman, minister of the parish, by a daughter of the Rev. Andrew Walker, minister of Collessie, Fifeshire. He was educated at the parish school of Rattray, and on the death of his father in 1838 the family removed to St. Andrews, where he studied for five sessions at the Madras College, gaining a bursary. He then entered the university of St. Andrews, passing through the full arts curriculum, and taking a high place in the various classes; he usually spent the summer months in sketching and painting at Rattray, though during 1846 he taught drawing for a time in St. Andrews. In the same year he attended the university for another session, and in June 1847 went to Edinburgh, where he studied art in the Trustees' Academy, then under the direction of John Ballantyne, R.S.A., and Robert Scott Lauder, R.S.A.; he gained prizes for shaded drawings and for drawing and painting from the life in 1848, 1850, 1851, and 1852. In 1854 he carried off the Royal Scottish Academy's Keith prize and bronze medal for the best historical work by a student in the exhibition; and in November of the following year went to Italy to prosecute his studies, returning in August 1856. Nine water-colour copies from important works by the old masters, which he executed at this time, were purchased by the Royal Scottish Academy, and are now preserved in their art collection. He again visited Italy in September 1868, remaining till March of the

following year, and executing many water-colour studies of the pictures at Venice. He began to exhibit in 1850, showing 'Excelsior,' an illustration of Longfellow's poem, in the Royal Scottish Academy, where it was followed in 1851 by 'Cain;' and during the rest of his life, with the single exception of 1856, he contributed to every exhibition of the body, of which he was elected an associate in 1858 and an academician in 1863. His works were also frequently exhibited in the Royal Academy of London from 1861 to 1887, and he contributed to the exhibitions of the Glasgow Institute, and to those of the Scottish Society of Painters in Water-colours, of which he was a member.

After his first return from the continent he produced several Italian figure-pictures, but he soon devoted himself mainly to portraiture, in which he attained success and popularity. His female portraits in particular—among which may be named Mrs. Shand, 1866; Mrs. Simon Laurie, 1871; the Countess of Strathmore, 1876; Mrs. W. Horn, 1884; and Mrs. Hamilton Buchanan, 1885—are distinguished by much grace, refinement, and sweetness of colouring. His male portraits, many of which have been engraved, include D. O. Hill, R.S.A., 1870; David Laing, LL.D., 1874; Sir George Harvey, P.R.S.A., 1874; Thomas Carlyle (of which the artist executed two replicas), 1875; Sir Theodore Martin, K.C.B., 1876; the Duke of Sutherland, 1877; the Very Rev. Principal Tulloch, 1879; Sir Noel Paton, R.S.A., 1879; and Principal Shairp, 1886. In addition to portraits, Herdman produced many important figure-subjects from Scottish history, as well as from poetry and fiction, characterised by well-considered composition and free, unlaboured handling. The most important of these are: 'After the Battle, a scene in Covenanting Times' (engraved by Francis Holl, A.R.A., for the Association for the Promotion of the Fine Arts in Scotland), 1870; 'Interview between Jeanie and Effie Deans,' 1872; 'A Conventical Preacher arrested,' 1873; 'Lucy Ashton,' 1874; 'The First Conference between Mary Stuart and John Knox,' 1875; 'Charles Edward seeking shelter in the House of an Adherent' (engraved by Robert Anderson, A.R.S.A., for the above association), 1876; 'St. Colomba rescuing a Captive,' 1883; 'His Old Flag,' 1884; and 'Landless and Homeless,' 1887. Four cabinet-sized pictures from the life of Queen Mary were published in 1867–8 as photographs by the Art Union of Glasgow, which in 1878 issued a similar series of photographs from pictures illustrating Campbell's 'Poems;' and various of the artist's works, in addition to the two above named, were engraved in the publications of the Association for the Promotion of the Fine Arts in Scotland. Another interesting class of Herdman's works comprises studies of single female figures, classical, rustic, or fancy, such as 'Sibylla,' 1872; 'Penelophon,' 1881; 'Antigone,' 1882;' 'Tympanistria,' 1885; and 'By the Woodside,' 1885, works more or less ideal in aim, in which the artist's refinement and the delicacy of his flesh-painting are very distinctly visible. His landscapes are mainly in water-colours, done during autumn holidays in Rannoch or Arran, broad and direct in treatment, and with great purity of colouring. He was also favourably known as a flower-painter. He was a man of wide information and fine culture, a member of the Hellenic Society, Edinburgh, and a vice-president of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland. His genial manners, sound judgment, and upright character won for him the respect and affection of his brother artists.

Herdman died very suddenly in his studio, of heart disease, on 10 Jan. 1888. An 'Address to the Students of the Board of Manufacturers' Art School,' which he had spent the last evenings of his life in preparing, and which his death prevented him from delivering, was published in pamphlet form (Edinburgh, 1888). He is represented in the National Gallery of Scotland by 'La Culla,' his diploma work, and 'After the Battle.' A bust of Herdman by W. Brodie, R.S.A., and portraits by himself and by his son, Mr. Duddingstone Herdman, are in the possession of the family, and another oil portrait by his own hand is in the collection of artists' portraits formed by the late Mr. Macdonald of Kepplestone, Aberdeenshire.

[Parochial Register of Rattray; Attendance Book of Trustees' Art School; Minute Book of Board of Manufactures; Catalogues of Royal Scottish Academy, Royal Academy, Glasgow Institute, and Scottish Society of Painters in Water-colours; Sixty-first Report of Royal Scottish Academy; Art Property in the possession of the Royal Scottish Academy, 1883 (privately printed); memoranda in possession of family, information received from them, and personal knowledge.]

J. M. G.

**HERDMAN, WILLIAM GAWIN** (1805–1882), artist and author, was born on 13 March 1805 at Liverpool, where his father was a corn merchant. He was an art teacher for many years in his native town, and an active member of the Liverpool Academy, until about 1857, when he was expelled for some action he had taken in protesting against the patronage of pre-Raphaelite artists by that institution. He then started a

rival establishment. He exhibited several landscapes at the Royal Academy and the Suffolk Street Gallery between 1834 and 1861, besides many works at local exhibitions. He was very successful in his topographical views, a large collection of which is preserved at the Liverpool Free Library. His principal publication was entitled 'Pictorial Relics of Ancient Liverpool, accompanied with Descriptions of Antique Buildings,' 1843, fol.; 2nd ser. 1856. He also published: 1. 'Views of Fleetwood-on-Wyre,' Manchester, 1838, fol. 2. 'Studies from the Folio of W. H.,' Manchester, 1838, fol. 3. Three papers on linear perspective, in the 'Art Journal,' 1849–50. 4. 'A Treatise on the Curvilinear Perspective of Nature, and its Applicability to Art,' 1853, 8vo. 5. 'Thoughts on Speculative Cosmology and the Principles of Art,' 1870, 8vo. 6. 'Hymns and Sacred Melodies,' 4to. 7. 'A Treatise on Skating.' 8. Poems in manuscript and print (in the Liverpool Free Library). He died at Liverpool on 29 March 1882. One of his sons, William Herdman, published in 1864 a volume of 'Views of Modern Liverpool.'

[Liverpool Mercury, 1 April 1882; Graves's Dict. of Artists, 1884, p. 114; South Kensington Cat. of Books on Art; Liverpool Free Library Cat.] C. W. S.

**HERDSON, HENRY** (*fl.* 1651), writer on mnemonics, probably received part of his education at Cambridge, as he terms that university his 'dearest mother.' He styled himself professor of the art of memory by public authority in the university of Cambridge. Afterwards he taught his art in London at the Green Dragon, against St. Antholin's Church. In or about 1649, when Dr. Thomas Fuller [q. v.] came out of the pulpit of St. Dunstan's-in-the-East, Herdson told him in the vestry, before credible people, that he, in Sidney College, Cambridge, had taught him the art of memory, but the doctor denied that he had seen Herdson before.

He wrote: 1. 'Ars Mnemonica, sive Herdsonus Bruxiatus; vel Bruxus Herdsoniatus,' London, 1651, 8vo. 2. 'Ars Memoriæ: The Art of Memory made plaine,' London, 1651, 8vo. These works are usually bound up together. The first is a republication of a portion of Brux's 'Simonides Redivivus;' the second, which is reprinted in Feinaigle's 'Art of Memory' (ed. 1813, pp. 297–317), consists of a meagre epitome of the principles of the mnemonic art.

[Addit. MS. 5871, f. 195; Notes and Queries, 3rd ser. iii. 383; Bailey's Life of Fuller, p. 413.] T. C.

**HEREBERT** or **HERBERT**, SAINT (*d.* 687), hermit, resided on the island in Derwentwater which still bears his name. He was a disciple and close friend of St. Cuthbert, to whom he paid an annual visit for spiritual advice. The two friends met at Carlisle in 686, when St. Cuthbert bade Herebert ask for whatever he was in need of, since they should not meet again on earth. Herebert in reply begged Cuthbert to pray that they might serve God at the same time in heaven. Cuthbert, after prayer, declared that a favourable answer had been vouchsafed. The two friends both died on 20 March 687, Herebert suffering much from sickness before his death. In 1374 Thomas Appleby, bishop of Carlisle, directed the vicar of Crossthwaite to hold a yearly mass on St. Herebert's Isle on 15 April (the document is printed in Smith's edition of BÆDA, App. p. 783). The remains of Herebert's cell are still shown. Mayhew, in his 'Trophæa Congregationis Anglicanæ Ord. S. Benedicti,' erroneously claims Herebert for his order.

[Bædæ Hist. Eccl. iv. 29, and Vita S. Cuthberti, c. 28; Anonymi Vita S. Cuthberti, c. 38, in Stevenson's edition of Bede's Minor Works (Engl. Hist. Soc.); Bollandists' Acta Sanctorum, March iii. 142–3; Hardy's Cat. Brit. Hist. i. 296; Dict. Christ. Biog.] C. L. K.

**HEREFORD**, DUKE OF. [See HENRY IV.]

**HEREFORD**, EARLS OF. [See BOHUN, HENRY DE, first EARL (of the Bohun line), 1176–1220; BOHUN, HUMPHREY DE, second EARL, *d.* 1274; BOHUN, HUMPHREY DE, third EARL, *d.* 1298; BOHUN, HUMPHREY DE, fourth EARL, 1276–1322; FITZOSBERN, WILLIAM, *d.* 1071; FITZWILLIAM, ROGER, *alias* ROGER DE BRETEUIL, *fl.* 1071–1075; GLOUCESTER, MILES DE, *d.* 1143.]

**HEREFORD**, VISCOUNT. [See DEVEREUX, WALTER, *d.* 1558.]

**HEREWALD** (*d.* 1104), bishop of Llandaff, was a Welshman by birth, who had spent much of his time in England and was conspicuous for his piety. He was unanimously elected in 1056 bishop of Llandaff by Gruffydd ab Llewelyn, 'the unconquered king of the Britons,' Meurig ab Hywel, the king of Morganwg, and the magnates, secular and clerical, of Wales. He seems to have been consecrated by Joseph, bishop of St. David's. In the next century the chapter of St. David's pointed to this as an example of the exercise of archiepiscopal functions by the bishops of St. David's (GIRALDUS, *De Invectionibus*, in *Opera*, iii. 57, Rolls Ser.), but the act could have had no such significance at the time. The

consent of the English authorities, lay and ecclesiastical, was still necessary for Herewald's complete recognition as a bishop. This was not obtained until 1059, when at the Whitsuntide gemot, held at Westminster, Archbishop Kinsi of York (in the absence of Stigand, whose own legal position was equivocal) confirmed Herewald's appointment in the presence of Eadward the Confessor and of all the wise men of the land.

This account of Herewald's appointment comes from the curious and not very trustworthy twelfth-century register of the see of Llandaff called the 'Liber Landavensis' (pp. 254–5). Its accuracy, however, in some minute points, such as the absence of Stigand, and the holding of the Whitsuntide gemot of 1059 at London, are, as Professor Freeman (*Norm. Conquest*, ii. 447, 3rd ed.) points out, evidence of the general truth of the whole story. Ralph de Diceto (*Abbrev. Chron.* i. 203, Rolls Ser.) says, however, that Herewald was consecrated by Lanfranc at Canterbury in 1071. This date has the advantage of cutting short by twelve years an episcopate of a very remarkable length for the time and country. If, however, we accept the story of the 'Liber Landavensis,' we must regard this 'consecration' as simply a fresh recognition of his appointment by the Norman archbishop. The 'Canterbury Rolls' speak of William investing Herewald, and also of Lanfranc consecrating him (in GODWIN, *De Præsulibus*, ed. Richardson), but as they immediately go on to say that he died in 1104, 'forty-eight years after his consecration,' they cannot be regarded as very valuable evidence. But the latter statement, corresponding exactly with the account in the 'Liber Landavensis' of Herewald's consecration in 1056, is another indirect confirmation of the Llandaff record. The probability that King William invested Herewald is much greater than that Lanfranc consecrated him.

The 'Liber Landavensis' preserves some few records of Herewald's acts as bishop. He obtained from King Gruffydd, whose authority could not, however, have been great in Morganwg, a grant of certain districts within the see of St. David's, over which he claimed jurisdiction (*Lib. Land.* pp. 257–9, 263–8). The grant seems, however, of very doubtful authenticity, certainly it was never acted upon. Herewald also summoned a diocesan synod for the purpose of excommunicating Cadwgan, son of Meurig, king of Glamorgan, for the murder of a nephew of the bishop's and other violence and outrage which he had committed when drunk on a Christmas visit to him at Llandaff. Cadwgan was forced to submit and buy his restoration to the bishop's favour by repentance and a fresh grant of land to the see (*ib.* pp. 255–257). Herewald is also said to have obtained grants of land from Iestin, son of Gwrgan, as a recompense for the violation of a maiden by his kinsman (*ib.* p. 259), from Caradog ab Rhydderch, who had stolen the bishop's dinner and remained all night drunk in his house (*ib.* p. 261), and from Caradog, son of Rhiwallon, in recompense for the murder of his brother (*ib.* p. 262). Herewald showed great activity in consecrating churches and ordaining priests. During his episcopate Glamorgan was conquered by Robert Fitzhamon [q. v.] and the Normans. Towards the end of his life he seems to have been suspended by Archbishop Anselm (ANSELM, *Epp.* iii. 23). Herewald died on 6 March 1104 (*ib.* p. 268).

[The Liber Landavensis, pp. 254–68, published with an English translation by the Rev. W. J. Rees for the Welsh MSS. Society; parts of the passages bearing on Herewald had previously been printed by Wharton in his Anglia Sacra and Wilkins in his Concilia; all the more important passages dealing with Herewald are collected in Haddan and Stubbs's Councils and Ecclesiastical Documents, i. 292–6; see also Freeman's Norman Conquest, ii. 447 and 692–3 (note q q), 3rd ed.] T. F. T.

**HEREWARD** (*fl.* 1070–1071), outlaw (called on the bad and late authority of 'John of Peterborough' the WAKE, i.e. apparently 'the watchful one'), fills a larger place in legend than in authentic history. A few references to him in the chronicles and an account of his possessions in Domesday are all that we really know of him. But his exploits in defending Ely from the Normans caused the generation succeeding his own to regard him as the popular hero of the English resistance to their French conquerors. Popular songs commemorated his wonderful deeds, and were the sources of many mythical histories which disagree with each other, and with known history. They are written with obvious exaggeration, though some of them are not sixty years subsequent in date to the time when Hereward in all probability was still alive.

Two distinct legendary sources make Hereward the son of Leofric of Bourn, and the authentic testimony of Domesday shows that he was in all probability a Lincolnshire man. But Morkere, not Leofric, held Bourn in the days of King Edward, and the romancer, by making out Leofric to be a kinsman of Ralph, the French earl of Hereford, shows that his main object was to exalt the family of his hero. A pedigree writer of the fifteenth century boldly says that Hereward was the son of Leofric, earl of the Mercians (MICHEL, *Chroniques*

*Anglo-Normandes*, ii. xii, from a Cotton. MS.) This story, though accepted by Sir Henry Ellis (Introd. &c. to *Domesday*, ii. 146), would be rejected for its absurdity, even if it came from a less suspicious source.

Hugo Candidus (*Hist. Burg.* p. 49) says that Hereward was the 'man' of the monks of Peterborough. We also learn from Domesday that Hereward owned lands in several places in Lincolnshire. Along with a certain Toli he had once possessed four bovates at Laughton ('Loctone'), which afterwards belonged to Oger the Breton (f. 364 *b*). The same Oger, who at the time of Domesday held Bourn itself, was also tenant of the 'land of St. Guthlac' (i.e. of Crowland Abbey) in Rippingale ('Repinghale') which had been once part of the monks' domain, but had been let out to Hereward to farm by Abbot Ulfcytel on terms to be agreed on between themselves. This must have been after 1062, the date of Ulfcytel's appointment. But as Hereward did not keep his agreement Ulfcytel took the land back into his own hands (*Domesday*, f. 377). The unruly character ascribed in the legends to Hereward is borne out both by this and by another passage in the 'Survey,' which refers to a claim raised by him, or on his behalf, for the land of Asford in Barholm ('Bercham') hundred in Kesteven, Lincolnshire. But the wapentake men certified that this land did not belong to Hereward on the day of his flight (*ib.* f. 376 *b*). Hereward also appears in 'Domesday' as a landowner in the distant shires of Warwick and Worcester in the days of King Edward. He had four librates of land at Marston Jabbett ('Merstone') in Hemlingford (then called Coleshill) hundred (*ib.* f. 240), three virgates of land at Barnacle ('Bernhangre') in the same neighbourhood (*ib.* f. 240 *b*), and three virgates at Ladbrooke ('Lodbroc') (*ib.* f. 241), all within Warwickshire. Hereward also held five hides of land at Evenlode in Worcestershire (*ib.* f. 173). It is, however, very possible that the Hereward of the midlands is another Hereward.

Nothing more is heard of Hereward in real history after his flight from England until he reappears to fight against the Normans. The false Ingulf (in GALE, i. 67) makes him banished at his father's request for his violence, and says that he visited Northumberland, Cornwall, Ireland, and Flanders, in which latter country he married the beautiful Turfrida. But the 'Gesta Herewardi' give a long and plainly mythical account of his wanderings. This story makes him first go to Northumberland, where Gilbert of Ghent, said to be his godfather, had summoned him. This is, of course, wrong, as Gilbert only came over with the Conqueror; but it may possibly represent in a distorted form some real connection with Gilbert, because in 'Domesday' Gilbert held the soke over Oger's lands in Laughton, part of which had once belonged to Hereward. The 'Gesta' go on to tell so many wonderful tales of Hereward's feats in Flanders, that the Canon de Smet, disgusted that no Flemish historian except M. Kervyn de Lettenhove had mentioned so great a hero, consecrated a long article to Hereward's Flemish exploits. The canon complained that he could get no help from Flemish authorities ('Hereward le Saxon en Flandre' in *Bulletins de l'Académie de Bruxelles*, vol. xiv. pt. ii. pp. 344–60). Of course the whole story has no historical basis.

In the spring of 1070 the Danish fleet of Osbeorn and Christian, allowed by William under a treaty to winter in England, appeared in the Humber and Ouse, and roused the country to revolt. At last they came to Ely, when 'the English folk of all the fenlands came to them, weening that they should win all the land' (*Anglo-Saxon Chron.* s.a. 1070). About the same time the stern rule of the new Norman abbot Turold drove into revolt the tenants of Peterborough Abbey, hitherto under the milder government of Abbot Brand, who was, according to the legend, Hereward's uncle. Hereward put himself at their head, and joined with the Danes, whom he incited to plunder Peterborough (HUGO CANDIDUS, p. 48). On 2 June 1070 Hereward and his gang of outlaws sailed up to Peterborough with many ships. They soon put down the weak opposition of the monks, and burnt all the monks' houses and all the town save one house. They then rushed through the burning streets to the monastery church, climbed up to the holy rood and to the steeple, in their greedy search for booty, and 'went away with so many treasures as no man may tell to another, saying that they did it from love to the monastery' (*ib.*) But the approach of Turold drove them all back to their ships, and they went to Ely, whence the Danes soon departed with the spoil, leaving the outlaws to resist the Normans as best they could.

For a whole year nothing is heard of 'Hereward and his gang,' but there can be no doubt that they continued to hold out in the isle of Ely. The fame of their resistance gradually gathered the few who still dared to remain open foes of King William. The brothers Eadwine and Morkere now finally broke from the king. After Eadwine's death in an attempted flight to Scotland, Morkere found a refuge with Hereward. Siward Barn, the Northumbrian thegn, and Æthelwine, bishop of Durham, came there from the north. The fame of Ely as a camp of refuge became so

great, that the legends put Eadwine, who was dead, and Stigand, who was in prison, among those who sought shelter there. At last William himself led an expedition against the valiant outlaws, and from his camp at Cambridge assailed the island by land and water. Hereward displayed prodigies of valour, but at last William 'wrought a bridge, and went in.' Thereupon Æthelwine, Morkere, and all who were with him, lost heart and surrendered to the king, 'except only Hereward,' says the chronicle, and 'all who could flee away with him.' 'And he boldly led them out, and the king took their ships, weapons, and treasures, and all the men, and did with them what he would' (*ib.* s.a. 1071). Florence of Worcester confirms the account of the chronicle, and says that the 'vir strenuissimus' Hereward escaped through the marshes with a few companions. The undoubted history of Hereward here ends, but the legend goes on to speak of his later exploits against the Normans. According to the 'Gesta' he obtained in the end a pardon from William, and thus died in peace. This is confirmed by the entries in 'Domesday Book,' which make Hereward still holding at the time of the 'Survey' the lands at Marston Jabbett and Barnacle, which he had possessed in the days of King Edward (*Domesday*, f. 240, 240 *b*). But instead of 'holding them freely,' he held them of the Count of Meulan. Their value was still the same as in King Edward's days. If, therefore, we could be sure that this Hereward was the same as the defender of Ely, we should know that he was alive in 1086.

The French rhyming chronicler, Geoffrey Gaimar [q. v.], who wrote within eighty years of Hereward's escape from Ely, gives a different account. As in the 'Gesta,' Hereward is reconciled with William through his wife, and in 1073 William took him along with him to the war of Maine. One day his chaplain, who was on the watch, went to sleep. Some Normans at once fell on Hereward, who after he had slain sixteen of his foes was himself slain. One of his murderers, Asselin, swore that had there been three other such men in England, the French would have all been killed or driven out.

Up to the thirteenth century a wooden castle in the fenland was known as Hereward's Castle (*Flores Hist.* ii. 9, Engl. Hist. Soc.)

[The undoubted authorities for Hereward's history are, besides the passages from Domesday referred to in the text, the Anglo-Saxon Chron. s.a. 1070–1 and Florence of Worcester, ii. 9 (Engl. Hist. Soc.), in a passage essentially followed by Henry of Huntingdon and Simeon of Durham. A few details may be gleaned from Hugo Candidus, Cœnobii Burgensis Historia, in Sparke's Hist. Angl. Scriptt. pp. 48–51. Many chroniclers, including Ordericus Vitalis, who yet gives a full though confused account of the defence of Ely, Hist. Eccles. ii. 215, ed. Le Prévost, do not mention Hereward at all. The legendary authorities are: 1. Geoffrey Gaimar's Estorie des Engles, published partly in M. Francisque Michel's Chroniques Anglo-Normandes, vol. i., and more fully by Wright for the Caxton Society; and in the complete edition issued in the Rolls Series, 1888; the passages bearing on Hereward are between lines 5478 and 5710. 2. Gesta Herewardi Saxonis, also published in Michel's Chroniques Anglo-Normandes, vol. ii., and by the Caxton Society in an appendix to Wright's edition of Gaimar. Both editions come from a very late and incorrect transcript at Trinity Coll., Cambridge, of a manuscript at Peterborough, said to belong to the twelfth century. 3. The false Ingulf's Historia Croylandensis in Gale's Rerum Anglicarum Scriptores, i. 67, 68, 70, 71. Professor Freeman says that this story may contain genuine Crowland tradition. 4. The Historia Eliensis, edited by Mr. D. J. Stewart, for the Anglia Christiana Society, i. 224–39, which refers for further information to the Liber de Gestis Herewardi, compiled by Richard, a monk of Ely. The best modern version is in Freeman's Norman Conquest, iv. 454–87, where the more probable details of the legend are picturesquely worked up with the facts of the undoubted history; in note o o in the same volume the sources of the legend are examined. Mr. T. Wright has given a vigorous modern version of the legend in his Essays on the Literature, Superstitions, and History of England during the Middle Ages, ii. 91–120. Hereward's story is the subject of a novel by Charles Kingsley entitled Hereward the Wake, 1866. See also Frère's Manuel du Bibliographe Normand, ii. 76, and Chevalier's Répertoire des Sources Historiques du Moyen-Age, i. 1042.] T. F. T.

**HERFAST**, known to the Normans as Arfast (*d.* 1084?), chancellor and bishop, was probably of Norman birth, though in all likelihood, as his name suggests, of Teutonic extraction. Modern authorities describe him, on insufficient evidence, as a monk in early life of the abbey of Bec. The first fully authenticated mention of him is as chaplain to William of Normandy, several years before the duke came to England. According to William of Malmesbury he was a man of slender ability and moderate learning, but there are difficulties about the story that when, as the duke's chaplain, he rode in high state to the monastic school of Bec he exposed himself by his ignorance and arrogance to the open scorn of Lanfranc, and that he consequently prejudiced his master against Lanfranc. Herfast followed William to Eng-

land in 1066, and not later than 1068 William, as king of England, appointed Herfast to the office of chancellor; it is Herfast's distinction to be reckoned the first that held that office. In 1070 he became bishop of Elmham, and resigned the chancellorship. His consecration must have speedily followed his nomination, for he officiated at Lanfranc's consecration to the archbishopric of Canterbury in August of the same year. William of Malmesbury states that the prognostic given him when—as bishops entering on their consecration were wont to do—he sought for such from the gospels was 'not this man, but Barabbas;' but the chronicler would seem to have been glad to think evil of Herfast.

In accordance with the decisions of the council of the church that met at London in 1075, Herfast, in 1078, shifted his see from Elmham to Thetford, and thus took the first step towards its permanent establishment at Norwich [see LOSINGA, HERBERT]. Resolved to defeat the claims to exemption from episcopal jurisdiction advanced by the monastic bodies, Herfast engaged in an obstinate and prolonged conflict with Baldwin, abbot of St. Edmundsbury. In the course of the dispute he is said to have threatened to fix his see at Bury. King William, Lanfranc, and Pope Gregory himself were gradually drawn into the quarrel; and it was not composed till the pope, who sided with the abbot, had expressed himself sternly against Herfast in a peremptory letter to Lanfranc. Lanfranc, who had at first shown a leaning towards the bishop's side, lectured him sharply on his conduct, and the king is said—though the statement is doubtful—to have given judgment against him. It would appear from Lanfranc's letters during the business that the bishop was reputed a man of somewhat unclerical laxity of life, though no distinct immorality is laid to his charge. Even the son Richard whom he is said to have made heir need not, considering the frequency of clerical marriages in Herfast's younger days, be taken to have been born out of wedlock. Herfast is usually stated to have died in 1084. A successor in his bishopric was appointed in 1086.

[Will. of Malm., De Gest. Pont. pp. 150–2; Flor. of Worc., Mon. Hist. Brit. p. 599; Wharton's Anglia Sacra, pp. 80, 294, 406; Memorials of St. Edmund's Abbey (Rolls Ser.), vol. i. 1890; Stubbs's Reg. Sacr. Angl. p. 21; Freeman's Norman Conquest, iii. 104, iv. 411, 421; Blomefield's Hist. of Norfolk, iii. 463; Jessopp's Dioc. Hist. of Norwich, pp. 41–6; Foss's Biographia Juridica.] J. R.

**HERICKE.** [See also HERRICK and HEYRICK.]

**HERICKE** or **HERRICK**, SIR WILLIAM (1557–1653), goldsmith and money-lender, fifth son of John Hericke or Herrick (the name is also spelt Heyrick and Eyricke) of Leicester, by Mary, daughter of John Bond of Ward End, otherwise Little Bromwich, Warwickshire, was born at Leicester in 1557. About 1574 he was sent to London, and bound apprentice to his elder brother Nicholas, father of Robert Herrick [q. v.], who carried on the business of a goldsmith in Cheapside. He afterwards set up in the same way of business on his own account in Wood Street, and became one of the most prosperous merchants in the city of London, and much in request at court when loans were required. Elizabeth is said to have employed him on a mission to the Grand Turk; its precise object is not known, but on his return he was probably the bearer of the complimentary letter from the Grand Turk to the queen dated 25 March 1581, and printed in the 'Gentleman's Magazine' (1792, pt. ii. 1071). His own portrait in Turkish costume, with that of a Turkish lady whom he brought home with him, was long preserved at Beaumanor Park, Leicestershire, which he purchased in 1594–5 from the Earl of Essex, and which was subsequently confirmed to him by several royal grants. He was returned to parliament for the borough of Leicester on 16 Oct. 1601. After the accession of King James he was appointed (3 May 1603) his principal jeweller (RYMER, *Fœdera*, ed. Sanderson, xvi. 502), was granted the reversion of the office of one of the four tellers in the exchequer (20 June 1604), and on 2 April 1605 was knighted at Greenwich (*Cal. State Papers*, Dom. Addenda, 1580–1625, p. 446; WINWOOD, *Mem.* ii. 57). On 20 May he was chosen alderman for the ward of Farringdon Without, but being in embarrassed circumstances, by reason of the immense sums he had lent the king, obtained exemption from the obligation of serving the office by payment of a fine of 300*l.* On 10 June following the common council made an order exempting him for life from liability to serve the office of sheriff. In October he was again returned to parliament for Leicester. The king soon afterwards made him liberal grants of land in various counties and towns. He was re-elected member of parliament for Leicester on 8 Jan. 1620–1. On the accession of Charles I he was replaced in the office of king's jeweller by James Heriot (*Cal. State Papers*, Dom. 1625–6, p. 52). He was evidently in disfavour at court, and in 1635 he refused either to pay ship-money or to attend the council when summoned to answer for his conduct (*ib.* 1635 p. 427, 1636 p.

242). He suffered much in estate during the civil wars. He died on 2 March 1652–3, and was buried in St. Martin's Church, Leicester. Hericke married, on 6 May 1596, Joan, daughter of Richard May of Mayfield Place, Sussex. His son Richard Heyrick is noticed separately.

[Authorities quoted; Nichols's Hist. and Antiq. Leicestershire, ii. pt. ii. 615–16, 622–4, iii. pt. i. 150–5.] J. M. R.

**HERING, GEORGE EDWARDS** (1805–1879), landscape-painter, born in London in 1805, was younger son of a German who, although belonging to the baronial family of von Heringen in Brunswick, was established as a bookbinder in London. At an early age he lost his father. Hering was at first placed as clerk in a bank, but was soon permitted by his family to adopt art as his profession. In 1829 he studied in the art school at Munich, and was patronised by Lord Erskine, who sent him with letters of introduction to Venice. After residing there for about two years, he travelled in Italy, and round the Adriatic to Constantinople, Smyrna, &c. On his return to Rome he became acquainted with John Paget, and with Paget and Mr. Sanford went on a tour through Hungary and Transylvania among the Carpathian mountains. Paget published an account of this tour with illustrations by Hering, and Hering on his return to England published in 1838 a volume of 'Sketches on the Danube, in Hungary, and Transilvania, etc.' While a resident at Rome, Hering, owing to his mixed origin, was able to bring together the somewhat rival colonies of German and English artists in that city. Finally he settled in London, where he practised as a landscape-painter for the rest of his life, paying occasional visits to Italy. His favourite subject was Italian scenery, in which he showed a free touch, careful finish, and bright, lucid colouring. He especially excelled in lake scenery. In 1836 he first exhibited at the Royal Academy, sending 'The Ruins of the Palace of the Cæsars, Rome,' and was a regular contributor from that time to the Academy and to the British Institution. In 1841 he exhibited a painting of 'Amalfi,' which, through the agency of Samuel Rogers, was purchased by the prince consort; it was engraved by E. Goodall for the 'Art Journal' in 1856, and a similar painting of 'Capri,' also purchased for the royal collection, was engraved for the same journal by R. Brandard. Hering seldom painted subjects of British scenery, though a few Scottish scenes by him are noteworthy. A picture of 'Tambourina' was engraved for him by C. G. Lewis. A small example of his painting is in the South Kensington Museum. In 1847 he published a set of twenty coloured lithographs, 'The Mountains and Lakes in Switzerland, the Tyrol, and Italy.' Hering died in London in 1879. His wife was also an artist, and exhibited at the Royal Academy in 1853 and 1858.

[Art Journal, 1861, p. 73; Bryan's Biog. and Critical Dict. of Painters and Engravers, ed. Graves; Clement and Hutton's Artists of the Nineteenth Century; Graves's Dict. of Artists, 1760–1880, vol. i.] L. C.

**HERIOT, GEORGE** (1563–1624), founder of Heriot's Hospital, Edinburgh, was born in that city 15 June 1563. His father, George Heriot, who belonged to the old Haddingtonshire family, the Heriots of Trabourn, settled early as a goldsmith in Edinburgh, which he represented repeatedly in the Scotch parliament. The younger Heriot was brought up in the business of his father, who, on his marriage in 1586 to the daughter of a respectable Edinburgh tradesman, gave him fifteen hundred merks Scots, about 80*l.* sterling, 'for the setting up of ane buith to him.' This booth, seven feet square, one of several on the site of the entrance hall of the present Signet Library, was identified long afterwards as Heriot's, when his name was found carved over the door, while inside were the forge, bellows, and crucible of a working goldsmith, now preserved in the museum of Heriot's Hospital (Grant, i. 175). He was admitted on 28 May 1588 a member of the incorporation of Edinburgh goldsmiths. In January 1594 mention is made of 'George Heriot the younger' as 'deacon convener' of the incorporated trades of Edinburgh (*Scotch Privy Council Reg.* v. 124). In July 1597 James VI of Scotland appointed Heriot goldsmith for life to his consort Anne of Denmark [q. v.], and in April 1601, with complimentary references to his past services, jeweller to the king, considerable fees being attached to the two offices, which he held conjointly. In the official records of the time he is described as advancing money to the king and queen, who when pressed for it deposited jewels with him, at the same time permitting him to pawn them. At one time he held, apparently as security for loans to the royal pair, the title-deeds of the chapel royal of Stirling (*ib.* iv. 542–3; Steven, p. 7). His services to them were deemed so valuable that an apartment was assigned to him in Holyrood Palace. It is computed that during the ten years preceding the accession of James to the throne of England the queen's dealings with Heriot must have amounted to 50,000*l.* sterling. In December 1601 Heriot figures as a member of a syndicate commis-

sioned by the government to issue a new Scotch currency in substitution of one much debased (*Scotch Privy Council Reg.* vi. 314, &c.) In January 1603 he is referred to as one of the 'tacksmen,' i.e. farmers of the customs (*ib.* vi. 516).

Soon after the arrival in London of James as king of England, in the spring of 1603, Heriot followed him thither, and is represented as 'dwelland foreanent the New Exchange,' which stood on part of the site now occupied by the Adelphi. In May 1603 he was one of three persons appointed jewellers to the king, with a joint yearly salary of 150*l.* (*Cal. State Papers*, Dom. 15 May 1616). About 1608 his first wife died, and Heriot went to Scotland to marry, on 24 Aug. 1609, Alison, eldest daughter of James Primrose of Carrington, clerk to the Scotch privy council, and grandfather of the first Earl of Rosebery. In 1609, after Heriot's return to England, his business appears to have grown so large that he could not find workmen to execute the orders given him, and in the March of that year an official notification, in which he is styled 'His Majesty's Jeweller,' was issued to the local authorities throughout the kingdom, directing them to assist him in 'taking up of such workmen as he shall necessarily use for the furthering of the service,' with the proviso that they were to receive the customary wages (STEVEN, p. 11). At this time the queen seems to have been some 18,000*l.* in his debt for jewels, &c., and she offered interest at the rate of ten per cent. to any person who would advance her the money to pay off Heriot and his fellow-creditors (cf. *Cal. State Papers*, Dom. 18 Dec. 1609; STEVEN, p. 12). In 1613 he lost his second wife, to whom he was deeply attached. About the same time he petitioned the king and queen for payment of the greater part, still outstanding, of the 18,000*l.*, and some satisfaction seems to have been made. In 1620 a grant was made to him of the imposition on sugar for three years (*Cal. State Papers*, Dom. 18 Nov. 1620). He was then possessed of house property in the parish of St. Martin's-in-the-Fields, as well as of an estate at Roehampton; and in 1622 he had interviews in London with countrymen who wished to dispose of land in Scotland.

A widower without legitimate offspring, Heriot resolved to devote the bulk of his property to found a charitable institution in Edinburgh. Partly from a fear that if this intention were not made known during his lifetime a claim to his wealth might be set up by a niece, he executed, on 3 Sept. 1623, a 'disposition and assignation' of his property to the town council of Edinburgh. They were to devote it mainly to the education of the children of decayed burgesses and freemen of Edinburgh 'for the honour and due regard,' he wrote, 'which I bear to... Edinburgh, and in imitation of the public, pious, and religious work founded within the city of London called Christ's Hospital.' His intentions in this respect were more fully expressed in his will, which was executed 10 Dec. 1623, and in which the ministers of Edinburgh were added to the town council as managers of the hospital, he leaving them to call it by his name. He made provision for two youthful illegitimate daughters, and bequeathed suitable legacies to his near relatives. Heriot died in London 12 Feb. 1623–1624, and was buried in his parish church, St. Martin's-in-the-Fields. A eulogium on him is said to have been pronounced at the funeral by his friend Walter Balcanquhall, D.D. (1586?–1645) [q. v.] In his will Heriot empowered Balcanquhall to arrange with the town council of Edinburgh for the fulfilment of his wishes respecting the hospital, and to draw up its statutes. The property bequeathed for this object included debts due by the royal family and the nobility and gentry of both kingdoms, and yielded a net capital sum of 23,625*l.*, which was so judiciously administered that in 1880 the annual income alone of Heriot's trust was 24,000*l.* The hospital, a noble building, was opened in 1659, when thirty boys were admitted. In 1880 it gave a sound middle-class education to 180. With a surplus income of 3,000*l.* a year its governors established in 1838 a number of free schools in Edinburgh for the primary education of the children of poor parents. In 1885 these were handed over to the Edinburgh School Board, and effect was given to an extensive scheme framed by the Scotch Endowed Schools Commissioners, with the object of promoting secondary and higher education. This scheme included the establishment of a day-school within the walls of the hospital, and of technical, scientific, and general schools in other parts of the city.

An original portrait of Heriot, taken in his twenty-sixth year, is in the hospital, together with a copy by Scougall of Paul Vansomer's portrait of Heriot in his maturity. The latter portrait is said to be 'indicative of the genuine Scottish character,' and of 'a personage fitted to move steadily and wisely through life' (STEVEN, p. 25). An idealised, it might be called an imaginary, Heriot is a central figure in the 'Fortunes of Nigel,' where Scott makes James I address him as 'Jingling Geordie.'

[Hist. of George Heriot's Hospital, with a Memoir of the Founder, and an Account of the Heriot Foundation Schools, by William Steven, D.D.,

third edition, revised and enlarged by F. W. Bedford, House Governor of Heriot's Hospital, 1872; Oliver and Boyd's Edinburgh Almanack for 1888, in which (article 'George Heriot's Trust') is given an account of the reconstitution of the governing body of the hospital, and the extended application of its funds under the scheme of 1885; Inventory of Original Documents in the Archives of George Heriot's Hospital, 1857; Cassell's Old and New Edinburgh, by James Grant; authorities cited.] F. E.

**HERIOT**, JOHN (1760–1833), author of 'An Historical Sketch of Gibraltar,' was born at Haddington on 22 April 1760. His father was sheriff-clerk of East Lothian. At the age of twelve he was sent to Edinburgh High School, and afterwards entered the university of Edinburgh, but domestic misfortunes dispersed the family. Heriot went to seek his fortune in London, where, Dr. Chambers states (*Eminent Scotsmen*, vol. ii.), he 'enlisted' in the marines. The army lists show that he was appointed a second lieutenant in the marines 13 Nov. 1778, and became first lieutenant in 1780. He served on board the Vengeance, the Preston, and afterwards the Elizabeth frigate on the coast of Africa and in the West Indies. In the last named vessel, a 32-gun frigate, commanded by Captain Maitland, he was present and was wounded in Rodney's action with the French fleet under De Guichen, 17 April 1780. Afterwards he exchanged to the Brune frigate, and was in her off Barbadoes in the terrible hurricane of 10 Oct. 1780. At the peace of 1783 Heriot was put on half-pay, which he commuted to aid his family. Like his brother, George Heriot, afterwards postmaster-general in Canada, and the author of some books of travel, Heriot had literary tastes, and had for many years a hard struggle. He wrote two novels, 'The Sorrows of the Heart,' 1787, and 'The Half-pay Officer,' 1789, embodying various incidents in his own career, on the proceeds of which he lived for two years. In 1792 Heriot edited an account of the battle of the Nile from the notes of an officer of rank present in the battle, which went through several editions. In the same year he published his 'Account of Gibraltar,' intended as a handbook to Poggi's views of the rock. He was for a while on the staff of the 'Oracle' newspaper, but, owing to a misunderstanding with the editor, transferred his services to the 'World,' of which he became editor, but which he was soon glad to abandon. At the suggestion of George Rose, clerk of parliaments (who had served some years in the navy), it was determined that Heriot should start a newspaper supporting the policy of Pitt, the expenses of which were to be guaranteed by certain other officials. With the aid of R. G. Clarke, afterwards printer of the 'London Gazette,' the first number of the 'Sun' appeared on 1 Oct. 1793. It speedily outstripped its rivals, the sales reaching the then large total of four thousand copies daily. 'Peter Pindar' and other writers of note were occasional contributors. Heriot started the 'True Briton' on 1 Jan. 1793, and continued to edit both papers until 1806, when he accepted a clerkship in the lottery office. In 1810 Heriot was appointed deputy paymaster-general of the troops in the Windward and Leeward Islands, in which capacity he was stationed at Barbadoes from 1810 to 1816. On his return home he was appointed by the Duke of York to the comptrollership of Chelsea Hospital, an easy berth, in which he ended his days. Heriot died at the age of seventy-three at Chelsea Hospital on 29 July 1833, within a week after his wife's death.

[The most authentic accounts of Heriot appear to be in Chambers's Eminent Scotsmen, vol. ii., in Rose's New Biog. Dict. vol. viii., and in Gent. Mag. 1833, pt. ii. 184. The period of the founding of the Sun newspaper is left a blank in the published Diary and Correspondence of the Rt. Hon. George Rose. Files of the Sun from 1798, but not of Heriot's True Briton, are in the British Museum, and some interesting particulars of the later history of the first named paper will be found in Grant's Hist. of the Newspaper Press, i. 330–45; but there are some obvious mistakes in the account of its origin.] H. M. C.

**HERKS**, GARBRAND (*fl.* 1560), bookseller at Oxford. [See under GARBRAND, JOHN, 1542–1589.]

**HERKS**, *alias* **GARBRAND**, JOHN, D.D., divine (1542–1589). [See GARBRAND.]

**HERLE**, CHARLES (1598–1659), puritan divine, third son of Edward Herle of Prideaux in Luxulyan, Cornwall, by his first wife, Anne, daughter of John Treffry of Fowey, was born at Prideaux in 1598. A member of the same family, Thomas Herle, was warden of Manchester College from 1559 to 1575 (*Wardens of Manchester College*, Chetham Soc., v. 75–84). Charles Herle matriculated on 23 Oct. 1612 at Exeter College, Oxford, and graduated B.A. on 7 July 1615 and M.A. in June 1618. He was ordained in the English church, and seems to have spent some years of his life as tutor of James Stanley, lord Strange, afterwards seventh earl of Derby, to whom he admitted deep indebtedness (dedication to *Contemplations and Devotions*, 1631). He became rector of Creed, Cornwall, in 1625 (RYMER, *Fœdera*, xviii. 639). Through his connection with the Stanleys he was presented on 26 June 1626 to the

rich rectory of Winwick, Lancashire, but the whole of its endowments did not fall to Herle's lot for several years. Though conciliatory in the expression of his views, he was an ardent presbyterian, and readily took the covenant on behalf of the parliament He offered to preach every Tuesday at the new church in Tothill Fields, and he frequently preached before the Long parliament. He was one of the twelve divines appointed by parliament in June 1643 for licensing books of divinity, and was one of the two clerical representatives of Lancashire in the Assembly of Divines constituted in July of that year. From the first he took an important part in its deliberations. He was on the committee for framing a directory and rules for ordination, and to him, in conjunction with Goodwin, was assigned the duty of drawing up regulations for fasting and thanksgiving. He was also a member of the committees for composing differences among themselves, for drawing up a confession of faith, and for obtaining the settlement on the assembly of the revenues of the see of Canterbury. He was moreover one of the members who issued a circular entreating all ministers and people to forbear from joining any church society until they saw whether the right rule would be recommended to them; and in consequence of his influence he was, on the death of Twiss, nominated by the House of Commons to the office of prolocutor of the assembly (22 July 1646). Baillie complained (5 July 1644) that Nye 'and his good friend Mr. Herle' detained them for three weeks on the manner in which communicants should take the sacrament. Herle had the first place in the list of divines instructed to certify to the abilities and fitness of the ministers in Lancashire, he was in September 1644 one of the receivers of the money collected for the relief of those in that county, and in May 1649 he acted as a distributor of the funds at Wigan and Ashton. The rectory of St. Olave, Southwark, was sequestrated to him and another adherent of the parliament. It was ordered by the committee for the advance of money that the goods of Dr. Newell of Westminster should be his on the payment of the valuation, and when he suffered loss through the occupation of Winwick by the royalists compensation was voted to him. In 1647 he was appointed one of the commissioners sent by parliament into Scotland to inform the Scotch on English matters, and he preached at Edinburgh in March 1648.

The execution of Charles I did not meet with his approval, and he therefore retired to Winwick. With the Stanley family he remained on friendly terms, and when the Earl of Derby raised troops for Charles II, Herle remained with the soldiers for a time. Herle is even said to have sheltered Lord Derby after his disastrous defeat at Warrington Bridge. In a survey of church property taken in 1650 he is described as 'an orthodox, godly-preaching minister,' but with the qualification that he did not observe Thursday, 13 June, as 'a daie of humiliacon appoynted by Acte of Parliam[t],' probably because he would not publicly pray in the pulpit for the Commonwealth (*Lancashire and Cheshire Surveys*, 1649–55, ed. H. Fishwick, pp. 46–7; GASTRELL, *Notitia Cestrensis*, pp. 262–70). Consequently the council of state gave orders for the strict examination of Herle and others who were suspected of assisting the enemy (*Cal. of State Papers*, 1651, p. 397). He was conveyed to London, and it was not until 2 Sept. 1653 that he was freed from restraint; but the restraint could not have been more than formal, as about July 1652 he and the ministers of the adjacent chapelries ordained John Howe in the parish church of Winwick. Howe afterwards spoke of him 'with a very great and particular respect.' Herle lived in retirement for several years, dying at Winwick, and being buried in the chancel of the church on 29 Sept. 1659, when the initials of 'C. H.' were inscribed on his tomb. 'Mrs. Margaret Herle,' who was buried in the cloisters of Westminster Abbey in January 1646–7, is usually considered as his wife, and if such was the case, he married as his second wife, according to a pedigree belonging to the late Mr. J. E. Bailey, Dorothy, daughter of John Marshall (VIVIAN, *Visit. of Cornwall*, p. 220). He had a large family.

Herle published: 1. 'Contemplations and Devotions on our Blessed Saviour's Death and Passion,' 1631, which were 'the fruit of those weary hours of slowe recovery' from a severe illness. 2. 'A Payre of Compasses for Church and State,' 1642, 4to, preached at St. Margaret's, Westminster, before the House of Commons. 3. 'An Answer to Misled Dr. Fearne [see FERNE, HENRY] in his work "The Resolving of Conscience,"' against those who had taken up arms, 1642, which led to two answers from Dr. Ferne and a rejoinder from Herle (*Bibl. Cornub.* i. 234, iii. 1228). 4. 'Ahab's Fall by his Prophets' Flatteries; three Sermons on Public Occasions, 1644, all in defence of resistance to a king bent on impious objects. 5. 'David's Song of Three Parts, a Sermon at Westminster Abbey,' 1643, in which he expresses his wonder that any English protestant should 'fill his hands onely with orders and declarations while a Papist in the land hath a sword in his. 6. 'The Independency on Scriptures of the

Independency of Churches,' 1643, 4to, minimising the differences between presbyterians and independents. It was answered by Richard Mather and William Tompson, defended by S. Rutherford and again assailed by Mather. An analysis of the arguments is in Benjamin Hanbury's 'Memorials relating to the Independents,' ii. 166–7. 7. 'Abraham's Offer, God's Offering, preached before the Lord Mayor on Easter Tuesday last,' 1644. 8. 'David's Reserve and Rescue, preached before the House of Commons, 5 Nov. 1644,' London, 1645. In this he argues for the unity of England and Scotland against the common foe. 9. 'Wisdomes Tripos in three Treatises, (1) Worldly Policy, (2) Moral Prudence, (3) Christian Wisdome,' 1655, 12mo, of which the first two treatises had previously appeared together in 1654, and the last was also issued separately. A tract 'concerning usurped powers, wherein the difference betwixt civil authority and usurpation is stated' (1650), is assigned to him in the catalogue of the Advocates' Library at Edinburgh, and one entitled 'The Convinc'd Petitioner' (1643) is attributed to him in the 'Palatine Note-book,' iv. 59–60.

Herle licensed a tract by John Saltmarsh called 'Examinations on a Discovery of some Dangerous Positions' inclining to popery preached by Fuller in a sermon at the Savoy (26 July 1643), whereupon the latter defended his position in a pamphlet of 'Truth Maintained,' prefixing a letter of remonstrance 'to the learned and my worthy good friend, Master Charles Herle.' Herle then dedicated his sermons on 'Ahab's Fall' to his friend, protesting that he thought the Savoy sermon was written by some other Fuller, still maintaining that some passages in it might admit of an evil meaning (Bailey, *Fuller*, pp. 284–9). The manuscript reports of some sermons by Herle and others (1642–4) are in the Brit. Mus. Addit. MSS. 18781–2. Fuller, in his 'Worthies,' speaks of his friend as 'a good scholar.'

[Wood's Athenæ Oxon. (Bliss), iii. 477–9; Oxf. Univ. Reg. (Oxf. Hist. Soc.), vol. ii. pt. ii. p. 327, pt. iii. p. 338; Masson's Milton, iii. 20, 22, 270, 391, 426; Neal's Puritans, 1822 ed., iii. 47, 120, 318–20, 323, iv. 223; Brook's Puritans, iii. 324–6; Calamy's John Howe, pp. 12–13; Fuller's Worthies, 1840 ed., i. 318–19; Waddington's Church Hist. 1567–1700, p. 426; Baillie's Letters (Bannatyne Club), ii. 118, 140, 201, 236, 404, 415; Hetherington's Westminster Assembly, 1878 ed., passim; Mitchell and Struthers's Minutes of Westm. Assembly, passim; Bibl. Cornub. i. 234–5, iii. 1227–8; Halley's Lancashire, i. 270–2, 285, 380–2, 467, ii. 28–9, 105–6; Beamont's Winwick, 2nd ed. pp. 40–55; Chester's Registers of Westm. Abbey, p. 141; Lancashire Civil War (Chetham Soc.), ii. 207–8, 279; Cal. of Committee for Money, i. 237, iii. 1470; Clarendon Papers, i. 414; Cat. of Baker MSS. v. 278; Notes and Queries, 2nd ser. vii. 477, 5th ser. viii. 328, 434; Memoir by J. E. Bailey, 1877.]

W. P. C.

HERLE, WILLIAM de (*d.* 1347), judge, son of Robert de Herle, was probably born in Leicestershire, since both his father and he in 1301 and 1324 respectively were summoned by the sheriffs of that county to perform military duty and to attend the great council at Westminster (*Parl. Writs*, i. 355, ii. 639). Fuller, however, says that he was a native of Devonshire (*Worthies*, ed. 1811, i. 281). His lands lay principally in Leicestershire, but through his wife Margaret, daughter and heir of William Polglas and of Elizabeth, heiress of Sir William Champernon, he came into possession of considerable estates in Devonshire, including the manor of Ilfracombe. His name occurs frequently in the 'Year-books' of Edward II's reign. He became a serjeant-at-law, and as such was summoned to assist the parliament of the fourth and sixth years of that reign, and all the parliaments from the tenth to the fourteenth years. In the ninth year of Edward II he appeared for the king against the citizens of Bristol, and received a grant of 20*l.* per annum for his services. On 6 Aug. 1320 he received a grant of 133*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.* in aid of his rank as king's serjeant, and having been employed in conducting negotiations with the Scots, he received a grant of ten marks in 1325 (*Rot. Parl.* i. 359; *Archæologia*, xxvi. 345; Rymer, *Fœdera*, ii. 594). On 16 Oct. 1320 he was made a judge of the common pleas in succession to John de Benstede, and was knighted, and on the accession of Edward III, by patent dated 4 Feb. 1327, he was appointed chief justice of that court, and his salary was raised to 240 marks. On 3 Sept. 1329 he was displaced by John de Stonore, though he continued to act as a judge, and in December 1329 went as justice in eyre to Nottinghamshire, and in 1330 to Derbyshire. On 2 March 1331 he was again appointed chief justice, and was removed again on 18 Nov. 1333 in favour of Henry le Scrope, who, however, vacated the office immediately. De Herle returned to office and retained it until 3 July 1337, when he was allowed to retire at his own request upon the grounds of age and failing health. He was, however, a member of the king's council till he died in 1347.

[Foss's Lives of the Judges; Rymer's Fœdera; Cal. Inquis. p.m. ii. 135, 265; Nichols's Leicestershire, p. 622; Prince's Worthies of Devon.]

J. A. H.

**HERLEWIN** (*d.* 1137), ascetic writer. [See ETHELMÆR.]

**HERMANN** (*fl.* 1070), hagiographer, probably a native of Lorraine, was the archdeacon of Herfast [q. v.], bishop of Thetford, and helped him in his attempt to assert the jurisdiction of his see over St. Edmund's Abbey, both dictating and writing letters for him [see under BALDWIN, *d.* 1098]. Being with the bishop when Herfast was injured in the eye, he persuaded him to go to the abbey and seek medical help from Abbot Baldwin, and himself visited the abbey and arranged for the bishop's reception. He repented of his part in the bishop's quarrel, became a monk of Bury, and at Baldwin's request wrote a book 'De Miraculis Sancti Eadmundi,' which contains, along with the miracles, an account of Herfast's quarrel with the abbey, and ends abruptly, soon after a notice of the translation of the saint's relics in 1095. It exists in manuscript in Cotton. MS. Tib. B. 11, in the Bodleian Library in Digby MS. 39, and in part in Bodl. MS. 240 and in Paris Bibl. Nat. MS. 2621; a seventeenth-century transcript is in the library of Jesus College, Oxford. It has been printed in part by Martene in 'Amplissima Collectio,' vi. 822, has been made the text of valuable comments by Dr. Liebermann, who, in his 'Ungedruckte anglo-normannische Geschichtsquellen' (Strassburg, 1879), supplies the parts omitted by Martene, and it has been printed in its entirety in 'Memorials of St. Edmund's Abbey,' vol. i. (Rolls Ser. 1890), edited by Mr. T. Arnold. It forms the basis of the work 'De Miraculis S. Ædmundi,' attributed to Abbot Samson, and printed in the same volume by Mr. Arnold.

[Liebermann's Heremanni archidiaconi Mir. S. Edmundi as above; Memorials of St. Edmund's Abbey, i. Introd. and pp. 26–92.] W. H.

**HERMANN** (*d.* 1078), first bishop of Salisbury, a native of Lorraine, was probably one of the clerks of the royal chapel under the Danish dynasty, and held that office when, in 1045, Edward the Confessor [q. v.] appointed him bishop of Ramsbury or Wilton, in succession to Brihtwold. He was sent to Rome in 1050 on the king's errand, in company with Aldred [q. v.], bishop of Worcester, afterwards archbishop of York. His business was probably to obtain a dispensation from Edward's vow of pilgrimage. He started at mid-Lent, and arrived in Rome on Easter eve, during the session of the council of that year. As Ramsbury had no congregation of monks or canons and very small revenues, the bishop was discontented. His predecessors, he told the king, were Englishmen, and had kinsmen to help them, but he, as a foreigner, could not get a livelihood. Edith [q. v.], the king's wife, promised that when a see fell vacant she would do what she could to get it for him, to hold along with the one he already had. However, in 1055 Brihtwold, the abbot of Malmesbury, died, and Hermann asked the king for the abbey and for permission to remove his see thither. The king assented, but the monks, who naturally objected to the arrangement, sought the aid of Earl Harold (*d.* 1066) [q.v.], and he persuaded Edward to retract his consent three days after he had granted it. Indignant at his defeat, Hermann left England, and became a monk of St. Bertin's Abbey at St. Omer, the administration of his diocese being undertaken by Aldred. It was not long before he repented of this step; he had been used to live comfortably, and the privations of monastic life did not suit him. In 1058 the see of Sherborne fell vacant; he returned and received the bishopric, Harold making no objection; thus the two sees of Sherborne and Ramsbury were united, and he was bishop over Berkshire, Wiltshire, and Dorsetshire. In 1065 he dedicated the new church which Edith built at Wilton. Hermann did not lose his bishopric in consequence of the Norman conquest, and on 29 Aug. 1070 assisted at the consecration of Lanfranc. He was present at the council held at Winchester in April 1072, and at the Whitsuntide assembly at Windsor, when the dispute between the provinces of Canterbury and York was judged. It having been ordered in a council held in London in 1075, at which he was present, that episcopal sees should be removed from villages or small towns to cities, he removed the see of his united diocese to the older Salisbury or Old Sarum, and began to build his church within the ancient hill-fortress. He died, before he could finish it, on 20 April 1078. A tomb of Purbeck marble near the western entrance of the cathedral of the present Salisbury is said to have been his, and to have been brought from Old Sarum when the see was moved by Bishop Richard Poore; but this is unlikely, for while the translation of the bodies of other bishops in 1226 is recorded by William de Wenda, he does not mention the body of Hermann. William of Malmesbury, as is natural, considering the bishop's relations with his monastery, describes him as greedy. He was evidently well thought of at the Confessor's court, and the king's biographer speaks of him as famous and learned.

[Freeman's Norman Conquest, ii. 79, 115, 401–6. iv. 418; Green's Conquest of England, pp. 545, 546; Anglo-Saxon Chron. ann. 1045,

1049, 1078; Florence, i. 199, 204, 214, ii. 7 (Engl. Hist. Soc.); Kemble's Codex Dipl. Nos. 776 sqq.; William of Malmesbury's Gesta Pontiff. pp. 182, 183, 420; Lanfranc, Opera, i. 300, 304–6, ed. Giles; Life of Edward the Confessor, pp. 419, 421 (Rolls Ser.)] W. H.

**HERNE, JOHN** (*fl.* 1644), lawyer, was admitted a student at Lincoln's Inn on 21 Jan. 1610–11, and was afterwards called to the bar there. On 5 March 1627–8 he was returned to parliament for Newport, Cornwall, but was unseated on petition. In 1632 he defended Henry Sherfield, bencher of Lincoln's Inn and recorder of Salisbury, on his trial in the Star-chamber for defacing a stained-glass window in St. Edmund's Church, Salisbury. He was also counsel for Prynne on his trial for the publication of 'Histrio-Mastix' in February 1633–4, and for the warden of the Fleet before a commission which sat to investigate alleged abuses in the management of that prison in March 1634–5. In 1637 he was elected a bencher of his inn, and was Lent reader there in the following year. In 1641 he was one of the counsel for Sir John Bramston the elder [q. v.] and Sir Robert Berkeley [q. v.], two of the judges impeached by the Long parliament. He was assigned (23 Oct.) to defend the bishops impeached the same year for issuing the new canons of 1640, but declined to act on the ground that as a commoner he was 'involved in all the acts and votes of the House of Commons.' He was also one of the counsel for Laud on his impeachment, and delivered a learned and eloquent speech in his defence on 11 Oct. 1644. It was supposed at the time to have been composed by Hale, another of Laud's counsel [see HALE, SIR MATTHEW]. The gist of the argument was that no one of the articles of the impeachment was sufficient by itself to ground a charge of high treason, and that therefore the totality of them could not do so any more than, as Herne wittily put it, 'two hundred couple of black rabbits would make a black horse.' After the trial was over Herne visited Laud in the Tower, procured him his prayer-book, which was in Prynne's hands, and was consulted by him about his speech on the scaffold. After his death, the date of which is uncertain, appeared 'The Learned Reading of John Herne, Esq., late of the Honourable Society of Lincoln's Inne, upon the Statute of 23 H. 8, cap. 3, concerning Commissions of Sewers. Translated out of the French Manuscript,' London, 1659, 4to.

Another JOHN HERNE (*fl.* 1660), who appears to have been the elder Herne's son, and the translator of the reading, entered Lincoln's Inn on 11 Feb. 1635–6, and published a collection of precedents called 'The Pleader,' London, 1657, fol.; 'The Law of Conveyances,' London, 1658, 8vo; 'The Modern Assurancer,' 1658; and 'The Law of Charitable Uses,' London, 1660, 8vo.

[Lincoln's Inn Reg.; Lists of Members of Parliament (Official), i. 474 n.; Comm. Journ. i. 883, iii. 241, iv. 401, 405, 428; Cobbett's State Trials, iii. 519 et seq., 562 et seq., iv. 577 et seq.; Laud's Autobiog.; Prynne Papers (Camd. Soc.); Cal. State Papers, Dom. 1634–5, p. 566; Dugdale's Orig. pp. 255, 266; Bramston's Autobiog. (Camd. Soc.), p. 78.] J. M. R.

**HERNE, THOMAS** (*d.* 1722), controversialist, a native of Suffolk, was admitted as a pensioner at Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, on 29 Oct. 1711. In the following year he was elected to a scholarship on that foundation, graduated B.A. in 1715, and was incorporated at Oxford 21 Feb. 1715–16. Not long afterwards the Duchess of Bedford made him tutor to her sons Wriothesley and John, successively third and fourth dukes of Bedford. In 1716 Herne was elected to a vacant fellowship at Merton College, Oxford, and on 11 Oct. 1718 proceeded master of arts. He died a layman and unmarried, at Woburn Abbey, Bedfordshire, in 1722.

Herne took part in the Bangorian controversy, and published under the pseudonym 'Phileleutherus Cantabrigiensis:' 'The False Notion of a Christian Priesthood,' &c., in answer to William Law, 1717–18; 'Three Discourses on Private Judgment against the Authority of the Magistrate over Conscience, and Considerations concerning uniting Protestants, translated from Professor Werenfels, with a preface to Dr. Tenison,' London, 1718; 'An Essay on Imposing and Subscribing Articles of Religion,' 1719; and 'A Letter to Dr. Mangey, on his Sermon upon Christ's Divinity,' 1719. He also wrote: 'A Letter to the Prolocutor, in Answer to one from him to Dr. Tenison,' 1718; 'A Letter to the Rev. Dr. Tenison concerning Citations out of Archbishop Wake's Preliminary Discourse to the Apostolic Fathers,' London, 1718; 'A Vindication of the Archbishop of Canterbury from being the author of "A Letter on the State of Religion in England," printed at Zurich,' London, 1719; and 'A second Letter to Dr. Mangey,' by 'A Seeker after Truth,' on his sermon on Christ's eternal existence, 1719, under the pseudonym of 'Philanagnostes Criticus.' Herne issued in 1719 an account of all the considerable pamphlets issued in the Bangorian controversy to the end of 1718; a continuation of this account to the end of 1719, London, 1720; and a reissue of the whole, London, 1720.

[R. Masters's Hist. of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, ed. 1753; Grad. Cant. 1823; Alumni Oxon.; Calendar Oxf. Grad.; Chalmers's Biog. Dict.; Brit. Mus. Cat.] W. C. S.

**HERON**, HALY (*fl.* 1565–1585), author, matriculated as a sizar at Queens' College, Cambridge, November 1565. He proceeded B.A. 1569–70. For the benefit of a pupil, John Kaye the younger, he wrote 'A new Discourse of Morall Philosophie entituled the Kayes of Counsaile, not so pleasant as profitable for younge Courtiours,' London, 1579. The book is a series of chapters of advice to young men. In December 1585 Thomas Randolph, at the instigation of his wife, who was related to Heron, gave him very unwillingly a note of introduction to Walsingham.

[Cooper's Athenæ Cantabr. i. 452; Cal. State Papers, Dom. 1581–90, p. 291.] A. V.

**HERON**, SIR RICHARD (1726–1805), secretary to the lord-lieutenant of Ireland, youngest son of Robert Heron, esq., of Newark, Nottinghamshire, and Elizabeth, daughter of Thomas Brecknock, esq., of Thorney Abbey, Cambridgeshire, was born in 1726. He was educated for the legal profession, and by the influence of the Duke of Newcastle was in 1751 appointed a commissioner of bankruptcy, and subsequently a sworn clerk in the remembrance office, and lord treasurer's remembrancer in the court of exchequer. In December 1776 he was appointed principal secretary to the lord-lieutenant of Ireland, John Hobart, second earl of Buckinghamshire [q. v.] He arrived in Dublin on 24 Jan. in the following year, and was immediately sworn of the privy council there. He was described by a writer in the 'Hibernian Magazine' as 'rather above the middle size, well made, and of a good constitution.' Notwithstanding the difficulties of his position owing to the attitude of the English government on the question of the commercial concessions, he was much esteemed by the Irish for his affability, integrity, and devotion to his duties. On 25 July 1778 he was created a baronet, and about the same time rewarded with the position of searcher, packer, and gauger at Cork, worth about 700*l.* a year. A severe illness in the spring of 1779 incapacitated him; in 1780 he was succeeded by William Eden (afterwards Lord Auckland), and a small pension was granted to Lady Heron. He married Jane Hall, widow of S. Thompson, esq., but died without issue on 18 Jan. 1805. In 1798 he compiled and published a useful genealogical table of the Herons of Newark.

[Gent. Mag. 1805; Freeman's Journal, 1777; Hibernian Mag. 1779; Life and Times of Henry Grattan, ii. 175, 183; Addit. MSS. 19244 f. 171, 177, 21033 ff. 37–42, 28051 f. 398, 32724 f. 474, 32920 f. 410, 458, 32921 f. 232, 32944 f. 124, 32967 f. 413; Hist. MSS. Comm. 9th Rep., Stopford Sackville MSS.] R. D.

**HERON**, ROBERT (1764–1807), miscellaneous writer, son of John Heron, a weaver, was born in New Galloway, Kirkcudbrightshire, 6 Nov. 1764. He was taught privately by his mother until his ninth year, when he was sent to the parish school. He displayed such precocity that at the age of eleven he was employed to give lessons to children of some of the neighbouring farmers, and at fourteen was appointed master of the parochial school of Kelton. By the end of 1780 he had saved sufficient money to enable him, with the help of his parents, to enter the university of Edinburgh, with the view of studying for the church. Latterly while pursuing his studies he supported himself partly by teaching, but chiefly by miscellaneous work for the booksellers. While a divinity student Heron, in the autumn of 1789, paid a visit at Ellisland to Robert Burns, who entrusted him with a letter to Dr. Blacklock, which he failed to deliver. In a rhyming epistle to Blacklock Burns attributes Heron's faithlessness either to preoccupation with 'some dainty fair one,' or to partiality for liquor.

Heron was for some time assistant to Dr. Blair, but, according to his own statement, all his 'ideas, as well of exertion as of enjoyment, soon became literary.' His first independent literary venture was a small edition in 1789 of Thomson's 'Seasons,' with a criticism on his poetry. A larger edition appeared in 1793. In 1790–1 he announced a course of lectures on the 'Law of Nature, the Law of Nations, the Jewish, the Grecian, the Roman and the Canon Law, and then on the Feudal Law,' intended as an introduction to the study of law, but the scheme was unsuccessful. His imprudent habits overwhelmed him with debt, and he was thrown into prison by his creditors. On their suggestion he undertook a 'History of Scotland' for Messrs. Morrison of Perth, who engaged to pay him at the rate of three guineas a sheet. After making some progress he was liberated from prison on condition of devoting two-thirds of his remuneration to paying 15*s.* in the pound. The first volume, which appeared in 1794, was nearly all written in gaol. In his preface the author expressed a hope that this would be regarded as some excuse for 'considerable imperfections.' The excuse is naive; but all Heron's works bear evident marks of superficial knowledge and hurried composition. The 'History'

was completed in six volumes, 1794–9. In 1798 Heron produced at the Theatre Royal, Edinburgh, a comedy, which was hopelessly condemned before the second act. Attributing its failure to a conspiracy against him, he published it under the title 'St. Kilda in Edinburgh, or News from Camperdown, a Comic Drama in Two Acts, with a Critical Preface, to which is added an Account of a famous Ass Race,' 1798; the publication attracted no attention. Being returned as a ruling elder for New Galloway, Heron was for several years a member of the general assembly of the church of Scotland, and frequently spoke with fluency and ability. In order to obtain more constant literary occupation, he removed in 1799 to London, where he contributed largely to the periodicals; was for some time editor of the 'Globe,' the 'British Press,' and other newspapers, and also acted as a parliamentary reporter. In 1806 he commenced a newspaper entitled 'The Fame,' which proved unsuccessful. Its failure and Heron's improvident habits led to his confinement by his creditors in Newgate prison, where, according to his own statement, he was reduced 'to the very extremity of bodily and pecuniary distress.' From Newgate he, on 2 Feb. 1807, wrote a letter to the Literary Fund, recounting his services to literature, and appealing for aid (printed in DISRAELI, *Calamities of Authors*), but the appeal met with no response. Being attacked by fever, Heron was removed to the hospital of St. Pancras, where he died 13 April 1807.

Besides the works above mentioned, Heron also published: 1. A translation of Niebuhr's 'Travels through Arabia,' 1792. 2. 'Elegant Extracts of Natural History,' 1792. 3. 'Arabian Tales, or continuations of Arabian Nights' Entertainments,' translated from the French, 4 vols. 1792. 4. 'Observations made in a Journey through the Western Counties of Scotland in 1792,' 2 vols., Perth, 1793; 2nd ed. 1799. 5. 'General View of the Natural Circumstances of the Hebrides,' 1794. 6. 'Letters which passed between General Dumourier and Pache, Minister of War to the French Republic in 1792,' translated from the French, 1794. 7. 'Information concerning the Strength, Views, and Interests of the Powers presently at War,' 1794. 8. A translation of Fourcroy's 'Chemistry,' 1796. 9. 'An Account of the Life of Muley Liezet, late Emperor of Morocco,' translated from the French, 1797. 10. 'Letter to Sir John Sinclair, bart., on the necessity of an instant Change of Ministry,' published under the name of Ralph Anderson, 1797. 11. 'Scotland Described,' Edinburgh, 1797, 12mo. 12. 'Life of Robert Burns,' Edinburgh, 1797 (a work of some value, owing to the writer's knowledge of the south-west of Scotland). 13. 'A New and Complete System of Universal Geography, to which is added a Philosophical View of Universal History,' 4 vols. 1798. 14. 'Pizarro,' a tragedy, 1799. 15. 'Elements of Chemistry,' London, 1800. 16. 'Letter to William Wilberforce, esq., M.P., on the Justice and Expediency of the Slave Trade, and on the best means to improve the Manners and Condition of the Negroes in the West Indies,' 1806. An edition of the 'Letters of Junius,' 1802, in Watt's 'Bibl. Brit.' is credited to Pinkerton, but a letter in 'Notes and Queries,' 1st ser. vi. 445, clearly shows that Heron and not Pinkerton was the editor. Pinkerton was, however, the author of 'Letters of Literature,' published under the pseudonym of 'Robert Heron' in 1784. A manuscript 'Journal of My Conduct,' by Heron, is in the library of the University of Edinburgh (Laing collection). Heron also contributed to the 'Encyclopædia Britannica,' the 'Edinburgh Magazine,' and other periodicals; and was employed by Sir John Sinclair in the preparation of the 'Statistical Account of Scotland.'

[Murray's Literary History of Galloway, pp. 254–81; Chambers's Dict. of Eminent Scotsmen; Watt's Bibl. Brit.; Disraeli's Calamities of Authors; Baker's Biog. Dram. i. 325; Notes and Queries, 1st ser. vi. 389, 445, vii. 167; Fraser's Mag. xx. 747; Gent. Mag. 1807, pt. i. 595; Nichols's Illustrations of Literature, v. 669.]

T. F. H.

**HERON**, SIR ROBERT (1765–1854), politician, born at Newark on 27 Nov. 1765, was only son of Thomas Heron of Chilham Castle, Kent, recorder of Newark (who died 28 April 1794), by his first wife, Anne, elder daughter of Sir Edward Wilmot, bart., M.D. He succeeded to the baronetcy on the death of his uncle, Sir Richard Heron [q. v.], in 1805. In childhood he was very feeble, his mother died on 30 April 1767, and he was brought up by strangers. He was educated from the age of eight by the Rev. John Skynner, who lived near Stamford, and proceeded afterwards to St. John's College, Cambridge, but did not stay long enough to take a degree. For two summers he travelled on the continent with an eccentric tutor, Robert Pedley, who was afterwards known as Robert Deverell [q. v.] On the death of another uncle, the Rev. Robert Heron of Grantham, on 19 Jan. 1813, he succeeded to considerable property, which was augmented by the widow's death shortly afterwards. In politics he was a whig. He abandoned an intention to contest the county of Lincoln in 1812 in order to canvass the

borough of Grimsby, and was duly returned for that constituency. At the next general election in 1818 he stood for Lincolnshire, but being in a hopeless minority, withdrew on the third day of the poll. Through Lord Fitzwilliam's interest he was returned in December 1819 for Peterborough, and was re-elected until 1832 without opposition. After that date he was frequently opposed, but continued to sit for Peterborough until his retirement in 1847. Heron was a constant speaker in the House of Commons, and among his proposals was a motion 'respecting the vacating of seats in parliament on the acceptance of office,' on which the Marquis of Northampton published a pamphlet of 'Observations' in 1835. He died suddenly at Stubton Hall in Lincolnshire on 29 May 1854. He married, at Cottesmore, Rutlandshire, on 9 Jan. 1792, Amelia, second daughter of Sir Horatio Mann of Boughton Malherbe, Kent. She predeceased him on 12 Dec. 1847. A monument to their memory was erected in Stubton churchyard by Mr. George Neville, the successor to the property. Heron built about 1800 the nave and tower of Stubton Church. He had no children, and at his death the baronetcy became extinct.

A volume of his 'notes' was printed anonymously for private circulation at Grantham in 1850, and reprinted for sale in 1851. They dealt mainly with politics and social economy, but included observations on natural history, drawn from the curious animals collected together in what was locally known as his 'menagerie.' In one passage he spoke of Croker as 'one of the most determined jobbers,' and in another referred to a 'most malicious article' of that critic in the 'Quarterly Review.' Croker revenged himself by a savage onslaught on the volume in the 'Quarterly' (1852, xc. 206–25).

[Gent. Mag. January 1792 p. 88, July 1854 pp. 74–5; Hasted's Kent, ii. 432, iii. 134; Geneal. Table of Heron Family, pt. ii.; Sir R. Heron's notes.] W. P. C.

**HERRICK.** [See also HERICKE and HEYRICK.]

**HERRICK, ROBERT** (1591–1674), poet, fourth son of Nicholas Herrick, a goldsmith in Cheapside, by his wife Julian Stone, was baptised at the church of St. Vedast, Foster Lane, on 24 Aug. 1591. His father, who came of an ancient Leicestershire family of Heyricks or Eyrickes, died in November 1592 of injuries caused by a fall from an upper window of his house. It was suspected that the fall was not accidental; and Dr. Fletcher, bishop of Bristol, laid claim, as high almoner, to all his goods and chattels. The matter being referred to arbitration, the bishop was ultimately awarded 220*l.* out of the estate in full satisfaction of his claim. Two days before his death, or on the very day of his death, the elder Herrick had drawn up a will, leaving one-third of his property (which realised 5,000*l.*) to his wife, and two-thirds among his children. There were six surviving children, and a seventh (William) was posthumously born. From some verses 'To the reverend shade of his religious Father' it appears that the poet was long ignorant of his father's burial-place.

Their uncle, William, afterwards Sir William Hericke or Herrick [q. v.], became guardian to the children. On 25 Sept. 1607, Robert, who had probably been educated at Westminster School, was bound apprentice to his uncle for ten years. He did not serve out his apprenticeship, for in 1613 he was a fellow-commoner of St. John's College, Cambridge. Fourteen letters, chiefly applications for money, addressed by him from Cambridge to his uncle, are preserved at Beaumanor. It may be gathered from these letters that he was allowed (from his share of the property left by his father) 10*l.* a term for his expenses at college, that he found the allowance insufficient, and that the uncle supplemented it by grants (or loans) from his own pocket. 'I could wish,' writes Herrick, 'chardges had leaden wings and Tortice feet to come vpon me; *sed votis puerilibus opto.*' On one occasion he declares that his pecuniary troubles force him to neglect his studies, 'whereas if you would be pleased to furnish me with so much that I might keepe beforehand with my Tutor, I doubt not but with quicke dispatch to attaine to what I ayme.' With the twofold object of reducing his expenditure and of devoting himself to legal studies, he migrated in 1616 to Trinity Hall, where he proceeded B.A. in 1616–17, and commenced M.A. in 1620. From account-books preserved at Trinity Hall it appears that as late as 1629–30 he was in the hall's debt. Dr. Grosart contends that the entries in the steward's books refer to the poet's cousin, Robert Herrick, a son of Sir William Herrick; but there is no evidence to show that the cousin, who was educated at Oxford, studied at Trinity Hall.

On 2 Oct. 1629, shortly after his mother's death, Herrick was admitted to the living of Dean Prior, near Ashburton, Devonshire. Much of his poetry was written before he settled in Devonshire. Accustomed to cheerful society, he found the lonely life at Dean Prior irksome. He wistfully recalled the 'lyric feasts,' presided over by Ben Jonson, at 'the Sun, the Dog, the Triple Tun.' But he frankly acknowledged t[illegible] poetry

was written at Dean Prior. Wood says that he 'became much beloved by the gentry in those parts for his florid and witty discourses.' His household was directed by his devoted maid 'Prue' (Prudence Baldwin), whose epitaph he composed. In his 'Grange or Private Wealth' he sings of his spaniel 'Tracy,' his pet-lamb, his cat, goose, cock, and hen. A tradition survived early in the nineteenth century (*Quarterly Review*, August 1810) that he had a 'favourite pig, which he amused himself by teaching to drink out of a tankard.' Another tradition is that he once threw his sermon at the congregation, cursing them for not paying attention. In one of his poems he describes his parishioners as

> A people currish; churlish as the seas;
> And rude almost as rudest savages.

Several of his epigrams (more coarse than witty) appear to be directed against obnoxious neighbours. On the other hand, he has poems in praise of Devonshire friends.

In 1647 Herrick, a devoted royalist, was ejected from his living and retired to London. The poem on 'His returne to London' expresses his enthusiastic delight at being released from his 'long and dreary banishment.' London was the place of his nativity, and he vowed to spend in London the rest of his days. In his 'Farewell to Dean-Bourn' he declared that he would not go back to Devonshire until 'rocks turn to rivers, rivers turn to men.' Settling in St. Anne's, Westminster, he assumed the lay habit. Walker (*Sufferings of the Clergy*, p. 253) states that, 'having no fifths paid to him,' he 'was subsisted by charity until the Restoration.' It is to be noticed that his uncle, at Beaumanor, was still living, that other relatives were well-to-do, and that he had a large circle of wealthy friends.

On 24 Aug. 1662 Herrick was restored to his living; and the church register at Dean Prior records that 'Robert Herrick, vicker, was buried y^e 15th day of October 1674.' A collateral descendant, W. Perry-Herrick, esq., of Beaumanor Park, erected in 1857 a monument to his memory in Dean Prior Church.

Few contemporary notices of Herrick are found, but there is ample evidence to show that his poetry was appreciated. Many of his poems were published anonymously in the later editions of 'Witts Recreations' (1650 and onwards). The compilers of 'Wits Interpreter,' 'The Academy of Compliments,' 'The Mysteries of Love and Eloquence,' and other seventeenth-century miscellanies, laid him under contribution. Several pieces were set to music by eminent composers—Henry Lawes, Lanière, Wilson, and Ramsay. The first of his poems that found its way into print was 'King Obrons Feast,' published anonymously in 'A Description of the King and Queene of Fayries, their habit, fare, their abode, pompe, and state,' London, 1635, 8vo. On 4 Nov. 1639 was entered in the 'Stationers' Register' 'An addicion of some excellent Poems to Shakespeares Poems by other gentlemen' (Arber, *Transcript*, iv. 487), and among these additional pieces is mentioned 'His Mistris Shade, by R. Herrick,' which was printed anonymously in Shakespeare's 'Poems,' 1640, and was afterwards included, with some curious textual variations, in 'Hesperides' (where it is headed 'The Apparition of his Mistresse calling him to Elizium'). In 1640 'The Several Poems written by Robert Herrick' was entered, but not published. In 1648 appeared a collected edition of his poems: 'Hesperides: or, The Works both Humane and Divine of Robert Herrick, Esq.,' 8vo. The divine poems form a separate part, with a fresh title-page dated 1647, 'His Noble Numbers: or, His Pious Pieces, Wherein (amongst other things) He sings the Birth of his Christ: and sighes for his Saviour suffering on the Crosse.' The collection was dedicated to Charles, prince of Wales, afterwards Charles II. The edition was issued with Herrick's sanction (though there is no attempt at any arrangement of the poems), and has a portrait of the author by William Marshall. In 1647 Herrick had prefixed commendatory verses (not included in 'Hesperides') to the folio of Beaumont and Fletcher; and in 1649 he was one of the contributors to 'Lacrymæ Musarum,' a collection of memorial verses on the death of Henry, lord Hastings. He is not known to have published anything after 1649. There is a tradition that he was the original projector of 'Poor Robin's Almanac;' but this is a mistake. 'Poor Robin' was the *nom de plume* of Robert Winstanley of Saffron Walden (*Notes and Queries*, 6th ser. vii. 321–3). Verses of Herrick are occasionally quoted in the almanac: and in 'Hesperides' he playfully styled himself 'Robin' Herrick. A few—very few—manuscript poems, not included in 'Hesperides,' may with some probability be assigned to Herrick; but Mr. Hazlitt (Appendix to Herrick's *Works* in the 'Old Authors' Library') has claimed for him poems that can clearly be shown to belong to other writers.

Herrick was practically forgotten until Nichols in 1796–7 drew attention to his poetry in the 'Gentleman's Magazine.' Nichols was followed by Dr. Nathan Drake, who devoted some papers to Herrick in 'Lite-

rary Hours;' and in 1810 Dr. Nott published 'Select Poems from the "Hesperides,"' which was reviewed by Barron Field in the 'Quarterly Review,' August 1810. In 1823 a complete edition, in two volumes, worthily edited by Thomas Maitland, lord Dundrennan, was published at Edinburgh, the 'remainder' copies being issued (with a fresh title-page) by William Pickering in 1825. Pickering's edition of 1846 contains a memoir by S. W. Singer; an edition by Mr. Edward Walford was published in 1859; Mr. W. Carew Hazlitt's edition, 1869, 2 vols., has additional information of interest; and there is a valuable edition by Dr. Grosart, 3 vols., 1876. Selections from Herrick have been edited by Professor F. T. Palgrave and others. An appreciative essay on Herrick, by Mr. Edmund Gosse, was contributed to the 'Cornhill Magazine,' August 1875.

Herrick reminds us at one time of the Greek epigrammatists; at another of Catullus, or Horace, or Martial; now of Ronsard, and then of Ben Jonson. But he is always original. He polished his verses carefully, but they never smell of the lamp. A consummate artist, he successfully attempted a variety of metrical experiments. But apart from its formal excellence his poetry has a fresh natural charm that the simplest may appreciate. Some of his poems (particularly his 'Litany') were handed down orally at Dean Prior when he had been forgotten by the critics. Though he professed a distaste for his Devonshire vicarage, no poet has described with equal gusto the delights of old English country-life—the wakes and wassails, the Christmas and Twelfth-tide sports, the May-day games and harvest-homes. In his 'Hesperides' he is the most frankly pagan of English poets, but his 'Noble Numbers' testify to the sincerity of his Christian piety.

[Memoirs by Maitland, W. Carew Hazlitt, and Dr. Grosart; Wood's Athenæ Oxon. ed. Bliss, iii. 520; Quarterly Review, August 1810; Retrospective Review, August 1822.] A. H. B.

**HERRIES**, Lord. [See Maxwell.]

**HERRIES**, Sir CHARLES JOHN (1815–1883), financier, eldest son of the Right Hon. J. C. Herries [q. v.], born in 1815, studied at Eton and Trinity College, Cambridge, where he proceeded B.A. 1837, M.A. 1840 (*Graduati Cantabr.* p. 249). In 1842 Sir Robert Peel made him a commissioner of excise. In 1856 he was chosen by Sir George Cornewall Lewis to occupy the deputy chair of the board of inland revenue, and in 1877 Lord Beaconsfield raised him to the chairmanship. In 1871 he was made C.B., and in 1880 (on Mr. Gladstone's recommendation) K.C.B. He left the public service in November 1881, 'and his eminent financial and administrative abilities were acknowledged in a treasury minute, 2 Dec. 1881, and subsequently presented to parliament.' He died unmarried, 14 March 1883, at his country house, St. Julian's, Sevenoaks. Herries wrote an introduction to the 'Memoir of the Right Hon. J. C. Herries, by Edward Herries, C.B.' (2 vols. 1880).

[Times, 16 March 1870, p. 8, col. 6; Burke's Knightage for 1883.] F. W–T.

**HERRIES**, JOHN CHARLES (1778–1855), statesman, eldest son of Charles Herries, a London merchant, and colonel of the light horse volunteers, by his wife Mary Ann Johnson, was born (probably in the month of November) in 1778. He was educated at Cheam and Leipzig University, and on 5 July 1798 was appointed a junior clerk in the treasury. He was shortly afterwards promoted to a post in the revenue department, where he showed such capacity that in 1800 he was employed to draw up for Pitt his counter-resolutions against Tierney's financial proposals (*Parl. Hist.* xxxv. 486–91). Upon the formation of the Addington ministry in 1801 Herries became private secretary to Vansittart, the secretary to the treasury, and in 1802 his translation from Gentz's treatise, 'On the State of Europe before and after the French Revolution, being an Answer to L'Etat de la France à la fin de l'An VIII' (London, 8vo), appeared; the sixth edition of which was published in 1804 (London, 8vo). In June 1803, in answer to the attacks of Cobbett and Lord Grenville upon the government, he published a pamphlet entitled 'A Reply to some Financial Mistatements in and out of Parliament,' for which he received the thanks of the prime minister. Perceval, on becoming chancellor of the exchequer in the Portland administration, appointed Herries his private secretary. In January 1809 he received the appointment of secretary and registrar to the order of the Bath, and in October of the same year was entrusted with the negotiations (which, however, proved unsuccessful) with Vansittart for his junction with Perceval's government (Lord Colchester, *Diary*, 1861, ii. 219). In 1811 he went over to Ireland to assist Wellesley-Pole (afterwards the third earl of Mornington), who had been appointed chancellor of the Irish exchequer. While in Ireland Herries was nominated comptroller of the army accounts, but he never actually took his seat on the board, as on 1 Oct. 1811 he was appointed commissary-in-chief. The duties of the office were extremely onerous. The barefaced

jobbery was universal. Herries appears to have worked hard and to have done his best, although the commissariat had still many shortcomings. At the end of 1813, in conjunction with Nathan Meyer Rothschild, Herries successfully formed and carried out a plan for the collection of French specie for the use of Wellington's army, and in 1814 he went to Paris, in order to negotiate financial treaties with the allies. In consequence of the continued dearth of specie a large number of twenty-franc pieces were at his suggestion coined at the mint in the following year for the use of the army. The office of commissary-in-chief was abolished on 24 Oct. 1816 by a treasury minute, dated 16 Aug., which paid a high compliment to Herries. A retiring pension of 1,350*l.* (reduced while holding office to 1,200*l.*) was granted him, and on 29 Oct. in the same year he was appointed auditor of the civil list, an office created by an act of parliament in the previous session (56 Geo. III, c. 46). This appointment gave rise to a debate in the House of Commons on 8 May 1817, but the motion condemning it was negatived by ninety-three to forty-two (*Parliamentary Debates*, xxxvi. 273–94). In July 1821 Herries was appointed by 1 and 2 Geo. IV, c. 90, one of the commissioners for inquiring into the collection and management of the revenue in Ireland. By an act of the following year (3 Geo. IV, c. 37) the powers of the commission were still further extended. The second report, dated 28 June 1822, on 'the incorporation of the British and Irish establishments for the collection of the public income in such a manner as to place each description of the revenue throughout the United Kingdom under one practical management,' was entirely drawn up by Herries (*Parliamentary Papers*, 1822, xii. 3*–24*). In 1822 Herries resigned the office of registrar and secretary to the order of the Bath. He was appointed financial secretary to the treasury by Lord Liverpool on 7 Feb. 1823, and at a by-election in the same month was returned for Harwich as a colleague of Canning. His first reported speech in the House of Commons was delivered on 18 March 1823, when he opposed the repeal of the window tax (*Parliamentary Debates*, new ser. viii. 608). As secretary to the treasury his wide knowledge of financial details was frequently of much service to the government, and under his auspices the consolidation of the customs laws was effected. He continued to hold office during Canning's administration, and in the summer of 1827 was made one of the commissioners for supervising the restoration of Windsor Castle. Upon Canning's death Herries, after some protracted negotiations, was at the king's desire appointed chancellor of the exchequer in Goderich's ministry. He was sworn a member of the privy council on 17 Aug., and received the seals at Windsor on 3 Sept. 1827. A quarrel soon afterwards broke out about the appointment of a chairman of the finance committee, which was to be nominated at the opening of the session. Without any previous consultation with Herries, Goderich and Huskisson agreed, at Tierney's instigation, to the nomination of Lord Althorp as chairman. Herries resented this slight, and insisted upon resigning if Lord Althorp was placed in the chair, while Huskisson refused to remain in office if Lord Althorp was not appointed; the ultimate result of these dissensions, coupled with the proposed introduction of Lord Holland into the cabinet, being the resignation of Goderich and the appointment of the Duke of Wellington as prime minister. As Huskisson had agreed to join the Wellington ministry on condition that Herries should not continue to hold the office of chancellor of the exchequer, Goulburn was appointed to that post, and Herries, who had not met the House of Commons in his capacity of chancellor of the exchequer, became on 12 Feb. 1828 master of the mint. On 18 Feb. he made an elaborate statement in the house, and explicitly denied that his conduct had been the cause of the dissolution of the ministry, or that he had conspired, either with the king or the leaders of the tory party, to upset the government (*ib.* new ser. xviii. 487–505). He also wrote out for the information of his friends a statement of 'the events which led to the dissolution of the administration of Lord Goderich' (*Memoir*, ii. 71–7). He took an active part in the proceedings of the finance committee, which was appointed early in the session of 1828, and presided over by Sir Henry Parnell. He drew up the fourth report (*Parliamentary Papers*, 1828, vol. v.), and his statement before the committee, according to Sir James Graham, 'made the public accounts intelligible, which they never were before' (*Parliamentary Debates*, new ser. xxiii. 247). On 2 Feb. 1830 Herries succeeded Vesey Fitzgerald [see FITZGERALD, WILLIAM VESEY, LORD FITZGERALD and VESEY] as president of the board of trade, retaining the post of master of the mint, but resigned both offices upon the accession of Lord Grey to power in November of that year. On 26 Jan. 1832 Herries moved a series of resolutions condemning the Russian-Dutch loan (*ib.* 3rd ser. ix. 903–14), and though the government secured a majority on the occasion its position was severely damaged by the debate. On the formation of Sir Robert Peel's

first administration Herries was appointed secretary at war (16 Dec. 1834), a post which he held until the overthrow of the ministry in April 1835. He was appointed one of the select committee on metropolitan improvements, and wrote the greater part of the second report for 1838. On 13 Feb. 1840 Herries's motion for returns of the public finances (*ib.* 3rd ser. lii. 184–201) was carried against the government by a majority of ten. In the following session he took an active part in the debates on the financial and commercial policy of the government. At the dissolution in June 1841 he retired from the representation of Harwich, and at the general election in the following month unsuccessfully contested the borough of Ipswich with Fitzroy Kelly (afterwards lord chief baron) [q. v.] For the next six years Herries remained both out of parliament and of office, but at the general election in July 1847 he was elected to parliament for the borough of Stamford as a protectionist. On his return to parliament Herries strenuously resisted the repeal of the navigation laws (DISRAELI, *Lord George Bentinck*, 1852, p. 558). His decision not to accept office is stated to have been one of the causes of Lord Stanley's failure to form a government in February 1851 (EARL OF MALMESBURY, *Memoirs of an ex-Minister*, 1884, i. 278–9). On 28 Feb. 1852, however, he was appointed president of the board of control in Lord Derby's first administration, and retained that post until the overthrow of the administration in December 1852. He was again returned for Stamford at the general election in July 1852, but retired from parliamentary life at the end of the session in the following year. Herries spoke for the last time in the House of Commons on 11 July 1853 on the government of India bill (*Parliamentary Debates*, 3rd ser. cxxix. 43–7), and was succeeded in the representation of Stamford by Lord Robert Cecil (the present marquis of Salisbury), who then entered the house for the first time. Herries died suddenly at St. Julians, near Sevenoaks, on 24 April 1855, aged 77, and was buried in the family vault at Sevenoaks. Herries married, on 8 Feb. 1814, Sarah, daughter of John Dorington, clerk of the fees of the House of Commons. She died on 27 Feb. 1821, leaving three sons—viz. (1) Sir Charles John Herries, K.C.B. [q. v.]; (2) William Robert Herries, brevet major, 43rd light infantry, who was killed at the battle of Moodkee in December 1845; (3) Edward Herries, C.B., formerly secretary of legation at Berne—and three daughters.

Herries throughout his career was a consistent tory, and a worthy and upright politician. He was neither a frequent nor a brilliant speaker, and he owed his position in the House of Commons mainly to his extensive knowledge of finance and his great capacity for work. The account given by Mr. Walpole in his 'History of England' (ii. 460–3) of the appointment of Herries to the office of chancellor of the exchequer has been the subject of considerable controversy. Founded as it is on statements in the 'Life of Lord Palmerston' and in Greville's 'Memoirs,' it cannot be said to be entirely free from political bias, and it certainly gives an erroneous impression of Herries's position. The imputations on his character are not borne out by the evidence when impartially considered, nor was he a mere 'tory clerk;' for 'his position in general repute was such that his appointment to be chancellor of the exchequer excited, and indeed could excite, no surprise whatever on the ground of calibre. His qualifications were eminent' (Letter of Mr. Gladstone, dated 3 Dec. 1880, to Sir Charles Herries). Herries was a man of singularly retired habits, and never 'attended a public meeting except at his elections, or spoke at a public dinner—invitations to which he almost invariably declined' (*Memoir*, i. [20]). He is said, however, to have been one of the originators of the Carlton Club, the precursor of which was 'a place of meeting for party purposes, established to a great extent under his auspices in Charles Street, St. James's Square' (*ib.* ii. 119). The portrait of Herries by Sir William Boxall, R.A. (now in the possession of Mr. Edward Herries) was exhibited at the Loan Collection of National Portraits at South Kensington in 1868 (*Catalogue*, No. 398), and has been engraved by Walker. Mr. Herries also possesses a portrait painted by Meyer, which was engraved by S. Freeman for the second series of Ryall's 'Portraits of Eminent Conservatives and Statesmen.'

[Memoir of the Public Life of J. C. Herries by his son, Edward Herries, C.B. (1880), a somewhat unsatisfactory biography, dealing principally with Herries's share in the formation and dissolution of the Goderich ministry, and written in refutation of the imputations against Herries contained in Bulwer's Life of Lord Palmerston, Greville, and Walpole; Sir H. L. Bulwer's Life of Lord Palmerston, 1871, vol. i.; Greville's Memoirs, 1874, 1st ser. pp. 108–16, 120–4, 127–9; Croker's Correspondence and Diaries, 1884, i. 391–406; Martineau's History of the Thirty Years' Peace, 1877, vol. ii. bk. iii. chap. iii.; Walpole's History of England, vols. ii–v.; Edinburgh Review, cliii. 390–417; Quarterly Review, clii. 260–70; Sir N. H. Nicolas's Hist. of the Orders of British Knighthood, 1842, vol. iii. B. lxxi.; Gent. Mag. 1814, vol. lxxxiv. pt. i. p. 194, 1821 vol. xci. pt.

i. p. 283, 1846 new ser. xxv. 428, 1855 new ser. xliii. 641–2; Annual Register, 1855, App. to Chron. p. 268; Examiner for 28 April 1855, p. 260; Official Return of Lists of Members of Parliament, pt. ii. pp. 237, 303, 317, 330, 341, 353, 366, 402, 418; Haydn's Book of Dignities, 1851.] G. F. R. B.

HERRING, FRANCIS, M.D. (*d.* 1628), physician, a native of Nottinghamshire, was educated at Christ's College, Cambridge (B.A. 1585, M.A. 1589). On 3 July 1599, being then a doctor of medicine of Cambridge of two years' standing, he was admitted a fellow of the College of Physicians. He was censor in 1609, 1618, 1620, 1623, 1624, 1626, and 1627. He was named an elect on 5 June 1623, and died in the beginning of 1628. He translated from the Latin of J. Oberndoerffer, 'The Anatomyes of the True Physition and Counterfeit Mounte-banke: wherein both of them are graphically described, and set out in their Right and Orient Colours,' 4to, London, 1602. He took occasion to add, by way of appendix, 'A short Discourse, or Discouery of certaine Stratagems, whereby our London-Empericks haue bene obserued strongly to oppugne, and oft times to expugne their Poore Patients Purses.' Herring's other writings are: 1. 'In fœlicissimum . . . Jacobi primi, Angliæ . . . Regis, . . . ad Anglicanæ Reip. gubernacula Ingressum, Poema Gratulatorium,' 4to, London, 1603. 2. 'A modest Defence of the Caveat given to the wearers of impoisoned Amulets, as Preservatives from the Plague. . . . Likewise that unlearned . . . opinion, that the Plague is not infectious, . . . is . . . refuted by way of preface,' 4to, London, 1604. 3. 'Pietas Pontificia, seu, Conjurationis illius prodigiosæ, . . . in Jacobum . . . Regē . . . Novembris quinto, . . . 1605 . . . brevis adumbratio poetica,' 4to [London], 1606. An English verse translation by A. P. was published with the title of 'Popish Pietie' in 1610. 4. 'Pietas Pontificia . . . ab authore recognita . . . Accessit Venatio Catholica sive secunda Historiæ pars, &c. (In Jesuitas Epigramma, &c.) [With other pieces in verse],' 8vo, London, 1609. Under the title of 'Mischeefes Mysterie' both parts of Herring's poem on the Gunpowder plot, with 'A Psalme of Thankesgiving,' 'An Epigram against Jesuites,' &c., were translated into English and 'very much dilated' by John Vicars, 4to, London, 1617, of which another edition, entitled 'The Quintessence of Cruelty,' appeared in 1641. 5. 'Certaine Rules, Directions or Advertisements for this time of Pestilentiall Contagion: with a Caveat to those that weare about their Neckes impoisoned Amulets as a Preservative from the Plague . . . reprinted . . . Whereunto is added certaine directions for the poorer sort of people,' 4to, London, 1625. Another edition, entitled 'Preservatives against the Plague,' was published in 1665.

[Munk's Coll. of Phys. 1878, i. 116; Brit. Mus. Cat.] G. G.

HERRING, JOHN FREDERICK (1795–1865), animal-painter, was born in Surrey in 1795. Herring spent the first eighteen years of his life in the city of London, where his father, an American whose parents were Dutch, was a fringe-maker in Newgate Street. As a child he showed an aptitude for handling both whip and pencil. Having married against his father's wishes, he went, without settled plans, to Doncaster, where he arrived during the races in September 1814, and saw the Duke of Hamilton's horse William win the St. Leger. The sight inspired him to attempt the art of animal-painting, in which he subsequently excelled. At first he did not succeed as an animal-painter, but executed some satisfactory work in coach-painting, which led him to aspire to drive a coach. For two years he drove the 'Nelson' coach from Wakefield to Lincoln. He was afterwards transferred to the Doncaster and Halifax coach. While he was engaged on that road, his artistic powers, which he continually exercised, were discovered and appreciated, and he received many commissions to paint horses for gentlemen in the neighbourhood. In spite of increasing success as a painter of horses, he refused to hurriedly abandon his calling as coachman, and for some time drove the 'Highflyer' coach between London and York. When eventually he retired from the road and settled at Doncaster, he immediately obtained very numerous commissions. It was as the portrait-painter of racehorses that Herring earned his especial fame, and no great breeder or owner of racehorses is without some treasured production of Herring's brush. He painted Filho da Puta, the winner of the St. Leger in 1815, and for the following thirty-two years painted each winner in succession. He painted Mameluke, the winner of the Derby in 1827, and several other winners in later years. Herring had no education in art until he definitely set up as an artist, when he worked for a short time in the studio of Abraham Cooper, R.A. He painted an immense number of racing, coaching, and other sporting subjects, many of which were published by the sporting print sellers and the sporting magazines. He was a frequent exhibitor at the Royal Academy and the Society of British Artists; he was elected a member of the latter society in 1841. In

1830 he quitted Doncaster, and after residing some time near Newmarket, removed to Camberwell, London. He finally resided at Meopham Park, near Tunbridge Wells, where he died 23 Sept. 1865. Towards the close of his career Herring painted various subject-pictures, some of which have been engraved. In the National Gallery there is 'A Frugal Meal,' formerly in the Vernon Collection (engraved by J. Burnet and E. Hacker); in the Glasgow Gallery 'A Group of Ducks' and 'The Deerstalker;' and in the National Gallery at Dublin 'A Black Horse drinking from a Trough.' Herring, who painted several horses for the queen, was appointed animal-painter to the Duchess of Kent. He was somewhat vain of his powers, and thus lost some support in his later days. His musical talent was worthy of note. He had three sons, John Frederick, Charles, and Benjamin, who followed their father's profession. Charles died in 1856, and Benjamin in 1871. A portrait of Herring engraved by J. B. Hunt, after W. Betham, was prefixed to a memoir published in 1848.

[Memoir of J. F. Herring, Sheffield, 1848; Art Journal, 1865, p. 328; Sporting Magazine, November 1865; Bryan's Dict. of Painters and Engravers, ed. Graves; Redgrave's Dict. of Artists.] L. C.

**HERRING, JULINES** (1582–1644), puritan divine, was born at Flambere-Mayre, Montgomeryshire (CLARKE, *Martyrologie*, 1683, p. 462), in 1582. When three years old he was removed to Coventry, where his father appears to have been in business. He was educated under Perkin, minister at Morechurch in Shropshire, and at the grammar school at Coventry, and when fifteen years old was sent to Sidney Sussex College, Cambridge. After he had proceeded M.A., he returned to Coventry, and studied divinity under Humphrey Fenn [q. v.], vicar of Holy Trinity in that town. He objected to subscription, but obtained orders from an Irish bishop, and became a frequent and successful preacher in Coventry. Through the interest of Arthur Hildersam [q. v.], minister of Ashby-de-la-Zouch, he obtained the living of Calke, near Melbourne, Derbyshire, where he remained about eight years, attracting so many hearers that the church would not hold them. During this incumbency he married Miss Gellibrand, daughter of the minister to the English congregation at Flushing, by whom he had thirteen children. He was apparently compelled to resign his living on account of his scruples as to ceremonies. In 1618 he hired the hall of the Drapers' Company at Shrewsbury as a preaching place, and in the same year was appointed Tuesday lecturer, and preacher at the Sunday midday service at St. Alkmond's Church in that town. He was watched by spies, but escaped prosecution in the ecclesiastical courts, although Archbishop Laud is reported to have said he 'would pickle that Herring of Shrewsbury' (BROOK, *Hist. of the Puritans*, ii. 491). Complaints of his nonconformity were finally lodged before Thomas Morton, bishop of Lichfield, who, though satisfied of Herring's integrity, was obliged to suspend him. His friends obtained temporary removals of the suspension, but it was reimposed on account of his persisting in ignoring ceremonies. Leach, the vicar of St. Alkmond's, had been reported to the Star-chamber to be 'no preacher,' and Herring's preaching appears to have been often connived at by the authorities. While at Shrewsbury he refused several offers of a pastorate in New England. In 1633 he refused the offer of a chaplaincy by the Drapers' Company, and about 1635 went to reside at Wrenbury in Cheshire, where he 'instructed' from house to house, until in 1636 he accepted an invitation to become co-pastor with one Rulice to the English church at Amsterdam. On account of the edict forbidding ministers to leave the country without a license, he had much difficulty in escaping, and did not arrive in Holland till 20 Sept. 1637. He was warmly welcomed, the magistrates of Amsterdam paying the expenses of his journey. He died at Amsterdam, after a lingering illness, on 28 March 1644. Fuller says 'he was a pious man, and a painful and useful preacher,' and Samuel Clarke affirms that he was 'a hard student, a solid and judicious divine, and in life a pattern of good works.'

[Brook's Hist. of the Puritans, ii. 492; Clarke's Martyrologie, pp. 462–72; Owen and Blakeney's Hist. of Shrewsbury, ii. 279–80; Fuller's Worthies, pt. iv. p. 47.] A. C. B.

**HERRING, THOMAS** (1693–1757), archbishop of Canterbury, son of John Herring, rector of Walsoken, Norfolk, was born there in 1693. Educated at Wisbech school, he matriculated at Jesus College, Cambridge, on 13 June 1710, and graduated B.A. in 1713. He removed on 23 July 1714 to Corpus Christi College, where he was elected a fellow in 1716, and ordained deacon. In 1717 he commenced M.A. and became tutor of his college; he proceeded B.D. in 1724, and D.D. 1728. In 1719 he was ordained priest, and successively served the parishes of Great Shelford, Stow-cum-Quy, and Trinity in Cambridge. His handsome and dignified appearance and his winning address made him conspicuous as a preacher. In 1722 Fleetwood, bishop of Ely, appointed him one of

his chaplains and gave him the living of Rettendon in Essex, and shortly afterwards that of Barley in Hertfordshire. These appointments necessitated the vacating of his fellowship at Corpus. He was presented by the crown to the rectory of All Hallows the Great in London in 1724, but resigned before institution. In 1726 he was elected preacher at Lincoln's Inn, and shortly afterwards made a chaplain to the king. In 1728 he accompanied his majesty to Cambridge. In 1731 he was presented by Sir William Clayton to the valuable rectory of Bletchingley in Surrey, upon which he resigned Barley. On 31 Jan. 1732 he was appointed dean of Rochester. He was now amply provided for, but on 18 June 1737 he was promoted to the bishopric of Bangor, retaining the deanery of Rochester *in commendam*. He was consecrated 15 Jan. 1737–8, commenced a visitation of his diocese, and described his tour through Wales in charming letters to his friend William Duncombe [q. v.] In 1743 he was translated to York on the death of Archbishop Blackburn; his appointment was confirmed 21 April. Writing to Duncombe on 25 Sept. he mentions his progress through his new diocese, and makes the rather startling announcement—'I am confident I have confirmed above thirty thousand people.' While at York the rebellion of 1745 broke out. The archbishop, who was a thorough whig, made himself conspicuous by his zeal for the Hanoverian family, not only in sermons, but in stirring up the Yorkshire folks to form an association for the defence of the constitution and liberties of the kingdom. By his energies he raised 40,000*l.* in aid of the government. Nor did his zeal lose its reward. Archbishop Potter of Canterbury died in 1747, and Herring was translated to the primacy in November. In 1753, six years after his translation, Herring was attacked by a fever, from which he never thoroughly recovered. He retired to Croydon House, and seems to have paid little attention to public business. His letters to his friends (published by William Duncombe) in the closing years of his life are very interesting. His correspondents included Philip Doddridge, Drs. Stukeley, Thomas Birch, Nathaniel Forster, and Jortin. Letters to Birch and Forster are preserved in the British Museum (Add. MSS. 4310 ff. 62–8, 75, 11275 ff. 44–86). A number of his letters to John James Majendie are noticed in the Fifth Report of the Historical MSS. Commission (App. p. 322). He repeatedly mentions his wretched health from 1754 onwards. His last letter is dated 3 Jan. 1757. He died of dropsy on 13 March following. He was buried in St. Nicholas Chantry or Bishops' Chapel in Croydon Church.

Herring as a theologian was colourless. The practical side of religion alone appealed to him, and as a preacher he touched merely upon practical duties without impassioned appeals. He was tolerant to all shades of opinion, and is said to have sent a message to Hume not to be discouraged at the clamour raised against him when his history was published. His munificence was great. Besides much improving Bishopsthorpe, he laid out 6,000*l.* in repairing the houses at Lambeth and Croydon. By his will he left 1,000*l.* to the Corporation of the Sons of the Clergy, and also 1,000*l.* to the master and fellows of Corpus College, Cambridge, towards repairing or rebuilding the college. His publications consisted of a few single sermons, which were collected and published in 1 vol. 8vo, 1763, by his friend William Duncombe. His letters to William Duncombe from 1728 to 1757 were edited by the Rev John Duncombe [q. v.], 12mo, London, 1777. Hogarth painted two portraits of Herring; there are also portraits by S. Webster of Thomas Hudson; all have been engraved.

William Herring (*d.* 1774), brother of the archbishop, also took orders, was rector of Bolton Piercy, and became prebendary of Apesthorpe, York, in 1744. He was appointed dean of St. Asaph in 1751, and died 23 March 1774. He was married in 1750 to Elizabeth Cotton in Lambeth Palace Chapel (Le Neve, *Fasti Eccl. Angl.* i. 83, iii. 167; *Gent. Mag.* 1774, p. 239; *Reg. of Lambeth Palace Chapel*).

[Jortin's Tracts, ii. 518; Nichols's Lit. Anecd. passim (see Index); Nichols's Lit. Illustr. iii. 451–65; Biog. Brit. Suppl.; Abbey's English Church and its Bishops, 1700–1800, ii. 37–40, London, 1887.] R. H–R.

HERSCHEL, CAROLINE LUCRETIA (1750–1848), astronomer, eighth child and fourth daughter of Isaac Herschel and Anna Ilse Moritzen, was born at Hanover on 16 March 1750. Her father's desire to educate his youngest daughter was thwarted by his wife's determination to keep her to household drudgery. He gave her a few surreptitious violin lessons, by which she was enabled to take part in his pupils' concerts. She had no other accomplishment, except knitting. She roused herself from the 'kind of stupefaction' caused by her father's death on 22 March 1767 to learn dressmaking, in order to earn her bread. She also attempted to qualify herself for a governess by practising fancy work in hours spared from sleep, though finding it 'sometimes scarcely possible to get through the work required' by her mother.

Her brother William [q. v.], to whom she was from the first enthusiastically attached, now offered her a home at Bath, and she prepared herself for singing at concerts by imitating the violin parts of concertos with a gag between her teeth. In this way she 'gained a tolerable execution' before she attempted to sing. She reached Bath on 28 Aug. 1772.

Besides giving her two singing lessons daily, her brother taught her English and arithmetic; but her studies were from 1773 impeded by continual demands for aid in his astronomical pursuits. The summer of 1775 was 'taken up with copying music and practising, besides attendance on my brother when polishing, since, by way of keeping him alive, I was constantly obliged to feed him by putting the victuals by bits into his mouth.' Moreover, she read novels to him while he was at the turning-lathe or polishing mirrors, serving his meals without interrupting the work with which he was engaged, and sometimes lending a hand. 'I became in time as useful a member of the workshop as a boy in the first year of his apprenticeship.'

Meanwhile, as a preparation for appearance in oratorios, she was being 'drilled into a gentlewoman' by a dancing-mistress; her brother presented her with ten guineas to buy a dress, and she was pronounced at her début 'an ornament to the stage.' Her success was considerable. As first treble in the 'Messiah,' 'Judas Maccabæus,' &c., she sang at Bath or Bristol sometimes five nights in the week, but declined an engagement for the Birmingham festival, having resolved to appear only where her brother conducted. Their last public performance was in St. Margaret's Chapel, Bath, on Whit-Sunday, 1782.

At first she grudged the abandonment of music in order to be 'trained for an assistant-astronomer.' She began 'sweeping' on her own account with a small Newtonian reflector on 22 Aug. 1782 at Datchet, and in the following year discovered three remarkable nebulæ, one of them the well-known companion to the Andromeda nebula (No. 105 of Sir J. Herschel's 'General Catalogue'). From December 1783 she was absorbed in the arduous labour of assisting her brother. Her presence when he was observing was indispensable. She habitually worked with him till daybreak. She not only read the clocks and noted down his observations, but executed subsequently the whole of the extensive calculations involved. She brought the stars of the 'British Catalogue' into zones of one degree each for his 'sweeps,' copied his papers, and prepared his catalogues for the 'Philosophical Transactions,' besides the occupations of housekeeping, needlework, and entertaining distinguished visitors. In her few leisure moments she ground and polished mirrors, and 'was indulged with the last finishing of a very beautiful' one for Sir William Watson.

Between 1786 and 1797 she discovered eight comets, five of them with undisputed priority. That of November 1795 was afterwards famous as 'Encke's comet.' Some of the data relative to them are still preserved in a packet inscribed by her 'Bills and Receipts of my Comets.' The faint object detected on 1 Aug. 1786 was looked at with curiosity by Miss Burney as 'the first lady's comet.' She described Miss Herschel as 'very little, very gentle, very modest, and very ingenuous' (Madame d'Arblay, *Diary*, iii. 442, ed. 1842). Mrs. Papendick, though less sympathetic, says that she was 'a most excellent, kind-hearted creature' (*Journals*, i. 253).

In 1787 a salary of 50*l.* a year, the first money which she thought herself free to spend to her own liking, was settled by the king upon Miss Herschel as her brother's assistant. After her brother's marriage, on 8 May 1788, she lived in lodgings, but co-operated with him no less zealously than before. The change, though bravely borne, cost her severe pangs. On 8 March 1798 her 'Index to Flamsteed's Observations of the Fixed Stars' was presented to the Royal Society, and was published at their expense with her list of 'Errata' to the same observations. The usefulness of a work which 'contains a reference to every observation of every star in the British Catalogue' was cordially acknowledged by Baily (*Life of Flamsteed*, pp. 388, 390).

In August 1799 Miss Herschel spent a week at the Royal Observatory, as the guest of Dr. Maskelyne; and from July to November 1800 she was at Bath, setting Alexander Herschel's house in order. Her youngest brother, Dietrich, came to England in broken health in 1805, and she was much tried for the next four years by adding care for him to her other occupations. Miss Herschel was present at royal fêtes at Frogmore in 1816 and 1817, and saw much of the Princess Sophia in the autumn of 1818. From 1819 her brother William's health caused her much anxiety. She assisted him in observing for the last time on 21 June 1821, and in the impetuosity of her grief for his death on 25 Aug. 1822, she carried out a hasty resolution to spend the remainder of her life with her relations in Hanover.

She regretted too late having 'given herself and all she was worth' to the German branch of her family, but would not 'take back

her promise.' Her real interest was with Sir John Herschel's career, and she felt keenly the intellectual isolation to which she had condemned herself. Before quitting England she had made over to her brother Dietrich her little funded property of 500*l.*; and her extreme frugality allowed room for further generosity to her poorer relations out of an income of 150*l.* a year, of which 100*l.* was a bequest from her brother William. She nursed Dietrich Herschel at his house in the Marktstrasse until his death in 1827, and made a final move in 1833 to No. 376 Braunschweigerstrasse.

For her 'Reduction and Arrangement in the Form of a Catalogue in Zones of all the Star Clusters and Nebulæ observed by Sir William Herschel' she received the Astronomical Society's gold medal on 8 Feb. 1828 (*Memoirs Royal Astr. Society*, iii. 409), but was 'more shocked than gratified' by the distinction. This laborious work was styled by Sir David Brewster 'an extraordinary monument of the inextinguishable ardour of a lady of seventy-five in the cause of abstract science.' Although never published, it was the most valuable of her undertakings, because indispensable to Sir John Herschel's review of northern nebulæ. Miss Herschel was created an honorary member of the Royal Astronomical Society in 1835, and of the Royal Irish Academy in 1838. On the first occasion Mrs. Somerville transmitted to her a copy of 'The Connexion of the Physical Sciences.'

Miss Herschel's later years were cheered by many attentions. All men of science passing through Hanover, among them Gauss, Humboldt, and Mädler, called to see her. The royal family showed her constant kindness, and she had a particular regard for the Duke of Cambridge. Until 1839 her tiny figure was rarely absent from the theatre, where she was pleased to be noticed as a celebrity; she never missed a concert, and recorded her delight with Catalani and Paganini. A visit from her nephew in October 1824 afforded her vivid pleasure. During his next visit in June 1832 he wrote of her, then in her eighty-third year: 'She runs about the town with me, and skips up her two flights of stairs. In the morning, till eleven or twelve, she is dull and weary, but as the day advances she gains life, and is quite "fresh and funny" at ten o'clock p.m., and sings old rhymes, nay, even dances! to the great delight of all who see her.' Her ninety-sixth birthday was marked by Humboldt's transmission to her, in the name of the king of Prussia, of the gold medal for science. On the succeeding anniversary she entertained the crown prince and princess with great animation for two hours, even singing to them a composition of her brother William. Her last letter was finished on 3 Dec. 1846, but she lived to hold in her hands, in her nephew's 'Cape Observations,' the completion of the great celestial survey in which she had borne a share. She passed away tranquilly on 9 Jan. 1848, in her ninety-eighth year, and was buried with her parents in the churchyard of the 'Gartengemeinde' at Hanover. Her coffin was, by command of the princess royal, adorned with palm-branches, and, at her own request, contained a lock of her 'revered brother's' hair; and the inscription on her tombstone, composed by herself, commemorated her 'participation in his immortal labours.'

Caroline Herschel was absolutely without personal ambition, and jealous of her own praises lest they should seem to abate anything from her brother's merits. 'I did nothing for him,' she protested, 'but what a well-trained puppy-dog would have done.' 'My only reason,' she wrote to her nephew, 'for saying so much of myself is to show with what miserable assistance your father made shift to obtain the means of exploring the heavens.' Her commonplace-book, by its numerous entries of elementary problems in mathematics and astronomy, picked up from her brother at odd moments, proves the diligence with which she acquired the scanty outfit which her alert intelligence rendered effective. Although her memory remained excellent to the last, she records that she could never remember the multiplication table. Her portrait, painted by Tielemann in 1829, which she declared to 'look like life itself,' is in the possession of her grand-nephew, Sir William J. Herschel. An engraving from a later likeness, taken at the age of ninety-seven, forms the frontispiece to Mrs. John Herschel's 'Memoir.' The Newtonian seven-foot reflector, with which many of her discoveries had been made from the roof of the house at Slough, was presented in 1840 by her and Sir John Herschel jointly to the Royal Astronomical Society. Her gold medal, bequeathed to her grand-niece, Lady Gordon, was given by her to Girton College, Cambridge. Minor planet No. 281 was named 'Lucretia' in her honour by M. Palisa in 1889. The materials for her own and her brother's biographies are derived chiefly from her 'Journals' and 'Recollections' written at various periods, with a fragment of a 'History of the Herschels' begun in 1842.

[Mrs. John Herschel's Memoir and Correspondence of Caroline Herschel, London, 1876; Memoirs Royal Astronomical Soc. xvii. 120;

Athenæum, 22 Jan. 1848 ('Sir J. Herschel'); Revue Britannique, January 1848 p. 214, June 1876 p. 283.] A. M. C.

HERSCHEL, SIR JOHN FREDERICK WILLIAM (1792–1871), astronomer, only child of Sir William Herschel [q. v.], was born at Slough on 7 March 1792. He was educated at Dr. Gretton's school at Hitcham, Buckinghamshire, then for a few months at Eton, and afterwards at home by Mr. Rogers, a Scottish mathematician. He entered St. John's College, Cambridge, at the age of seventeen, graduated thence in 1813 as senior wrangler and first Smith's prizeman, and was immediately elected to a fellowship in his college. He was at this time described by the poet Campbell as 'a prodigy in science, and fond of poetry, but very unassuming' (BEATTIE, *Life of Campbell*, ii. 234). He proceeded M.A. on 3 July 1816, and in occasional residences at the university during the interval formed a lifelong intimacy with Whewell. Their Sunday mornings' 'philosophical breakfasts' in 1815 were long remembered (TODHUNTER, *Account of the Writings of Dr. Whewell*, i. 6). Herschel's youthful compact with George Peacock [q. v.] and Charles Babbage [q. v.] to 'do their best to leave the world wiser than they found it' began to be fulfilled by their formation in 1813 of the 'Analytical Society of Cambridge.' The first volume of its transactions was written exclusively by Herschel and Babbage. A joint translation by Herschel and Peacock of Lacroix's 'Elementary Treatise on the Differential Calculus,' Cambridge, 1816, with an appendix on finite differences by Herschel, styled by Professor Tait 'one of the most charming mathematical works ever written,' became a university text-book, and was succeeded in 1820 by two admirable volumes of 'Examples' by Herschel and Babbage. To these works was mainly due the restoration of mathematical science in England by introducing the differential notation and continental methods of analysis.

Herschel's first communication to the Royal Society, 'On a Remarkable Application of Cotes's Theorem' (*Phil. Trans.* ciii. 8), was dated from Slough, 6 Oct. 1812, and on 27 May 1813 he was elected a fellow of the society. Several papers on various points of analysis followed, distinguished by the award of the Copley medal in 1821. That of 1816 (*ib.* cvi. 25), supplemented by an essay on the summation of series in the 'Edinburgh Philosophical Journal' in 1819 (ii. 23), was devoted to promote the new calculus of operations.

Gently combating his father's preference for the church, Herschel chose the law as his profession, and was entered as a student of Lincoln's Inn on 24 Jan. 1814. The acquaintance of Dr. Wollaston and of Mr. (afterwards Sir James) South diverted him, however, finally to science. He left London, and failing to obtain the chair of chemistry at Cambridge, experimented at Slough in chemistry and physical optics. Some of his original results were embodied in papers 'On the Optical Phenomena exhibited by Mother-of-Pearl' (*ib.* ii. 114), 'On the Absorption of Light by Coloured Media' (*Trans. Roy. Soc. of Edinburgh*, ix. 445), and in various researches on the action of crystals upon polarised light (*Phil. Trans.* cx. 45; *Trans. Cambr. Phil. Soc.* i. 21, 43).

Astronomy is first mentioned on 10 Sept. 1816, when he reported himself as 'going under my father's direction to take up star-gazing.' He then began a re-examination of his father's double stars, and executed in 1821–3 the revision of 380 pairs in conjunction with South, and at South's observatory in Blackman Street, Southwark. The instruments employed were a seven-foot and a five-foot refractor. The resulting catalogue (*Phil. Trans.* vol. cxiv. pt. iii.) was honoured by the bestowal of the Astronomical Society's gold medal, and of the Lalande prize for astronomy in 1825, for which Bessel, Struve, and Pons were competitors. Herschel took an active part in the foundation of the Royal Astronomical Society; he wrote its inaugural address, and was its first foreign secretary. He travelled in Italy and Switzerland with Babbage in 1821, making an ascent of Monte Rosa, and visited Holland with Grahame in 1822. After the removal of South's telescopes to Passy in 1824, he went abroad again with Babbage; and made a barometrical determination of the height of Etna on 3 July. He then traversed Germany, seeing some eminent astronomers, and visiting his aunt Caroline Herschel [q. v.] at Hanover. He experimented upon solar radiation from the summit of the Puy de Dôme in 1826. On his election in November 1824 as secretary of the Royal Society, a post filled by him during three years, he took up his residence at 56 Devonshire Street, Portland Place, London. On 18 April 1825 he wrote to his aunt, on receiving her zone catalogue of nebulæ: 'These curious objects I shall now take into my especial charge, nobody else can see them.' More than half of Sir William Herschel's 2,500 nebulæ were invisible with any existing telescope except the twenty-foot 'front-view' reflector constructed by Herschel with his father's aid in 1820. His first effective use of it was in executing a valuable drawing of the Orion nebula in February 1824 (*Memoirs Astr. Soc.*

ii. 487), in observations of the second comet of 1825, and of the Andromeda nebula (*ib.* pp. 486, 495). His great review of the nebulæ visible in the northern hemisphere was carried out at Slough with its aid during 1825-33, and the results embodied in a catalogue of 2,307 nebulæ, of which 525 were discovered by himself, presented to the Royal Society on 1 July 1833 (*Phil. Trans.* cxxiii. 359). The memoir was accompanied by nearly one hundred elaborate drawings, and contained many valuable suggestions. Its importance was recognised in 1836 by medals from the Royal and Astronomical Societies.

In a paper read before the Royal Society on 9 March 1826 Herschel gave the first discussion of the changes of position-angle between two adjacent stars as a means of detecting annual parallax (*ib.* cxvi. 266). He was elected president of the Royal Astronomical Society in February 1827, and for two subsequent biennial periods. His discoveries of double stars meanwhile, which in 1832 numbered 3,346, were progressively communicated in six catalogues to the Royal Astronomical Society (*Memoirs*, vols. ii–ix.), besides two extensive lists of measures of known pairs. These were after 1828 executed with a refractor of five inches aperture and seven feet focal length, which had been the chief instrument in the Blackman Street observatory. A graphical method of investigating stellar orbits, described by him before the Royal Astronomical Society on 13 Jan. 1832 (*ib.* v. 171), was a contribution of primary importance to a new branch of gravitational astronomy, recognised by a medal from the Royal Society on 30 Nov. 1833.

In a memoir 'On the Aberration of Compound Lenses and Object-Glasses,' read before the Royal Society on 22 March 1821 (*Phil. Trans.* cxi. 222), Herschel presented a complete analytical theory of spherical aberration, deducing practical rules of easy application for the construction of lenses, a popular abstract of which appeared in the 'Edinburgh Philosophical Journal' (1822, vi. 361). He still accepted the emission theory of light, but the results of Young and Fresnel soon afterwards engaged his eager study and acquiescence, and were brilliantly expounded in his article on light, written in 1827 for the 'Encyclopædia Metropolitana.' This admirable treatise, translated into French by Quetelet, besides including many original discoveries, gave European currency to the undulatory theory of light. Lucidity and power were no less conspicuous in Herschel's treatment of the subjects sound, heat, and physical astronomy, in the same publication. His 'Preliminary Discourse on the Study of Natural Philosophy,' published in 1830 as the opening volume of Lardner's 'Cabinet Cyclopædia,' and styled by Whewell an 'admirable comment on the "Novum Organum"' (*Quarterly Review*, July 1831), captivated readers of all classes by the quiet charm of its style, and the justice and breadth of its views. It was translated into French, German, and Italian, and reprinted in English in 1851. To the same repertory in 1833 Herschel contributed 'A Treatise on Astronomy,' enlarged in 1849 into the deservedly famous 'Outlines of Astronomy,' perhaps the most completely satisfactory general exposition of a science ever penned. A twelfth edition appeared in 1873, and it was translated into Russian, Chinese, and Arabic, besides other languages.

Herschel married, on 3 March 1829, Margaret Brodie, second daughter of the Rev. Dr. Alexander Stewart of Dingwall, Ross-shire. The union was of unclouded happiness. Put forward in 1830 against the Duke of Sussex as the 'scientific candidate' for the presidency of the Royal Society, he was defeated by a narrow majority. In 1831 he was created by William IV a knight of the royal Hanoverian Guelphic order, and during a visit to his aunt at Hanover in June 1832 attended the Waterloo banquet in the Herrenhausen Palace. A project long cherished of completing his survey of the heavens in the southern hemisphere became feasible after his mother's death in January 1832; and on 13 Nov. 1833, having declined a free passage in a ship of war (as he subsequently declined the reimbursement by government of his expenses), he embarked with his family and instruments on board the Mountstuart Elphinstone for the Cape of Good Hope, and reached Table Bay on 15 Jan. A house was secured at Feldhausen, six miles from Cape Town, in 'one of the most magnificent sites' (Herschel wrote to Baily) 'I ever saw.' On 22 Feb. 1834 he observed the Argo nebula with his great reflector, and the equatorial (the seven-foot Slough refractor) was ready for work before June. Both were employed with extraordinary vigour and perseverance during the ensuing four years; commonly under highly advantageous circumstances as to definition, although in the hot season he found the stars to 'tremble, swell, and waver most formidably.' The rapid tarnishing of his mirrors would have rendered them useless in three months but for the provident exportation of a polishing machine.

Herschel's work at Feldhausen marked the commencement in a wide sense of southern

sidereal astronomy. Although struck with the comparative paucity of close double stars, he discovered and measured 1,202 pairs; 1,708 nebulæ and clusters, 1,269 of them previously unseen, figured in his lists; his chart of the Argo nebula gave the places of 1,203 stars; he catalogued 1,163 objects in both Magellanic Clouds; 'monographed' the Orion and other great nebulæ; and determined micrometrically the components of the 'jewelled' cluster in Crux. 'Gauging' the skies on his father's principle, he concluded the Milky Way, from a count of some 69,000 stars in 2,299 fields, to be an annulus rather than a disc of stars. He set the example of employing an 'artificial star' in stellar photometry, and skilfully applied the 'method of sequences' to fix the relative lustre of nearly five hundred stars, thereby laying a sure foundation for stellar magnitudes. The object aimed at was to range all the lucid stars along a single scale of brightness; and in order to link together southern and northern skies, the work of estimation was carried on on board ship in varying latitudes. Several specimens of the actinometer (described in 1825 in *Edinb. Journ. of Science*, iii. 107), with which at the close of 1836 he made the first satisfactory measures of direct solar radiation, were shown at the Meteorological Society's exhibition of instruments in 1889. The numerous sun-spots of 1836–7 engaged his close attention, and he suggested, in a letter to Baily of 1 March 1837, the now established relation between solar and auroral activity. His observations of Halley's comet between 28 Oct. 1835 and 5 May 1836 (*Memoirs Roy. Astr. Soc.* x. 325) gave strong support to the theory of electrical repulsion. From a series of observations of Saturn's satellites he derived corrected elements for those bodies, and the first independent confirmation of his father's discovery of the two next the ring. These multiplied labours were accomplished with only the aid of a mechanic named John Stone; but they were lightened by the cordial sympathy of Sir Thomas Maclear [q. v.], then H.M. astronomer at the Cape.

The public interest in this expedition was shown by the grotesque announcements of lunar discoveries at Feldhausen, made satirically by R. A. Locke in the 'New York Sun' for September 1835 (*The Moon Story*, New York, 1852). The excellent system of national education prevailing in the colony was initiated by Herschel, and he set on foot a plan of simultaneous meteorological observations, developed in his 'Instructions for Making and Registering Meteorological Observations at various Stations in South Africa,' printed in 1838 among the 'Professional Papers of the Royal Engineers' (ii. 214). Numerous tidal observations were sent by him to Dr. Whewell from the Cape. A few days before his departure from the Cape the members of the South African Literary and Scientific Institution, over which he had presided, presented him with a gold medal; and on 15 Feb. 1842 an obelisk of Craigleath stone was erected on the site of his great reflector.

Herschel's observation, on 16 Dec. 1837, of the sudden rise of the star $\eta$ Argûs from the second to the first magnitude (*Monthly Notices*, iv. 121; *Cape Results*, p. 32) constituted him the virtual discoverer of its abnormal character. He sailed in the Windsor Castle in the middle of March 1838, and landed in England after nine weeks, in part occupied by the continuance of his photometric estimates. A baronetcy (reluctantly accepted) was conferred upon him at the queen's coronation; he was created D.C.L. of the university of Oxford on 12 June 1839. He declined to enter parliament as the representative of the sister university, and refused a proposal that he should succeed the Duke of Sussex as president of the Royal Society, but was elected in 1842 lord rector of Marischal College, Aberdeen, and acted as president of the British Association at Cambridge in 1845. Almost every learned society in Europe and several in America placed his name on their lists of members; he was made chevalier of the Prussian order 'Pour le Mérite,' and on 23 July 1855 was chosen, on the decease of Gauss, one of the eight foreign associates of the French Institute.

He paid his last visit to Miss Herschel at Hanover in July 1838, dining with Olbers at Bremen on his return, and attending the meeting of the British Association at Newcastle in August. He was here appointed a member of a committee for reducing Lacaille's stars, and wrote the preface to the catalogue of them published in 1847. The promotion of a scheme, then recently started by Humboldt and Gauss, for widespread magnetic observations mainly devolved upon him; he drew up a memorial to government on the subject, composed the instructions for Sir James Ross's southern expedition, and reported progress year after year at successive meetings of the British Association. Still more laborious was the task, first attacked at the Cape, of revising the nomenclature of southern stars. He prepared charts (presented to the Royal Astronomical Society in 1867, *Monthly Notices*, xxvii. 213, xxviii. 92) of all the lucid stars in both hemispheres, assigning the brightness of each within a third of a magnitude; communicated a large project of constellational reform to the Royal Astro-

nomical Society in 1841 (*Memoirs*, xii. 201), and made his final report, recommending less stringent, but more practicable measures, to the British Association in 1844 (*Report*, p. 32).

Herschel discovered in 1840 the variability of α Orionis (*Memoirs Roy. Astr. Soc.* xi. 269), and was, on 17 March 1843, among the first observers in England of the great comet (*Proceedings Roy. Soc.* iv. 450). In a 'Note on the Art of Photography' he had explained before the Royal Society, on 14 March 1839, his independent invention of the photographic use of sensitised paper (*ib.* iv. 131); and an essay 'On the Chemical Action of the Rays of the Solar Spectrum on Preparations of Silver and other Substances,' read on 5 March 1840 (*Phil. Trans.* cxxx. 1), obtained the third royal medal bestowed upon him by that body. It announced the use as a fixing agent of hyposulphite of soda, the solvent power of which upon the salts of silver he had discovered in 1819 (*Edinb. Phil. Journal*, i. 8); it originated the application to photographic prints of the terms 'positive' and 'negative,' adverted to 'lavender grey' rays beyond the violet, and described experiments on the 'chemical analysis of the solar spectrum,' by which an important new field was thrown open to research. The apparatus employed in them formed part of the Loan Collection of Scientific Instruments at South Kensington in 1876. His efforts to obtain coloured photographs were only partially successful; but his reproduction in 1843 of an engraving of the Slough forty-foot reflector was the first example of a photograph on glass (ABNEY, *Treatise on Photography*, p. 5). His discovery in 1845 (*Phil. Trans.* cxxxv. 147) of the 'epipolic dispersion' of light produced by sulphate of quinine and some other substances, led the way to Sir George Stokes's explanation of the phenomena of fluorescence.

By the end of 1842 he had performed without assistance the computations necessary for the publication of his Cape observations. In September 1843 the letterpress was 'fairly begun,' and after some delays the work appeared in 1847, at the cost of the Duke of Northumberland, in a large quarto volume, entitled 'Results of Astronomical Observations made during the years 1834–8 at the Cape of Good Hope.' Besides the catalogues of nebulæ and double stars, it included profound discussions of various astronomical topics, and was enriched with over sixty exquisite engravings. He insisted in it upon the connection of sun-spots with the sun's rotation, and started the 'cyclonic theory' of their origin. He investigated graphically the distribution of nebulæ, but fluctuated in his views as to their nature. Regarding them in 1825 as probably composed of 'a self-luminous or phosphorescent substance, gradually subsiding into stars and sidereal systems' (*Memoirs Royal Astronomical Society*, ii. 487), he ascribed to them later a stellar constitution, and finally inclined to suppose them formed of 'discrete luminous bodies floating in a non-luminous medium' (*Results, &c.* p. 139). Herschel stands almost alone in his attempt to grapple with the dynamical problems presented by star-clusters, and his analysis of the Magellanic Clouds was decisive as to the status of nebulæ. For these labours he received the Copley medal in 1847, and a special testimonial from the Royal Astronomical Society in 1848.

In April 1840 Herschel removed from Slough to a more commodious residence, named Collingwood, at Hawkhurst in Kent, and in December 1850 accepted the post of master of the mint, on its conversion from a ministerial into a permanent office. The reorganisation of the establishment devolved upon him, and the duties connected with it were rendered the more uncongenial by the partial separation from his family which their fulfilment required. He was one of the jury for scientific instruments at the Great Exhibition, and a member of the royal commission appointed in 1850 to inquire into the course of study at the universities of Oxford and Cambridge. His health suffered, and his resignation of his position at the mint was unwillingly accepted in 1855.

Herschel afterwards led a retired life at Collingwood. The collection and revisal of his father's and his own labours was an arduous task, partially completed by the presentation to the Royal Society on 16 Oct. 1863 of a 'Catalogue of 5,079 Nebulæ and Clusters' (all then known), reduced to the common epoch 1800 (*Phil. Trans.* cliv. 1). He next undertook the amalgamation into a catalogue of his father's 'classes' of double stars, and on 14 Dec. 1866 read before the Royal Astronomical Society a 'Synopsis of all Sir William Herschel's Micrometrical Measures of the Double Stars described by him' (*Memoirs*, xxxv. 21). The autograph observations of the 812 pairs catalogued accompanied the paper, and are deposited in the library of the society. Herschel's general and descriptive catalogue of double stars was his last great undertaking. He finished before his death the arrangement in right ascension of 10,320 composite objects, with the synoptical history of two-fifths of them; and from his papers bequeathed to the Royal Astronomical Society the incomplete cata-

logue in the fortieth volume of the society's 'Memoirs' was posthumously published, with a few indispensable additions, under the editorship of Mr. Main and Professor Pritchard.

'Every day of Herschel's long and happy life,' it was remarked by Professor Tait, 'added its share to his scientific services.' His recommendation in 1854 of photography for the registration of sun-spots (*Monthly Notices*, xv. 158) bore fruit in his lifetime. He published in 1864 a weighty contribution to solar physics (*Quarterly Journal of Science*, i. 233), urged in the 'willow-leaf' debate the 'filamentous' structure of the solar floccules (*Monthly Notices*, xxv. 152), observed and assigned a 'radiant' to the meteoric shower of 13 Nov. 1866 (*ib.* xxvii. 19), and pointed out with conclusive force the improbability of certain alleged changes in the Argo nebula (*ib.* xxviii. 225). He amused himself with translating poetry. His translation of Schiller's 'Walk' was printed for private circulation in 1842, and included in 1847 among Whewell's 'English Hexameter Translations.' He also translated Bürger's 'Lenore,' and in 1866 the 'Iliad' in 'English accentuated hexameters.' The first book was published with a defence of the adopted metre in the 'Cornhill Magazine' for May 1862. A version by Herschel in *terza rima* of the first canto of Dante's 'Inferno' appeared in the 'Cornhill Magazine' for July 1868.

Herschel died at Collingwood on 11 May 1871, and was buried on 19 May in Westminster Abbey, near the grave of Sir Isaac Newton. His cordial encouragement of rising men sustained his popularity to the last. Mr. Nasmyth puts him 'supremely at the head' of all the scientific men of his acquaintance for knowledge, simplicity, and humility. Biot, when asked by Professor Pritchard, after the death of Laplace, whom he thought his worthiest successor, replied, 'If I did not love him so much, I should unhesitatingly say, John Herschel.' His private life was one unbroken tenour of domestic affection and unostentatious piety, but he shrank from active participation in worldly affairs. Love of truth was in him absolutely untainted by the egotism of the discoverer, his quiet candour being nowhere more apparent than in his correspondence with R. A. Proctor on the subject of sidereal construction in 1869–71 (Proctor, *Other Suns*, 1887, p. 393).

Herschel, without the soaring genius of his father, had a wider range and a more catholic mind. He was led to astronomy by filial piety, in opposition to a spontaneous preference for chemistry and optics. 'Light,' he used to say, 'was his first love.' Yet his position as a celestial explorer is unique. He was an unsurpassed observer, and his breadth of knowledge and power of vividly describing what he saw added incalculably to the value of his observations. His books hence take high rank among the elevating influences of this century. He never lost his taste for simple amusements; was in his element with children, loved gardening, and took interest in all technical arts. His unpublished correspondence on scientific subjects is of historical interest; his letters to intimate friends are full of genial and tender sentiments. His wife died on 3 Aug. 1884. He was succeeded in the baronetcy by his eldest son, Sir William James Herschel; his second son, Professor Alexander Stewart Herschel, is well known as an astronomer and physicist; Colonel John Herschel, his third son, was elected a fellow of the Royal Society in 1871, in recognition of his spectroscopic examination of southern nebulæ. Eight of Herschel's nine daughters are still (1891) living.

Besides the works already mentioned, he wrote in 1817–18 the articles 'Isoperimetrical Problems' and 'Mathematics' for Brewster's 'Edinburgh Cyclopædia;' and for the eighth edition of the 'Encyclopædia Britannica,' those on 'Meteorology,' 'Physical Geography,' and the 'Telescope'—all three published apart as well. The first issue of the admiralty 'Manual of Scientific Inquiry' (London, 1849) was edited and the section on meteorology (separately printed from the third edition in 1859) written by him. He contributed several articles to the 'Edinburgh' and 'Quarterly' reviews, including critiques of Mrs. Somerville's 'Mechanism of the Heavens,' Whewell's 'History and Philosophy of the Inductive Sciences,' Humboldt's 'Kosmos,' and Quetelet's 'Theory of Probabilities' (the last prefixed in 1862 to the second edition of Quetelet's 'Physique Sociale'). These with his addresses in presenting the medals of the Royal Astronomical Society, his 'Memoir of Francis Baily,' and some poetical pieces were collected in 1857 into a volume of 'Essays,' followed after ten years by 'Familiar Lectures on Scientific Subjects.' Three discourses 'On Earthquakes and Volcanoes,' 'On the Sun,' and 'On Comets,' delivered in the parish school-house of Hawkhurst, and printed in 'Good Words,' originated this delightful book; the chief remaining contents were popular articles from the same periodical 'On the Weather and Weather Prophets,' 'On Celestial Weighings and Measurings,' and 'On Light.'

Herschel's discovery of a correspondence between the crystallographical and optical peculiarities of quartz (*Trans. Cambridge Phil. Society*, i. 43) was designated by Sir

William Thomson 'one of the most notable meeting-places between natural history and natural philosophy' (*British Association Report*, 1871, p. lxxxv). He improved the objectives of microscopes (*Phil. Trans.* cxi. 246), delivered in 1824 the Bakerian lecture 'On certain Motions produced in Fluid Conductors when transmitting the Electric Current' (*ib.* cxiv. 162), and joined Babbage in a remarkable set of experiments on the magnetisation of rotating metallic plates (*ib.* cxv. 467). He gave the earliest discussion (in 1830) of the influence upon climate of the earth's orbital eccentricity (*Trans. Geological Society*, iii. 293), and on 23 Sept. 1832 made the curious observation of a knot of faint stars through great part of the substance of Biela's comet (*Monthly Notices*, ii. 117). First after his father, he caught sight in 1828 of the Uranian satellites, and corrected their periods from observations in 1830–2 (*Memoirs Royal Astron. Soc.* viii. 1). An arrangement casually described by him for viewing the sun by first-surface reflection (*Cape Observations*, p. 436) proved of material use in helioscopic researches. For many years he was an active member of the council of the Royal Society and of the board of visitors to the Royal Observatory; he was a trustee of the British Museum, and sat on the royal commission on standards in 1838–43. One hundred and fifty-two contributions by him are enumerated in the Royal Society's 'Catalogue of Scientific Papers.' A list of his works down to 1861, drawn up by himself, appeared at Cambridge, United States, in the 'Mathematical Monthly Magazine' (iii. 220), accompanied by an excellent engraving from a photograph sent by Lady Herschel to Miss Maria Mitchell of Nantucket.

St. John's College, Cambridge, possesses a portrait in oils of Herschel by Pickersgill, and his bust executed by Baily about 1852. A small painting by Thomas Webster, R.A., from a photograph taken in 1871, and Mrs. Cameron's life-size photographs are good likenesses. The best representation of his later aspect is, however, in a painting by his eldest daughter, Caroline, wife of Sir Alexander Hamilton. A life-size sketch of him by Watts, taken about 1852, remains with the artist.

[Family papers and information from Miss Herschel; Mrs. John Herschel's Memoir of Caroline Herschel; Royal Astronomical Society's Monthly Notices, xxxii. 122 (Pritchard); the same in German in Almanach der Kaiserlichen Akademie, Vienna, 1873, p. 147; Proceedings ·val Society, xx. xvii (T. Romney Robinson); ·ceedings Royal Society of Edinburgh, vii. 543 ·it); Nature, iv. 69; Dunkin's Obituary No· s, p. 47; Report Brit. Assoc. 1871, p. lxxxv (Sir W. Thomson); Fortes in Encycl. Brit. i. 861 (8th edit.); Quarterly Journal of Science, v. 186 (with portrait); Proctor's Essays on Astronomy; Smithsonian Rep. 1871, p. 109; Proceedings American Acad. viii. 461, 1872; Proceedings American Phil. Society, xii. 217, Philadelphia, 1873; Mailly's Mémoires couronnés par l'Acad. de Bruxelles, vol. xxiii. pt. ii. p. 109, 1873 (8vo ser.); Bulletin de l'Acad. de Bruxelles, 2nd ser. xxxi. 478 (Quetelet); E. Kondor in Mathematical Memoirs of Budapest Acad. of Sciences, vol. iii. No. 3, 1874 (in Magyar); Revue Britannique, January 1837, p. 175 (letter written from the Cape by Herschel to Sir W. Hamilton); Century Magazine, June 1885, October 1889; Grant's Hist. of Physical Astronomy; Clerke's Popular Hist. of Astronomy; Mädler's Geschichte der Himmelskunde, vol. ii.; Mémoires de la Société Physique de Genève, xxi. 586 (Gautier); Times, 13 May 1871.] A. M. C.

HERSCHEL, SIR WILLIAM (1738–1822), astronomer, was born at Hanover on 15 Nov. 1738. His great-grandfather, Hans Herschel, a native of Moravia, having embraced protestantism, quitted that country early in the seventeenth century, and became a brewer at Pirna in Saxony. Abraham, Hans's son, was employed in the royal gardens at Dresden. Abraham's youngest son, Isaac, was engaged in 1731 as hautboy-player in the band of the Hanoverian guard, and rose to be bandmaster, but left the regiment with broken health in 1760, and earned a livelihood by giving music lessons until his death, at the age of sixty, in 1767. He married, in August 1732, Anna Ilse Moritzen, by whom he had ten children, of whom Jacob was a member of the king's band at Hanover, and had at least two of his compositions printed in London, and Alexander was summoned to Bath by his brother William, and became a violoncello-player in the Bath orchestra, and at the Three Choirs' festival (cp. PAPENDICK, *Journals*, i. 252, 270; *Annals of the Three Choirs*, p. 76); Frederick William, known as William Herschel, was the fourth child.

Brought up, like his three brothers, as a musician, he was at fourteen, when he entered the band of the Hanoverian guards as oboist, an excellent performer both on hautboy and violin. At seventeen his philosophical tastes were already strong, and when in England with the regiment in 1755, he spent all his pay on a copy of Locke 'On the Human Understanding.' After the defeat of Hastenbeck, on 26 July 1757, his health began to fail, and his parents privily shipped him off to Dover, where he landed with a French crown-piece in his pocket. The penalties of desertion thus technically incurred were remitted by a pardon handed to him by George III

in person at his first interview in 1782. After nearly three years of struggle for bread, Herschel was engaged by the Earl of Darlington to train the band of the Durham militia; and his playing of a violin solo by Giardini at Pontefract in 1760 so delighted Dr. Edward Miller (1731–1807) [q. v.] that he invited him to live with him at Doncaster, and procured for him pupils and conductorships in Wakefield and Halifax (MILLER, *History of Doncaster*, p. 162). Herschel paid a short visit to Hanover in April 1764, and in 1765 was appointed organist at Halifax, defeating competitors by the curious device of weighting the keys to increase the volume of sound. The anecdote is related on Dr. Miller's authority by Southey in the 'Doctor.' In 1766 he accepted the 'agreeable and lucrative situation' of organist to the Octagon Chapel at Bath, where for many years he directed concerts and oratorios, composed anthems, chants, and whole services, and gave music lessons. Of his compositions the 'Echo' catch alone was printed; those preserved in manuscript show no marked individuality.

Herschel, as he told Lichtenberg, had already 'resolved to place all his future enjoyment' in the pursuit of knowledge (*Göttingische Magazin der Wissenschaften*, iii. 4). The study of harmony had led him to mathematics, and he studied Latin, Italian, French, English, and Greek. After fourteen to sixteen hours' teaching he was wont to 'unbend his mind' with Maclaurin's 'Fluxions;' Smith's 'Optics' and Ferguson's 'Astronomy' were the companions of his pillow, and inspired his resolution 'to take nothing upon trust.' He hired a small reflector, being unable to afford a larger one, bought the tools and patterns of a quaker optician, and with his brother Alexander's help set himself, in 1773, to construct his own instruments. By 'unremitted endeavours,' and after two hundred partial failures, the 5½-foot Gregorian was produced, with which, on 4 March 1774, he observed the Orion nebula. The record is preserved at the Royal Society (*Journal*, No. 1). His twofold ambition was 'to carry improvements in telescopes to their utmost extent,' and 'to leave no spot of the heavens unexamined.' In 1775 the first of his large reflectors was erected on a grass plot behind his house near Walcot turnpike, and a review of the heavens executed with a Newtonian of 4½ inches aperture. These attempts prompted further exertions; during the intervals of a concert he might be seen running, still in lace ruffles and powder, from the theatre to the workshop. On one occasion, to avoid impairing its form, he polished a speculum without intermission during sixteen hours. In 1780 he removed to a larger house at 19 King Street, and here, on 13 March 1781, in the course of a second review of the heavens, the planet Uranus was discovered. He was then in his forty-third year. Its detection as an object with a small disc was due to the perfection of the seven-foot Newtonian reflector employed. Herschel at first took it for a comet (*Phil. Trans.* lxxi. 492), but when its true character became known, designated it, in honour of George III (WELD, *Hist. Roy. Soc.* ii. 146 *n.*), the 'Georgium Sidus.'

His first printed paper was an answer in the 'Ladies' Diary' for 1780 (p. 46) to a prize question on the vibration of strings; in December 1780, on the invitation of Sir William Watson [q. v.], he joined the Philosophical Society of Bath, contributing several papers to its unpublished 'Transactions;' he communicated to the Royal Society on 11 May 1780 'Astronomical Observations on the Periodical Star in Collo Ceti' (*Phil. Trans.* lxx. 338), and on 11 Jan. 1781 a striking paper on 'The Rotation of the Planets' (*ib.* lxxi. 115). The discovery (then without a parallel) of a new planet was acknowledged by the bestowal of the Copley medal a few days previous to his election into the Royal Society on 6 Dec. 1781. In the spring of 1782 he received a royal summons to bring his instruments to London, when their superiority over those at Greenwich was shown by direct comparison. On 25 May 1782 he had an audience with George III at Buckingham House; on 2 July he exhibited his telescope before the royal family, to the great delight of the king, who was finally induced by Sir Joseph Banks to confer upon him a private appointment as court astronomer, with a salary of 200*l.* a year.

On 1 Aug. 1782 he removed with his sister Caroline [q. v.] to a large, dilapidated house at Datchet, exchanged in June 1785 for Clay Hall, near Windsor, and that again, on 3 April 1786, for the house and garden at Slough, afterwards known as 'The Herschels'—'le lieu du monde,' Arago wrote, 'où il a été fait le plus de découvertes.' Relieved from the 'intolerable waste of time' of teaching music, Herschel displayed to the full his prodigious activity. His 'sweeping' operations were commonly pursued, regardless of temperature, from dark till dawn. In the course of his third 'review of the heavens' in 1783, he often observed four hundred objects, some of them with great care, in a single night. He is stated to have once worked and observed without rest during three days and nights, sleeping at the end

twenty-six hours at a stretch. One mirror was never removed from the tube for repolishing until another was ready to take its place, and Miss Herschel relates that 'the last night at Clay Hall was spent in sweeping till daylight, and by the next evening the telescope stood ready for observation at Slough.' Many evenings were occupied in transporting telescopes to and from the Queen's Lodge for the purpose of gratifying royal curiosity with views of the heavenly bodies; meetings of the Royal Society were attended when the moon was in the way; funds were supplied by the sale of telescopes. Herschel's polishing machine was perfected in 1788. Before 1795 he had made 200 seven-foot, 150 ten-foot, and 80 twenty-foot, besides a multitude of smaller mirrors. The king paid him six hundred guineas apiece for four ten-foot telescopes, one of them a present for the university of Göttingen, which Herschel delivered personally in July 1788, when he was elected a fellow of the Royal Society of Göttingen, and spent three weeks with his family at Hanover. For a twenty-five-foot telescope, ordered in 1796 for the Madrid observatory, he eventually received 3,150*l.*; from the Prince of Canino in 1814 2,310*l.* for a ten-foot and a seven-foot. Innumerable minor commissions were executed. (For the prices of his telescopes see Bode, *Jahrbuch*, 1788, p. 254; Von Zach, *Monatliche Correspondenz*, 1802, p. 56; and manuscript *Letter Book*, pp. 135, 167.)

Herschel pursued meantime with incredible ardour his great object of enlarging telescopic powers. Untoward accidents marred in 1781 his attempts to obtain a thirty-foot mirror; one of forty feet was, however, with the aid of a royal grant of 2,000*l.*, begun at Clay Hall in 1785. His felicity was now complete. He seemed to Miss Burney 'a man without a wish that has its object in the terrestrial globe.' She describes him as 'perfectly unassuming' yet 'openly happy' in his success (Madame d'Arblay, *Diary*, August 1786).

The discovery, on 11 Jan. 1787, of two Uranian satellites ('Oberon' and 'Titania'), consequent upon the economy of light effected by discarding the small mirror of his twenty-foot (*Phil. Trans.* lxxvii. 125), determined Herschel to construct his new instrument on the Herschelian or front-view plan. The first great speculum was put into the tube at Slough on 19 Feb. 1787, but proved too thin. A second, cast on 26 Jan. 1788, cracked in cooling. A third was figured by 24 Oct., but not to the satisfaction of its maker, who continued working at it for ten months longer. At the first instant of turning it on Saturn, on 28 Aug. 1789, a sixth satellite ('Enceladus') was detected, and a seventh ('Mimas') on 17 Sept. following (*ib.* lxxx. 10).

A second sum of 2,000*l.* was in August 1787 granted by George III for the completion of the giant reflector, besides an allowance of 200*l.* a year for repairs. The tube was 39 feet 4 inches long; the mirror, of 49½ inches diameter, weighed 2,118 pounds. An inclination of about three degrees raised it to throw the image slightly to one side of the tube, where the eye-piece was fixed, the observer standing with his back to the sky. Ladders fifty feet high led to a platform, whence he communicated by means of speaking-tubes with his assistants. Before the optical parts were finished, Miss Herschel narrates, many visitors walked through the tube. Among them was George III, who helped on the Archbishop of Canterbury, saying, 'Come, my lord bishop, I will show you the way to heaven.' The definition of this instrument, at first superb, probably fell off later. Since, with a magnifying power of 1,000, it could be made available in England only during about one hundred hours in the year, Herschel estimated that eight hundred years would be needed for a review with it of the whole heavens. The last object upon which it was turned, on 19 Jan. 1811, was the Orion nebula. For thirty-nine years longer it stood with its scaffolding, as represented on the seal of the Royal Astronomical Society, and continued to be designated as a landmark on the Ordnance Survey map of England. But on New-year's eve 1839 a 'Requiem' composed by Sir John Herschel was sung by his assembled family within the tube, which was then rivetted up, and laid horizontally on three piers in the garden at Slough, where it still remains, the great speculum adorning the hall of 'The Herschels.'

Before the completion of the great reflector Slough had become a place of scientific pilgrimage. Piazzi, Lalande, Cassini, Méchain, Legendre, besides princes and grand dukes without number, paid their personal respects to the great astronomer. Von Magellan wrote an interesting account of his methods of observation (*Berliner Astr. Jahrbuch*, 1788, p. 162); the king of Poland sent him his portrait; the empress of Russia desired specifications of his telescopes; academic distinctions came from all quarters. The university of Edinburgh in 1786, and that of Glasgow many years later, conferred upon him honorary degrees of LL.D.; the American Philosophical Society, the Société Hollandaise, the Academies of Paris, Dijon, Berlin, St. Petersburg, and Stockholm opened

their doors to him; he was elected in 1802 a foreign member of the French Institute. He was created in 1816 a knight of the Royal Hanoverian Guelphic order, received the freedom of the city of Glasgow, and his name stands first on the list of presidents of the Royal Astronomical Society.

Herschel married, on 8 May 1788, Mary, only daughter of Mr. James Baldwin, a London merchant, and widow of Mr. John Pitt, by whom she had one son, who died early. She was of a most amiable character, and her jointure relieved Herschel from all pecuniary care. Their only child, John Frederick William Herschel [q. v.], was born on 7 March 1792.

Herschel was a witness for James Watt [q. v.] in the case of Watt *v.* Bull in 1793, and paid him a visit at Heathfield in 1810. At Paris, in July 1802, he made acquaintance with Laplace, and had an interview with the First Consul. A severe illness in the spring of 1807 permanently impaired his strength, and he was thenceforth obliged to take frequent intervals of rest at Bath, Dawlish (as the guest of Sir William Watson), London, Yorkshire, and Scotland. At Brighton, in September 1813, he met the poet Campbell, who was charmed with his simplicity, kindness, and readiness to explain. 'He is seventy-six,' says Campbell, 'but fresh and stout. . . . Speaking of himself, he said, with a modesty of manner which quite overcame me . . ., "I have looked further into space than ever human being did before me. I have observed stars, of which the light it can be proved must take two millions of years to reach this earth"' (BEATTIE, *Life of Campbell*, ii. 234).

Herschel vainly attempted to repolish the four-foot speculum in 1814. As his physical weakness increased his sunny spirits became overcast, his intellect remaining, however, clear to the end. The long series of his communications to the Royal Society closed in his eightieth year, on 11 June 1818, with a paper on the telescopic sounding of space-depths (*Phil. Trans.* cviii. 429); but he sent to the Astronomical Society, three years subsequently, the places of 145 additional double stars (*Memoirs Royal Astron. Soc.* i. 166). The latest of his extant autographs is a note, in tremulous character, to his sister, announcing, on 4 July 1819, the appearance of a great comet. He died of bilious fever, on 25 Aug. 1822, in his eighty-fourth year, and was buried in the church of St. Laurence at Upton, near Slough. A mural tablet is inscribed with an epitaph composed by Dr. Goodall, provost of Eton. Lady Herschel died on 6 Jan. 1832, aged 81.

Dr. Charles Burney (1726–1814) [q. v.] speaks strongly of Herschel's social charm and fidelity to his friendships. One of the few hints to be found as to his religious sentiments occurs in an unpublished letter of 27 Feb. 1794, where he says that 'it is certainly a very laudable thing to receive instruction from the great workmaster of nature, and for that reason all experimental philosophy is instituted' (*Letter Book*, p. 201). Music was his favourite recreation; and the vivid enjoyment with which he presided over the gatherings of performers at his house is still traditionally remembered.

The animated expression of Herschel's countenance is well rendered in Abbott's portrait of him at the age of fifty, now in the National Portrait Gallery. A drawing from it by his granddaughter, Lady Gordon, was published in Mrs. John Herschel's 'Memoir of Caroline Herschel.' His bust was taken by Lockie in 1787 for Sir William Watson, and a likeness of him, painted by Artaud in 1819, is in the possession of Herschel's grandson, the present baronet.

Herschel's family affections were unusually strong. He threw aside absorbing pursuits at Bath to seek for a younger brother, who had run away from home. He provided for his sister Caroline, and paid her mother for the loss of her services. He supported, for some years previous to his death, Alexander Herschel, his skilful mechanical assistant. Dr. Burney read aloud to Herschel, in 1797–1799, the whole of his 'Poetical History of Astronomy,' which, his 'aversion to poetry' notwithstanding, obtained his approval. His literary preference was for the prose of Swift. The prolonged succession of Herschel's discoveries and speculations were laid before the Royal Society in sixty-nine memoirs, forming an aggregate unmatched for originality, inventiveness, and power. In nearly every branch of modern physical astronomy he was a pioneer. He was the virtual founder of sidereal science. As an explorer of the heavens he had but one rival, his son. His 'reviews of the heavens' afforded him a harvest of 2,500 nebulæ, where 103 had been previously known. He initiated the classification, and indicated a law of distribution of these objects relative to the Milky Way, distinguished the peculiarities of 'planetary' and 'ring-nebulæ' and 'nebulous stars,' and described the occurrence, with an 'abundance exceeding all imagination,' of 'diffused nebulosities' covering some 152 square degrees of the heavens (*Phil. Trans.* ci. 275). His views as to the nature of nebulæ underwent a remarkable change. From the 'resolving' effects upon many of them of his great telescopes, he at first concluded all to be 'com-

posed of stars more or less remote' (*ib.* lxxix. 212). But the consideration of the 'typical nebulous star' in Taurus (*Gen. Cat.* No. 810) convinced him in 1791 'that the nebulosity about the star is not of a starry nature' (*Phil. Trans.* lxxxi. 73), but due to the presence of a 'shining fluid,' the material likewise of nebulæ of the planetary and diffused kinds, including the Orion nebula. The truth of this inference was demonstrated spectroscopically seventy-three years later. It formed the starting-point for the still dominant theory of stellar development elaborated by him in two memorable papers read before the Royal Society on 20 June 1811 and 24 Feb. 1814 respectively (*ib.* ci. 269, civ. 248).

'A knowledge of the construction of the heavens,' Herschel wrote in 1811, 'has always been the ultimate object of my observations' (*ib.* ci. 269). Its pursuit led him, in Professor Holden's words, to 'perhaps the grandest scientific conception that has entered the mind of man' (*Life of Herschel*, p. 212). The idea of penetrating to the limits of star-filled space, of staking down its boundaries, mapping and surveying it, was of astounding boldness; it was carried out with the patient ardour characteristic of his genius. The method of 'star-gauging,' described in 1784 (*ib.* lxxiv. 445), consisted in counting the number of stars visible in the same telescopic field in different directions, and thence estimating the comparative extent in those directions of the system they form. Its application over 3,400 fields, embracing nearly fifty thousand stars, 'merely as an example to illustrate the method,' led him to conclude our sun to belong to a 'compound nebula' of a branching form, represented in section by the 'cloven disc' sketch (*ib.* lxxv. 266), since rendered familiar by reproduction. But the principle of star-gauging depended for its validity upon an assumed equable distribution of the stars in space, which, as Herschel was foremost to perceive, did not exist. In 1802 he dwelt on the clustering tendency of Milky Way stars (*ib.* xcii. 496), twelve years later the hypothesis of 'equal scattering' was finally abandoned, and the 'breaking up of the Milky Way' under gravitational influences declared to be already far advanced (*ib.* civ. 282). He did not, however, attempt to replace his superseded ground-plan of the universe, which indeed he seems to have regarded as approximating to its primitive condition. In the memoirs of 1817 and 1818 (*ib.* cvii. 302, cviii. 429) he dealt with the problem of the 'universal arrangement in space' of stars and clusters, introducing, for the purpose of determining relative distances, the 'equalisation of star light' by means of 'limiting apertures;' but his arguments involve the inadmissible postulate of a general equality of real stellar lustre.

His discovery of mutually revolving stars was closely connected with his researches into sidereal structure. As a preliminary to attacking by the 'differential' method the problem of stellar parallax, and so obtaining a unit of absolute measurement for the stellar system, he early began to collect suitable pairs, and presented to the Royal Society on 10 Jan. 1782 his first catalogue of 269 double stars (*ib.* lxxii. 112). A quarter of a century's observation enabled him, on 9 June 1803, to define many of them as 'real binary combinations' (*ib.* xciii. 340). In all the six pairs instanced, orbital motion has been confirmed. The occultation of one of the stars of $\zeta$ Herculis was observed by him in 1802; he detected the 'double-double' character of $\epsilon$ Lyræ (*ib.* xciv. 373), and noted the contrasted colours of certain pairs. The study of stellar chromatics may indeed be said to have begun with him. He discovered altogether over eight hundred double stars, measuring their 'angles of position' by means of the 'revolving wire micrometer' invented for the purpose (*ib.* lxxi. 500), and their angular distances apart with his 'lamp micrometer.'

Herschel never possessed a transit instrument or 'equatoreal.' His telescopes were slung on a scaffolding which rolled on circular rails. They gave consequently only approximate places of the objects he discovered. 'Designed,' as Bessel wrote in 1843, 'to aid vision to the utmost, they were of little use for purposes of measurement. He aimed at acquiring knowledge, not of the motions, but of the constitution of the heavenly bodies, and of the structure of the sidereal edifice' (*Abhandlungen*, iii. 470). His discovery in 1783 of the translation of the solar system towards a point in the constellation Hercules (*Phil. Trans.* lxxiii. 268) was an exception. No more brilliant feat of divinatory genius is on record than his assignment, from the scanty materials at his disposal, of an 'apex' for the sun's path within a few degrees of that arrived at by the most refined modern investigations. He returned to the subject in 1805 (*ib.* xcv. 233) in an essay which, 'for sustained reflection and high philosophic thought,' is, in Professor Holden's opinion, 'to be ranked with the researches of Newton in the "Principia."'

Stellar photometry took its rise from Herschel's invention of the 'method of sequences.' His four 'Catalogues of comparative brightness for ascertaining the Permanence of the Lustre of Stars' (1796–9) were rendered

available for modern comparisons by C. S. Peirce's reduction of them in 1876 (*Annals of Harvard Coll. Observatory*, ix. 56). They were completed so as to embrace nearly all Flamsteed's stars, in two manuscript catalogues made known in 1883, together with a journal giving the dates of all the observations. Such as referred to variable stars thus acquired significance (PICKERING, *ib.* xiv. 345; *Proceedings of Amer. Acad.* xix. 269; *Observatory*, vii. 256, &c.) Herschel discovered and assigned a period of sixty days to the variations of α Herculis (*Phil. Trans.* lxxxvi. 452). He ascribed stellar light-fluctuations to the display, through axial rotation, of unequally luminous hemispheres. His comparison in 1798 of the prismatic light of six bright stars was a venture upon new ground of unsuspected fertility (*ib.* civ. 264).

His theory of the constitution of the sun as a dark, cool body, surrounded by a shell of lucid clouds floating in a transparent atmosphere (*ib.* lxxxv. 46), held its ground until past the middle of this century. He surmised the periodicity of sun-spots, and attempted to substantiate his idea of a corresponding weather cycle by showing that the price of wheat rose as spots grew scarce (*ib.* xci. 310). His telescopic scrutiny of the solar surface was all but exhaustive. Among his few illusory observations were those of supposed volcanic outbursts on the moon in 1783 and 1787 (*ib.* lxxvii. 229) and of four additional Uranian satellites. He, however, established the retrograde revolutions of the pair genuinely seen. His results relative to Saturn, published in six memoirs between 1790 and 1808, included the first determination of its rotation and polar compression, with many observations of great interest on the rings. From recurrent changes of brightness in the fifth satellite (Japetus), he inferred the identity of its periods of rotation and revolution (*ib.* lxxxii. 14), and found the same law to prevail in the Jovian system. The 'trade wind' explanation of Jupiter's belts was suggested by him in 1781 (*ib.* lxxi. 118); he investigated in 1781 and 1784 the rotation of Mars, and adverted to the analogy between that planet and the earth, demonstrating the general permanence of its markings, and from their seasonal changes the glacial nature of its polar spots (*ib.* lxxiv. 233). A pungent repudiation in 1793 of Schröter's claim to the discovery of mountains in Venus formed a rare exception to the cordiality of his relations with his contemporaries. His proposal to designate the minor planets as 'asteroids' drew upon him a gratuitous attack, probably from Brougham, in the first number of the 'Edinburgh Review.' Herschel made important physical observations on the comets of 1807 and 1811, concluding them to be in part self-luminous and of nebular origin.

His discovery of the 'infra-red' solar rays renders him illustrious as a physicist. No one before him had suspected the unequal distribution of heat in the spectrum; and he pursued the subject with marvellous sagacity in four papers communicated to the Royal Society in 1800, dealing with the laws of reflection, refraction, and transmission of radiant heat. He traced the 'heat' and 'light curves' of the solar spectrum with maxima in the infra-red and yellow respectively, and conjectured that 'the chemical properties of the prismatic colours might be as different as those which relate to light and heat' (*ib.* xc. 270).

Herschel's achievements opened a new era in astronomical optics. The importance of large telescopic apertures, as giving proportionate power of 'space penetration,' was first by him insisted upon and exemplified, and his specula were as remarkable for perfect figure as for great size. When he began to observe, it was almost unheard of that a star should be seen without 'rays' or 'tails.' Henry Cavendish happening to sit next Herschel at dinner, slowly addressed him with, 'Is it true, Dr. Herschel, that you see the stars round?' 'Round as a button,' exclaimed the doctor, when the conversation dropped, till at the close of dinner, Cavendish repeated interrogatively, 'Round as a button?' 'Round as a button,' briskly rejoined the doctor, and no more was said.

Herschel's extraordinary natural qualifications as an observer were diligently cultivated. 'Seeing,' he wrote to Dr. Watson in 1782, 'is in some respects an art which must be learnt,' and he compared its practice to that required for playing 'one of Handel's fugues upon the organ.' He presents a rarely happy combination of the speculative and experimental faculties, his thoughts transcending, yet eagerly seeking the control of visible facts. 'As a practical astronomer,' Professor Holden says, 'he remains without an equal. In profound philosophy he has few superiors. . . . His is one of the few names which belong to the whole world.'

[Holden's Herschel, his Life and Works, 1881; Holden's and Hastings's Synopsis of the Scientific Writings of Sir William Herschel, Washington, 1881; Mrs. John Herschel's Memoir of Caroline Herschel; Gent. Mag. xcii. pt. ii. pp. 274, 650; Ann. Reg. 1822, p. 289; Europ. Mag. January 1785 (with portrait); Bessel's Abhandlungen, iii. 468; Fourier's Éloge Historique, Paris Memoirs, 1823, p. lxi; Arago's Analyse

Historique de la Vie et des Travaux de Sir William Herschel, Annuaire du Bureau des Longitudes, 1842, p. 249; Arago's Biographies of Distinguished Scientific Men, p. 167, London, 1857; Allgemeine deutsche Biographie (Bruhns); Dunkin's Obituary Notices, p. 86; Nature, vol. xxiii. (Hind); Fétis's Biographie Universelle des Musiciens, tome iii. (inaccurate); Mrs. Papendick's Journals, i. 252 (inaccurate); Madame d'Arblay's Diary, passim; Public Characters, 1798–9, p. 384 (portrait in frontispiece), translated in Monatliche Correspondenz, v. 70; Allgemeine geographische Ephemeriden, i. 224, Weimar, 1798 (portrait by Westermayr); Bossut's Saggio sulla Storia delle Matematiche, iv. 203; Hutton's Math. Dict. i. 643 (Herschel's Telescope), 1815; Sir J. Herschel's The Telescope, p. 142; Struve's Études d'Astronomie Stellaire, pp. 21–44; Proctor's Universe of Stars, p. 182; Encycl. Brit. 8th edit. i. 838 (Forbes); Foreign Quart. Rev. xxxi. 438; Revue Britannique, June 1876, p. 283 (Sachot); Grant's Hist. of Physical Astronomy; Clerke's Popular Hist. of Astronomy; Edinburgh Phil. Journal, iv. No. 16, 1822; R. Wolf's Mittheilungen, iii. 1872, No. xxiii. 57; Mädler's Geschichte der Himmelskunde, ii. 1; Wolf's Gesch. der Astronomie, p. 503; manuscript letters of Sir W. Herschel, lent by Sir W. J. Herschel; information from Miss Herschel. Parts of Herschel's papers in the Philosophical Transactions were translated into German by Dr. J. W. Pfaff, with the title 'W. Herschel's Entdeckungen,' Erlangen, 1828; 2nd edit., Leipzig, 1850. A Catalogue of his nebulæ, reduced to 1830, was published by Dr. Auwers at Königsberg in 1862.] A. M. C.

**HERSCHELL, RIDLEY HAIM** (1807–1864), dissenting minister, was born on 7 April 1807 at Strzelno, a small town in Prussian Poland about thirty miles from Thorn. The town was in French occupation at the time, and just before the child's birth a cannon-ball entered the room where the mother lay. The incident suggested the name 'Haim' (i.e. 'life') for her new-born son. His parents were devout Jews. His grandfather, Rabbi Hillel, who lived with them, exercised a great influence on the character of his grandson. He was a man of simple and intense faith, but gentle and considerate to those who differed from him.

When the boy was eleven years old he left home to seek instruction at a noted rabbinical school, and from that time he was never wholly dependent upon his parents. After a few years he returned home with a view to entering his father's business. Finding the life uncongenial he went to the university of Berlin about 1822, and while studying supported himself by teaching. In 1825 he paid a short visit to England, travelling mostly on foot, and occupied himself during his sojourn in learning English. After completing his studies at Berlin, and visiting England a second time, he went to Paris. The writings of English freethinkers had increased an alienation from his early beliefs already begun at Berlin. He yielded to the seductions of Paris, but in consequence, apparently, of the death of his mother, his religious feelings revived. He was powerfully impressed by reading a part of the Sermon on the Mount which had been used to wrap up a parcel. He studied the New Testament, but his Jewish instincts set him against the Roman catholic ritual. He is said to have thrown into the Seine a crucifix given him by a priest. Shortly after he came again to England, and was eventually (in 1830) baptised by the Bishop of London, one of his sponsors being the Rev. Henry Colborne Ridley, whose surname he assumed. He shrank from taking orders, and for some years occupied himself almost exclusively in mission work among the Jews. In 1835 Lady Olivia Sparrow induced him to undertake the direction of schools and mission-work established by her, first in the fishing village of Leigh in Essex, and subsequently in Brampton, Huntingdonshire. In both places he laboured with great success. By the aid of friends he opened a chapel in London in 1838, where he soon collected a congregation, and organised a 'church.' He did not associate himself with any of the nonconformist societies, although his religious belief was distinctly of the same type. Among his hearers were many members of the church of England, as well as of various denominations of dissenters. He was distinguished by the breadth of his views and catholic sympathies. He made many continental journeys, and his personal influence was felt far beyond the limits of his London congregation.

In 1846 Herschell removed to Trinity Chapel, John Street, Edgware Road. He had taken a principal part in founding the British Society for the Propagation of the Gospel among the Jews. He now established a home for Jews who were inquiring into Christianity, and was always untiring in endeavouring to find occupation for Jewish converts. He was one of the first to organise school excursions. He joined heartily with Sir Culling Eardley and others in establishing the Evangelical Alliance, the spirit of which animated his life. He died after a lingering illness on 14 April 1864. Herschell was twice married, first to Helen Skirving Mowbray, and secondly to Esther Fuller-Maitland. Three children survived him, a son, the present Lord Herschell, and two daughters. Herschell wrote, among other works: 1. 'A Brief Sketch of the Pre-

sent State and Future Expectations of the Jews,' 3rd edition, 1834, 12mo. 2. 'A Visit to my Fatherland,' London, 1844, 12mo. 3. 'Psalms and Hymns for Congregational Use,' 1846, 32mo. 4. 'Jewish Witnesses; that Jesus is the Christ,' 1848, 12mo. 5. 'The Mystery of the Gentile Dispensation, and the Work of the Messiah,' 1848, 12mo. 6. 'Far above Rubies,' a memoir of his first wife, 1854, 8vo. 7. 'The Golden Lamp, an Exposition of the Tabernacle and its Services,' 1858, 8vo. 8. 'Strength in Weakness; Meditations on some of the Psalms,' 1860, 16mo. He also edited for some time the 'Voice of Israel.'

[Personal knowledge.] G. B.-S.

**HERSCHELL, SOLOMON** (1761–1842), chief rabbi. [See HIRSCHEL.]

**HERSHON, PAUL ISAAC** (1817–1888), hebraist, born of Jewish parents in Galicia in 1817, became at an early age a Christian. As a missionary he was an active promoter of the objects of the London Society for Promoting Christianity among the Jews in England and the East. He became in succession director of the House of Industry for Jews at Jerusalem and of the model farm at Jaffa. In 1859 he retired from the mission field in order to devote himself to work on the Talmud and Midrashim. He died, comparatively suddenly, 14 Oct. 1888, at Wood Green, Middlesex, in his seventy-first year, leaving a large amount of literary matter in manuscript. He published: 1. 'Extracts from the Talmud,' 12mo, London, 1860. 2. 'The Pentateuch according to the Talmud. Part 1. Genesis. With Commentary and Notes,' 8vo, London (1878). 3. 'A Talmudic Miscellany; . . . or a thousand and one Extracts [translated] from the Talmud, the Midrashim, and the Kabbalah,' 8vo, London, 1880, forming vol. xix. of Trübner's 'Oriental Series.' 4. 'Treasures of the Talmud . . . translated, with Notes,' &c., 8vo, London, 1882. 5. 'The Pentateuch according to the Talmud. Genesis. With a Talmudical Commentary,' 8vo, London, 1883. He also translated from the Judæo-Polish, with notes and indices, Jacob ben Isaac of Janowa's rabbinical commentary on Genesis, 8vo, London, 1885; and compiled a digest of marginal references in Hebrew for the whole Bible, which is now the property of the London Jews' Society, but has not been published.

[Times, 15 Oct. 1888, p. 10, col. 6; Brit. Mus. Cat.] G. G.

**HERT, HENRY** (*fl.* 1549), theologian. [See HART.]

**HERTELPOLL** or **HARTLEPOOL, HUGH OF** (*d.* 1302?), was a Franciscan friar at Oxford in 1282, when he was appointed by Devorguilla, widow of John Balliol, one of her two 'proctors' for the new college of Balliol. The original statutes of the college were addressed to the proctors, to whose care the confirmation of the elected principal and the real government of the society were committed. It was probably about this time that Hugh, having taken the doctor's degree, was divinity reader to the Franciscans at Oxford, being the twentieth in order. He was fourteenth provincial minister of the Franciscans in England in 1299 (*Rec. Office, Q. R. Wardrobe*, $\frac{8}{2}$), and in this capacity in 1300 he presented twenty-two friars to the Bishop of Lincoln at Dorchester to be licensed to hear confessions at Oxford, but owing to the bishop's resistance he had to reduce the number to eight (*Reg. Dalderby*, f. 13). He again appears as provincial minister in 1302 (*Reg. of Friars Minors, London*), in which year he attended the general chapter at Genoa, and was appointed by Edward I one of his five proctors at the papal court to negotiate peace with the French (*Almain Roll*, 30 Ed. I, 9 Sept. 1302). He probably died in this or the following year, and was buried among the Franciscans at Assisi. The statement that he died about 1314 is unlikely, as Richard Conyngton, the sixteenth provincial, was already minister in 1310 (*Hist. MSS. Comm.* 4th Rep. p. 393). Hugh is said to have written 'Commentarii in quatuor libros Sententiarum, Quæstiones disputatæ, Conciones de Tempore,' &c. (SBARALEA, *Suppl. Scriptt. Ord. Francisc.* p. 360).

[Savage's Balliofergus; Monumenta Francisc. vol. i.; Wood's Hist. et Antiq.; Rodulphius Hist. Seraph.] A. G. L.

**HERTFORD, MARQUIS OF.** [See SEYMOUR, WILLIAM, 1586–1660; CONWAY, FRANCIS SEYMOUR, 1719–1794.]

**HERTFORD, EARLS OF.** [See CLARE, GILBERT DE, seventh EARL (of the Clare family), 1243–1295; CLARE, GILBERT DE, eighth EARL, 1291–1314; CLARE, RICHARD DE, said to be first EARL, *d.* 1136?; CLARE, RICHARD DE, sixth EARL, 1222–1262; CLARE, ROGER DE, third EARL, *d.* 1173; SEYMOUR, EDWARD, 1538–1621.]

**HERTSLET, LEWIS** (1787–1870), author, was born in November 1787. He entered the civil service, and on 5 Feb. 1801 was appointed sub-librarian in the foreign office, and on 6 Jan. 1810 librarian and keeper of the papers. He was one of the two secre-

taries of the lords justices in England while George IV was absent in Hanover in 1821. He remained librarian till 20 Nov. 1857, when he retired on a pension. He died at his house, Great College Street, Westminster, 16 March 1870, having married Hannah Harriet, daughter of George Cooke of Westminster; his youngest son, now Sir Edward Hertslet, K.C.B., succeeded him as librarian at the foreign office.

Hertslet wrote: 1. 'A Complete Collection of the Treaties and Conventions at present subsisting between Great Britain and Foreign Powers, so far as they relate to Commerce and Navigation, to the Repression and Abolition of the Slave Trade, and to the Privileges and Interests of the Subjects of the high contracting Powers,' 2 vols., 1820. 2. 'A Complete Collection of the Treaties and Conventions and reciprocal Relations subsisting between Great Britain and Foreign Powers, and of the Laws, Decrees, and Orders in Council concerning the same,' 16 vols., of which the first eleven are by Hertslet, and the rest by his son Edward, 1827–85. 3. 'Treaties, &c., between Turkey and Foreign Powers,' 1835–55 (privately printed 1855).

[Times, 17 March 1870, p. 7, col. 3; Burke's Knightage; Brit. Mus. Cat.] F. W–T.

**HERVEY** or **HERVÆUS** (*d.* 1131), bishop successively of Bangor and Ely, of Breton race, was a royal clerk, high in favour with William Rufus and confessor to Henry I. By Rufus he was thrust into the see of Bangor, with haughty disregard of the authority of the tribal king of Gwynedd, and was consecrated by Archbishop Thomas of York in 1092, while the see of Canterbury was vacant after the death of Lanfranc (STUBBS ap. TWYSDEN, p. 1707). As bishop of Bangor, Hervey attended Anselm's council at Westminster (Michaelmas 1102), being the first Welsh bishop present at an English synod (JOHNSON, *English Canons*, ii. 25). Hervey belonged to the type of Norman prelates who, as Orderic laments (ORD. VIT. *Hist. Eccles.* lib. x. c. 2), owed their promotion to favour with the king, or the influence of some powerful noble, or simoniacal purchase, and not to holiness of life or learning. The Welsh, as yet only half subdued, refused to recognise as their bishop a Norman ignorant of their language and character, while he vainly sought to conquer their repugnance by violence, wielding against them 'the two-edged sword of temporal and spiritual power' ('Richard of Ely,' *Anglia Sacra*, i. 279), now visiting them with excommunication, now with force of arms. The Welsh met force with force. His brother fell a victim to the murderous attacks; many of Hervey's adherents were killed or grievously wounded, and he was plainly told that the same fate awaited him if he fell into their hands. Hervey was not only in constant fear for his life, but ran the risk of starvation, his mutinous flock refusing the customary dues and offerings. At last he fled to England, and took refuge in the royal court, petitioning for translation to a more agreeable see, and suggesting that of Lisieux. The pope was applied to on his behalf; both Paschal and Anselm told the king that the proposed translation was uncanonical, but the pope agreed that if Hervey could be canonically elected to a vacant see no obstacle would be raised (HADDAN and STUBBS, i. 299, 303–6). At length, on the death of Richard, abbot of Ely, in 1107, Hervey was appointed by the king 'administrator' of the vast estates of the abbey until a new abbot should be appointed. Richard had striven hard for the conversion of the abbey into an episcopal see. The idea had found favour with the king, and its accomplishment was only prevented by Richard's death. Hervey, who by his courteous behaviour had ingratiated himself with the monks of Ely, promoted the scheme vigorously, and brought it to a successful issue. The council which sat in London at Whitsuntide 1108, under the presidency of Anselm, decreed that the diocese of Lincoln being too extensive for the effectual oversight of a single bishop, the county of Cambridge should be taken from it and constituted a new diocese with its episcopal see at Ely, and Hervey for its first bishop. The bishop of Lincoln, Robert Bloet, was compensated for the loss of his dues with the manor of Spaldwick in Huntingdonshire. The following year, after Anselm's death, the new see was confirmed by a council sitting at Nottingham, 17 Oct. 1109, and a charter of foundation was given by Henry I, and witnessed among many others by Hervey as the first bishop. Hervey had previously taken a journey to Rome to have the establishment of the see confirmed by the pope, and on his return had been put into possession of the new bishopric, 27 June 1109. He at once set himself to confirm and enlarge the privileges and possessions of the abbey. He used his influence with the king, with the aid of bribes, to free the convent from the services due for the custody of the castle of Norwich, and to get rid of recalcitrant tenants who rejected his authority. The monkish historian tells us nothing of any spiritual works carried out by Hervey, but says that he left the foundation in the enjoyment 'of much greater privileges, rights, and immunities than most others in the kingdom.' Relying on his influence

with the king, he divided the lands and revenues of the monastery between himself and the monks, greatly to his own advantage, assigning the worst lands to the latter, the historian complains, and reserving the richer and more productive for himself. Seeking also in every way, it is said, to impoverish the abbey, he obtained a discharge for himself and his successors from the repair or enlargement of the church, and imposed this duty on the monks alone (BENTHAM, *Hist. of Ely*, p. 136; 'Richard of Ely,' *Anglia Sacra*, i. 616). Warned by a vision of St. Edmund, he had a causeway constructed across the previously impassable fen from the village of Soham to Exning, 'a work which caused all to wonder and bless God' ('Richard of Ely,' u.s.)

In his endeavours to secure from the king redress of grievances or increase of privileges, Hervey made frequent journeys to Normandy. He attended the council of London on clerical marriages 1 Aug. 1129. He also took part, a few months before his translation, in the consecration of Thomas, the archbishop of York, and after it in that of Theulf to the see of Worcester. Towards the close of his life he proposed to enter his convent as a monk, but was prevented by death. In his last sickness he sent for his relative, Gilbert the Universal [q. v.], afterwards bishop of London, who at his suggestion had originally left France for England, and sought his aid in settling both his temporal and spiritual affairs. He died 30 Aug. 1131, and was buried the next day in his cathedral. Dempster (*Hist. Eccl. Scot.* viii. 660) ascribes to Hervey a book of Letters to Henry I, but no such work is now extant (HARDY, *Cat. Brit. Hist.* ii. 182). Tanner confuses him with Hervé Nedellec (Hervæus Natalis).

[Bentham's Hist. of Ely, pp. 130–6; Godwin, De Præsulibus, i. 249; Wharton's Anglia Sacra, i. 616 sq.; Haddan and Stubbs's Councils and Documents, i. 299, 303–6; Orderic Vitalis's Hist. Eccl. XIII. iv. 312, ed. Le Prevost; Eadmer's Hist. Nov. (Rolls Ser.), iv. 104; Sim. Dunelm. (Rolls Ser.), ii. 230, 235, 241; Hen. Hunt. (Rolls Ser.), p. 250; Thomas Stubbs ap. Twysden, 1707; Will. Malm. De Gest. Pont. (Rolls Ser.), p. 325.]

E. V.

**HERVEY, AUGUSTUS JOHN**, third EARL OF BRISTOL (1724–1779), admiral and politician, second son of John, lord Hervey of Ickworth [q. v.], and grandson of John, first earl of Bristol [q. v.], was born on 19 May 1724. He entered the navy as a midshipman in 1736, was stationed chiefly in the Mediterranean, and, as he quickly acquired a practical knowledge of nautical affairs, was advanced to be lieutenant on 31 Oct. In 1744 he met at Winchester races the notorious Miss Elizabeth Chudleigh [q. v.], then on a visit at Lainston in Hampshire, and having obtained a short leave of absence, they were married in Lainston Church at eleven o'clock on the evening of 4 Aug. 1744. A few days later the young lieutenant embarked at Portsmouth to join his vessel, the Cornwall, then the flagship of Vice-admiral Davers, on the Jamaica station. On his return to England in 1746 the married pair lived together as husband and wife in Conduit Street, Hanover Square, London, and their child, Henry Augustus, was born at Chelsea, and baptised in its parish church on 2 Nov. 1747. Walpole says that Hervey had two children by this marriage, but this statement seems to be erroneous, for the pair soon separated, and their only child, put out to nurse, shortly afterwards died. On 16 Sept. 1746 Hervey was promoted to the command of the sloop Porcupine, and was employed as a cruiser, with the result that he captured off Cherbourg a small French privateer, the Bacquer Court. In the following January he was appointed a post-captain in the navy, and promoted to the command of the Princessa, a third-rate of 70 guns, which had been taken from the Spaniards. In her and in the Phœnix of 24 guns he served in the Mediterranean under Admirals Medley and Byng. While in the latter vessel, in April 1756, he was despatched by the Hon. George Edgcumbe [q. v.], then commander-in-chief of the Mediterranean squadron, from Villa Franca to England with the earliest intimation of the sailing of the French fleet from Toulon to Minorca. He joined Byng off Majorca on 17 May, and patriotically offered to convert his ship, if necessary, into a fireship, but the change was not considered desirable. Hervey took part in Byng's indecisive engagement, and when Captain Andrews was slain in the action was promoted to his place in the Defiance of 64 guns. He was ordered home as a witness at Byng's trial, and on its conclusion, being advanced to the command of the Hampton Court, was sent back to his former station, where he distinguished himself (July 1757) by driving the Nymph, a French frigate of 32 guns, on the rocks off Majorca, and, on a refusal to surrender, sinking her. In February 1758, when on the same station, he fell in with the little squadron of the Marquis du Quesne, but was not fortunate enough to get to close quarters with the enemy until Captain Gardiner had attacked and captured the Foudroyant. As the captain was slain in the contest, Hervey removed to his vessel, the Monmouth, and in the following July burnt the Rose, a French frigate of 36 guns,

off the island of Malta, a proceeding of which its inhabitants complained as an insult to their neutrality. During Hawke's operations in the Channel in the summer of 1759 'Hervey and Keppel were the eyes and hands of the fleet,' and both secured their chief's enthusiastic commendation. As commodore, he watched the French fleet in Brest, and in the sight of twenty ships of the line in that harbour gallantly cut off with his boats some of the enemy's vessels that were seeking its shelter. On 28 Sept. in that year he again distinguished himself by rowing at night in the Monmouth's barge, in company with four other boats, into the harbour, and carrying off a little yacht belonging to the French admiral. Though a shot passed through his coat, he was not wounded, and he won the gratitude of the sailors who supported him by surrendering to them his share of the prize and head money. With this in-shore work off Brest Hervey's ship, the Monmouth, was so worn out that he was obliged to come home, and thus experienced the mortification of missing his lawful share in Hawke's victory of Quiberon (November 1759). By way of reward, he was appointed in the spring of 1760 to command the Dragon, a new ship of 74 guns. He now served under Keppel at Belleisle, when he made an unsuccessful attempt to seize the isle of Groa, near Quiberon. In the autumn of 1761 Hervey was ordered to proceed with Commodore Barton to the West Indies to join Rodney in his expedition against the French island of Martinico. Here he aided in the successful attack, and was afterwards ordered by Rodney to proceed in the Dragon with five other vessels to demand the surrender of St. Lucia. The island was at once given up (February 1762). An expedition, the naval part of which was under the direction of Sir George Pocock, had sailed from England against the Havannah, and this was joined by a portion, including Hervey's ship, of the fleet previously under Rodney's command. Hervey captured the castle which defended the river Coximar, and, at Keppel's direction, under whose immediate command he now acted, hastened to cannonade with three other vessels from the seaward the fort of Moro Castle, which commanded the entrance to the harbour of the Havannah. He had the misfortune to be grounded, but persevered in firing until ordered to desist, when his ship was obliged to withdraw in order to be refitted. After a terrible loss of life Moro Castle was taken nearly a month later, and the Havannah was soon afterwards surrendered. Hervey was despatched to England with the news, and on his way captured a large French frigate laden with military stores for Newfoundland, which the enemy had a short time before made a descent upon. Peace quickly followed, when Hervey resigned his command and accepted the captaincy of the Centurion of 50 guns under the Duke of York.

Hervey's active life at sea now ceased. He had long been in parliament. At the general election of 1754 he, Lord Petersham, and his uncle, Felton Hervey, were all returned for the family borough of Bury St. Edmunds, and the two latter were declared elected. Hervey succeeded to a vacancy in 1757, and he was again returned in 1761. In February 1763 he vacated his seat, and in December 1763 represented Saltash in Cornwall, and sat for Bury from 1768 until he succeeded to the peerage in 1775. During this period his preferment was rapid. On 6 Nov. 1762 he was created colonel of the Plymouth division of marines, when the corporation of Plymouth made him a freeman of the borough (12 Jan. 1763). For a short time in 1763 he was commander-in-chief in the Mediterranean, and in that year was made a groom of the bedchamber. When his elder brother became lord-lieutenant of Ireland, Hervey was appointed his chief secretary, and was sworn a member of its privy council (14 Oct. 1766), but resigned on 6 July 1767 through a difference with his brother concerning their relations with the Grenville family. From 26 Jan. 1771 he held a lordship of the admiralty under Lord Sandwich, but on succeeding, 18 March 1775, to the earldom of Bristol and to considerable wealth, he resigned all his offices. In the last month he was advanced to be rear-admiral of the blue, and in January 1778 he was promoted to be vice-admiral of the blue.

Hervey was a frequent speaker in parliament, and a constant writer in the newspapers. He and his elder brother arranged the reconciliation of Lord Temple and George Grenville in 1765. Through his connection with the Duke of York he took an active part in May 1766 in the debates on the grants to the royal dukes, and made himself so obnoxious to the Rockingham ministry that Rockingham thought of depriving him of his posts. When the Grafton-Chatham cabinet was formed, he moved the address in the commons with 'a directly opposition speech' (November 1766). In the subsequent year he made himself popular in the navy by a measure for raising the half-pay of lieutenants from 2*s.* to 3*s.* a day, and in 1771, when just appointed to the admiralty under Sandwich, and eager to maintain its efficiency, he made a candid speech on the address of thanks on the convention with Spain (CAVENDISH, *Debates*, ii. 305–7). While Hervey

sat at the board of admiralty he ranked as a prime favourite of Lord Sandwich, but on becoming Lord Bristol he grew dissatisfied with his friend and became his personal enemy. Some difference existed between him and Keppel in 1765, but it was gradually effaced, and in 1778 Keppel received from him among the peers the highest praise. He was the first to rouse the navy over the attack on Keppel, and he signed a memorial to the king in condemnation of the court-martial on that admiral, and on the acquittal his house in St. James's Square was brilliantly illuminated. His speech on 23 April 1779 over the condition of the navy, which ended with a motion for the removal of Sandwich from his office, was printed in that year. His constitution, naturally strong, was weakened by the changes of climate necessary in his profession. He died at St. James's Square, London, on 23 Dec. 1779, and on 28 Dec. was buried at Ickworth, Suffolk, where in the previous year he had restored the church and built the brick tower. As he left no legitimate issue, the title and entailed estates passed to his brother Frederick Augustus [q. v.], bishop of Derry, but he alienated all that he could. He bequeathed all his personalty and an estate of 1,200*l.* a year in Yorkshire to Mrs. Nesbit, and she was to allow Augustus Henry, his natural son by Mrs. Clarke ('Kitty Hunter'), 300*l.* a year during a minority and 400*l.* afterwards. To this son he left his father's manuscripts, but these and the 'Memoirs' were not to be published during the reign of George III, and neither he nor Colonel the Hon. William Hervey, their next possessor, was to 'give, lend, or leave them to his brother Frederic.'

Hervey lost reputation through his relations with his wife. Their union was dissolved by the ecclesiastical court on 11 Feb. 1769 through collusion, and Walpole adds that Hervey's consent was obtained through a bribe of 14,000*l.* When she was presented at court as Duchess of Kingston in March 1769, 'Augustus Hervey chose to be there, and said aloud that he came to take one look at his widow.' He afterwards denied the rumour that he was about to marry Miss Moysey, the daughter of a physician at Bath. His original correspondence with Lord Hawke is in the Record Office (*Admirals' Despatches*, Channel, vol. vi.), and his journals 'kept on board the Greyhound, John Ambrose, commander; Pembroke, the Hon. Will. Hervey, commander; and Gloucester, the Hon. George Clinton, commander, from 5 June 1736 to 15 Feb. 1739–40,' are at the British Museum (Addit. MS. 12129). Many letters by him are in Keppel's 'Life of Lord Keppel' and the 'Grenville Papers,' vols. iii. and iv. On account of the similarity of handwriting, Dr. O'Conor suggested him as a possible author of the letters of 'Junius.' His portrait by Reynolds was engraved by Edward Fisher in 1763, and is now, as the property of the corporation of Bury St. Edmunds, in its public library. The background represents the attack on Moro Castle. A portrait of him by Gainsborough was engraved by James Watson in 1773. A character of Lord Bristol by Lord Mulgrave was circulated in 1780, and is reprinted in Nichols's 'Literary Anecdotes,' viii. 11–12. He was active and brave, but reckless and over-confident.

[Charnock's Biog. Nav. vi. 27–34; Gent. Mag. January 1780, pp. 10–14, 125; Walpole's George III, ii. 173, 330, 336; Walpole's Journals, 1771–83, i. 258, 477, 490, ii. 212, 215, 324–9; Walpole's Letters, iv. 104, 118, v. 116–17, 147, vi. 82, 155, 329, vii. 295–6, 300; Jesse's Selwyn, iv. 88–93; Mundy's Life of Rodney, i. 81; Keppel's Lord Keppel, i. 279, 344, 352–67, 378–9, ii. 34–5, 97, 239; Burrows's Lord Hawke, pp. 365, &c.; J. C. Smith's Portraits, ii. 495, iv. 1514; Leslie and Taylor's Reynolds, i. 208–9, 219; Grenville Papers, i. 350–1, iii. xiv; Albemarle's Rockingham, i. 122; Faulkner's Chelsea, p. 119; Hervey's Suffolk Visitation, ed. Howard, ii. 200; Bury and West Suffolk Archæol. Instit. ii. 428–9.] W. P. C.

**HERVEY, FREDERICK AUGUSTUS,** D.D., fourth Earl of Bristol (1730–1803), bishop of Derry, third son of John Hervey, lord Hervey of Ickworth [q. v.], and grandson of John Hervey, first earl of Bristol [q. v.], was born on 1 Aug. 1730. He was educated at Westminster School and Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, where he graduated M.A. as a nobleman in 1754, and was created D.D. in 1770. Originally intended for the bar, he entered one of the inns of court, but finally took holy orders. He became a clerk of the privy seal in 1756, principal clerk in 1761, and a royal chaplain in 1763. But substantial preferment, though eagerly solicited by him, came slowly, and in the meantime Hervey visited the chief cities and places of interest on the continent. He was passionately fond of art, and Italy naturally possessed great attractions for him. Being at Naples in 1766, at a time when Vesuvius was in a state of agitation previous to its eruption, he visited the crater; was severely wounded in the arm by a falling stone, and thenceforth closely studied volcanic phenomena. His interest in this field of science brought him into contact with Sir John Strange, at that time British resident at Venice, with whom he formed a lifelong friendship, and with the Italian naturalist, Fortis, with whom he made a journey through

Dalmatia, and whom he more than once liberally supplied with money for the prosecution of his studies. Hervey afterwards claimed to have been the first to draw attention to the geological formation of the Giant's Causeway, on the coast of Antrim.

During the brief period of his brother's viceroyalty in Ireland [see HERVEY, GEORGE WILLIAM] he was nominated for the first bishopric that fell vacant there, and on 2 Feb. 1767 he was created bishop of Cloyne. Anxious to ingratiate himself with the Irish clergy, and to prove himself superior to the prejudice which restricted almost every gift in the church to Englishmen, he offered his chaplainship to Philip Skelton as a mark of his admiration for his 'Deism Revealed.' The offer was accepted, but came to nothing, owing to Skelton's eccentric behaviour. On 18 Feb. 1768 Hervey was translated to the very rich bishopric of Derry; but during his short tenure of the see of Cloyne he did much to improve its property by reclaiming the bog of Cloyne, which had hitherto been a source of constant dispute and a harbour for loose persons. His action was fiercely resented by the Irish, particularly the Casey family, who claimed a proprietary right in the bog, and tore down his fences and gates as fast as he erected them, involving him in much expensive litigation. In the end, however, he triumphed, and in 1768 the right of the see of Cloyne to the bog was finally established. His tenure of the bishopric of Derry was marked by the like assiduous attention to the welfare of his diocese. Having personally visited every parish, he instituted a fund for the support of superannuated clergymen. He was generous and even lavish in his expenditure of the revenues of his see for public purposes. He opened out wild and uncivilised districts by roads constructed at his own expense; he contributed largely to the building of a new bridge on the Foyle; he was actively engaged in fostering agriculture and in introducing new and improved methods of farming, and it was chiefly at his instigation that extensive operations in search of coal were undertaken. In addition to the princely residences he erected at Downhill and Ballyscullion, and adorned with the rarest works of art, the city and county of Londonderry owe to him many of their chief architectural beauties. In 1770 the corporation of Londonderry presented him with the freedom of their city, a compliment never before paid to his predecessors, and the city of Dublin conferred a similar honour on him.

At a time when sectarian jealousies ran high, Hervey did much by his example to soften their asperities and to cultivate a spirit of toleration. In parliament he warmly advocated a relaxation of the penal laws, and it was largely due to his exertions that the act relieving the catholics from the oath of supremacy was passed. He was strongly opposed to the tithe system, and suggested that in lieu of it a portion of land should be assigned to each clergyman for his subsistence. His suggestion was favourably received by his fellow-bishops, and an experiment made of it in his diocese; but ill-health and other circumstances compelled him to drop it before it had a fair trial. From his letters to Strange it would appear that from 1777 to 1779 he resided chiefly in Italy. He had gone to Rome partly on account of his son, who had a taste for architecture, and partly for the sake of some Irish records to be found there; but he himself was much more interested in investigating the subterraneous rivers of Istria. In the summer of 1778 he was attacked by a severe illness, which compelled him to pass the winter at Naples. On the death of his elder brother (Augustus John [q. v.]) in December 1779, he succeeded to the earldom of Bristol and an annual rental of about 20,000*l.*; but his brother, with the characteristic eccentricity of the family, took care by a codicil to deprive him of all that he possibly could, including the private papers of the family and the deer in Ickworth Park. On his return to Ireland Hervey seems for a time to have abstained from any active part in politics, and it was not until after the great volunteer convention at Dungannon in February 1782 that he publicly announced his intention of joining the corps of Londonderry volunteers. Thenceforth he threw himself enthusiastically into the movement, contributing largely to the purchase of camp equipage, and even entering into negotiations with Strange for the purchase of several ships of the line from the Venetian state. His popularity with every class of the community, especially with the presbyterians, his enormous wealth and undoubted ability soon raised him to a prominent position among the volunteers of the north. Like most of the intelligent politicians of the time, he was strongly convinced of the necessity of supplementing the legislative enactments of 1782 by a radical reform of the representation of the Irish House of Commons; but, unlike the majority of them, he would gladly have seen the elective franchise extended to the Roman catholics. His opinions in this respect naturally drew him closer to the democratic party; but it would be a mistake to attribute to him any sympathy with republicanism. His views, although extreme, showed a keener perception

of the critical nature of the situation than those of Grattan and Charlemont.

At the grand convention of volunteers held in Dublin in November 1783, he played a prominent and picturesque part as a delegate from county Derry. Accompanied by his nephew, the notorious George Robert Fitzgerald [q. v.], and attended by a troop of dragoons, he proceeded from his diocese to Dublin with all the pomp and ceremony of a royal progress. Dressed entirely in purple, with diamond knee- and shoe-buckles, with white gloves fringed with gold lace, and fastened by long gold tassels, he entered Dublin seated in an open landau, drawn by six horses, caparisoned with purple trappings, and passed slowly through the principal streets to the Royal Exchange, where the delegates of the volunteer companies were assembled. He was doubtless disappointed at not being elected president, but he showed no resentment. He advocated the incorporation of the catholics in whatever scheme of reform was adopted, and his suggestion that the convention should allow itself to be guided by the practical experience of Flood saved the proceedings from degenerating into a mere farce. His conduct was as far removed as possible from that of an ambitious demagogue or a would-be leader of an armed rebellion. He wisely counselled—unfortunately without success—that the convention should dissolve itself before Flood introduced his bill into the House of Commons. After the dissolution of the convention Hervey was the recipient of many laudatory addresses from the principal volunteer companies in the north, and his replies, especially that to the address of the Bill of Rights Battalion, seem to have alarmed the government so much that they even contemplated the advisability of arresting him (*Add. MSS.* 33100 *f.* 461, 33101 *f.* 29, 77). But with the collapse of the volunteer movement Hervey ceased to take any active interest in Irish politics. He voted by proxy for the Act of Union, and there is extant a curious letter from him to Pelham, dated Venice, 16 June 1798, in which he attributes what success the rebellion had to the tithe grievance, and advocates the endowment by the state of nonconformist ministers as the best remedy for Irish disaffection. His health seems to have been indifferent, and what time he did not spend in superintending the arrangement of his art treasures at Downhill and Ballynahinch appears to have been passed chiefly on the continent. At a late period of his life he became enamoured of the Countess Lichtenau, the mistress of Frederick William II of Prussia, and his letters to her reveal a shameless disregard of his profession and ordinary morality (see also *Memoirs of Lady Hamilton*, pp. 112-26; *Life of Grattan*, iii. 116). In 1798 he was arrested by the French in Italy, and confined for a time in the castle of Milan. A valuable collection of antiquities which he was on the point of transmitting to England was seized at the same time. A remonstrance, signed by 345 artists of different nations, was presented to Citizen Haller, administrator of the finances of the army of Italy, and the collection was redeemed for the sum of 10,000*l.*, under an arrangement with the directory; but within a week after the payment of the money it was again plundered, and the whole dispersed. Hervey died at Albano on 8 July 1803 (see Lord Clonbrrry, *Personal Recollections*, p. 191). His body was brought to England in April 1804, and interred in the church of Ickworth, near Bury St. Edmunds, Suffolk, the ancient seat of the Herveys. There is no monument to his memory inside the church; but an obelisk erected by the inhabitants of Derry, to which the Roman catholic bishop and resident dissenting minister had alike contributed, stands in the park. According to Sir Jonah Barrington, Hervey's personal appearance was extremely prepossessing. He was rather under the middle size, but well built. His character betrayed all the eccentricity for which his family was remarkable, and which had given rise to the saying that God had created men, women, and Herveys. John Wesley, who spent a Sunday with him in 1776, was much impressed by the 'admirable solemnity' with which he celebrated the Lord's Supper. Charlemont, who had better opportunities for knowing him, describes him as a bad father, a worse husband, a determined deist, very blasphemous in his conversation, and greatly addicted to intrigue and gallantry (Lecky, *Hist. of England*, vi. 334 *b*).

He succeeded to the barony of Howard de Walden through his grandmother in 1779. He married very early (1752), against the wishes both of his own and his wife's family, Elizabeth, daughter of Sir Jermyn Davers, and sister and heiress of Sir Charles Davers, bart.; she died on 16 Dec. 1800, having had two sons, Augustus John, lord Hervey (*d.* 1796), and Frederick William, fifth earl and marquis of Bristol (1792-1859), and three daughters.

(Almost all Hervey's papers have unfortunately perished. A number of curious facts relating to him were collected by Cole, and will be found among his manuscripts in the British Museum (Add. MSS. 5832, 5833), and see the third volume of the life by Chamberlain's King, Hist. To the authorities enumerated by Cole, including Sir William Hamilton's Observations on Mount Vesuvius and Boswell's Hist. of Corsica, may be

[illegible] R. H.

**HERVEY, GEORGE WILLIAM**, second EARL OF BRISTOL (1721–1775), born on 20 Aug. 1721, was the eldest son of John, Lord Hervey of Ickworth (1696–1743) [q.v.], by Mary (see HERVEY, MARY, LADY), daughter of Brigadier-general Nicholas Lepell. He became ensign in the 38th, or 'Duke of Marlborough's,' regiment of foot on 2 June 1739, ensign in the 1st regiment of foot-guards on 11 May 1740, and captain in the 48th, or 'Richmond-dolley's,' regiment of foot on 27 Jan. 1741, but resigned his commission in August 1742. On 5 Aug. 1743 he succeeded his father as third Lord Hervey of Ickworth, and on the following 1 Dec. took his seat in the House of Lords. He became second Earl of Bristol on the death of his grandfather, John Hervey (1696–1751) [q.v.], on 20 Jan. 1751, and hereditary high steward of Bury St. Edmunds. On 5 April 1755 he was gazetted envoy extraordinary to Turin, a post which he quitted in August 1758, on being appointed ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary to Madrid. Upon the ratification of the family compact between the houses of Bourbon, he left Madrid without taking leave on 17 Dec. 1761. He was nominated lord-lieutenant of Ireland and a privy councillor on 26 Sept. 1766. The king wrote to Chatham that he expected 'his constant residence while he held his office.' But Bristol threw up the post next year without visiting Ireland, although he received the usual allowance of 3,000*l.* for his voyage. On 2 Nov. 1768 he was chosen lord keeper of the privy seal, in which office he continued until 29 Jan. 1770, when he became groom of the stole and first lord of the bedchamber to the king. He died unmarried on 18 or 20 March 1775. Wraxall tells a story of a gross insult inflicted by Nugent and Lord [illegible] G. G.

**HERVEY, JAMES** (1714–1758), devotional writer, was born at Hardingstone, a village one mile from Northampton, on 26 Feb. 1714–15. His father was the incumbent of Collingtree, a neighbouring village. He was educated as a day scholar at the free grammar school, Northampton. At the age of seventeen he was sent to Lincoln College, Oxford, under the tuition of Dr. Hutchins, the rector of the college. During the first two or three years of his Oxford course he was rather idle, but in 1733 was greatly influenced by the Oxford methodists. In 1734 he began to learn Hebrew without any teacher at the persuasion of John Wesley, then fellow and tutor of Lincoln College. Hervey in his letters gratefully owns his obligations to Wesley for this and other services. After having graduated B.A. he received holy orders at the end of 1736 or the beginning of 1737. He held a Crewe exhibition of 20*l.* a year at Lincoln College, and his father urged him to take a curacy in or near Oxford so that he might still retain his exhibition. He thought it unfair to keep what another might want more, and after acting as curate to his father for a short while he went to London. He was curate for a year at Dummer in Hampshire, the rector being Mr. Kinchin, one of the early Oxford methodists. In 1738 he became chaplain to Paul Orchard of Stoke Abbey, Devonshire. He was godfather to Orchard's son and heir, and dedicated the second volume of the 'Meditations' to his godchild. He remained at Stoke for more than two years, and then (1740) became curate of Bideford, North Devon. While in Devonshire he planned and probably began his 'Meditations among the Tombs.' An excursion to Kilkhampton from Bideford is said to have been the occasion of his laying the scene of the 'Meditations' among the tombs of that place. His friends at Bideford contributed to raise his stipend to 60*l.* per annum. When after serving this curacy for nearly three years he was dismissed by a new rector, the parishioners offered to maintain him at their own expense. But he returned to Weston Favell, a living which his father held with Collingtree, in 1743, and became his father's curate.

He was very industrious both in his parochial and literary work, and his delicate constitution broke down. He retired to London, but his health grew worse. He remained in London until 1752, when on his father's death he succeeded at once to the living of Weston Favell; some authorities assert, though others deny, that he scrupled so long about taking his father's other living of Collingtree that the presentation nearly lapsed to the bishop. At any rate he accepted both at last (the joint value only amounted to 180*l.* a year) in consideration of his having to support his widowed mother and sister. His biographers say (though the statement requires explanation) that in order to qualify him for holding both livings his friends procured, without his knowledge, the necessary certificates from Oxford of his being a B.A., that he might take the degree of M.A. at Cambridge. This he did at Clare Hall in 1752, and then settled at Weston Favell. He again overworked himself in his parish and in his study. This brought on a decline, of which he died on Christmas day, 1758. His body was, by his own express desire, carried to the grave covered with the poor's pall. He was buried under the middle of the communion-table of Weston Favell Church. His funeral sermon was preached by the ablest of all the evangelicals, William Romaine.

Hervey's writings were for a long time exceedingly popular. His first work was entitled 'Meditations and Contemplations.' The first volume, containing 'Meditations among the Tombs,' 'Reflections on a Flower Garden,' and 'A Descant upon Creation,' was published in February 1745–6, and the second, containing 'Contemplations on the Night,' 'Contemplations on the Starry Heavens,' and a 'Winter Piece,' appeared in 1747. These volumes are filled with truisms expressed in the most inflated language, but were admired by educated persons, and even superseded to a great extent such a powerful work as Law's 'Serious Call.' The explanation may in part be found in Hervey's sympathy with the principles of the evangelical revival, and partly in a true appreciation of the beauties of nature, very rare in his time. If he had condescended to write plain English many of his descriptions would have been pleasing. The 'Meditations' had reached a twenty-fifth edition in 1791.

Towards the end of 1752 he published 'Remarks on Lord Bolingbroke's Letters on the Study and Use of History,' and in 1755 a much more famous work, 'Dialogues between Theron and Aspasio,' in three volumes. This work he dedicated to Lady Frances Shirley, a kinswoman of Selina Hastings, countess of Huntingdon [q. v.] Aspasio endeavours to convince Theron of the doctrine of imputed righteousness. The 'Calvinistic controversy' was then at its height, and Hervey, as a Calvinist, drew down upon himself many opponents, especially John Wesley, who wrote some 'Remarks' on 'Theron and Aspasio' which were not very complimentary either in matter or style. Hervey wrote 'Eleven Letters' in reply, which were all but ready for the press when he died, and which were published by his brother, William Hervey, in 1766. These are the most important of his works; but he also wrote in 1753 a preface and account of the author for the 'Pious Memorials' of Richard Burnham (1711–1752) [q. v.] In 1757 he published three sermons preached on public fast-days, to which were added in the third edition of 1759 his sermon at Archdeacon Browne's visitation in 1753, and a sermon on the prevailing custom of visiting on Sundays. In 1757 he also published a new edition of his favourite work, Jenk's 'Meditations,' with a preface. He intended also to have written a treatise on 'Gospel Holiness,' as a supplement to 'Theron and Aspasio.' After his death a collection of his letters was published, and in 1782 his 'Letters to Lady Frances Shirley;' various sermons also were printed from his manuscripts. All these compositions are included in the full edition of his 'Works,' published in 1 vol. folio, Edinburgh, 1769, in 6 vols. 8vo, Edinburgh, 1769, and afterwards several times republished.

A more gentle, pious, unworldly spirit than that of James Hervey it is difficult to conceive. He was never known to be in a passion; he made a solemn vow to dedicate all the profits of his literary work to pious and charitable uses, and scrupulously performed it. He was naturally disinclined to controversy, though from a sense of duty he threw himself into the hottest and most unsatisfactory of all controversies. The simplicity of his character is a strange contrast to the artificiality of his best-known writings; but in his correspondence and his sermons he uses a simpler and therefore more pleasing style. His popularity as a writer never led him to take a false view of his own powers; when it was at its height he frankly confessed that he was not a man of strong mind, and that he had not power for arduous researches.

[Life of J. Hervey, by Dr. Birch, prefixed to his Letters; a Supplement to the Life by the Rev. Abraham Maddock, his curate; Life by 'T. W.,' prefixed to the Meditations, in 2 vols.; A Particular Account of the Life of the Author, prefixed to the edition of his Works in 1 vol. fol.

(same as the original 6 vols.); Funeral Sermon by Mr. Romaine; Character by Mr. Ryland, 1790; Hervey's Works and Letters, passim; Tyerman's Oxford Methodists.] J. H. O.

**HERVEY, JAMES, M.D.** (1751?–1824), physician, born about 1751, was the son of William Hervey of London. He matriculated at Oxford, from Queen's College, on 19 Nov. 1767, and proceeded B.A. 1771, M.A. 1774, M.B. 1777, M.D. 1781 (FOSTER, *Alumni Oxon.* 1715–1886, ii. 650). He was elected physician to Guy's Hospital in 1779, was admitted a candidate of the Royal College of Physicians on 1 Oct. 1781, and a fellow on 30 Sept. 1782. He was Gulstonian lecturer in 1783, censor in 1783, 1787, 1789, 1795, 1802, and 1809, registrar from 1784 to 1814, Harveian orator in 1785, Lumleian lecturer from 1789 to 1811, and elect on 4 May 1809. Hervey was the first appointed registrar of the National Vaccine Establishment. He died in 1824.

[Munk's Coll. of Phys. 1878, ii. 330.] G. G.

**HERVEY, JOHN** (1616–1679), treasurer of the household of Queen Catherine of Braganza, born on 18 Aug. 1616, was the eldest son of Sir William Hervey, knt., M.P., of Ickworth, Suffolk, by Susan, daughter of Sir Robert Jermyn, kt., of Rushbrook, Suffolk. Robert Sidney, second earl of Leicester, while he was ambassador in France in 1636, received him into his house, and ever after entertained a warm friendship for him (*Sidney State Papers*, ii. 680–1). At the Restoration Hervey was constituted treasurer of the household to the queen. On 7 Dec. 1664 he was elected F.R.S. (THOMSON, *Hist. of Roy. Soc.* Append. iv. p. xxiv), but he never presented himself for admission. He was elected M.P. for Hythe on 6 May 1661, and sat for nearly eighteen years (*Lists of Members of Parliament*, i. 532). Though a great favourite of Charles II, he is said by Burnet to have once voted adversely to the court on an important division, and was in consequence severely rebuked by the king. Upon his voting the next day as the king wished, Charles said, 'You were not against me to-day.' Hervey answered, 'No, sir; I was against my conscience to-day' (BURNET, *Own Time*, Oxford ed., 1823, ii. 71). He was a patron of men of letters, and by his recommendation Abraham Cowley [q. v.] was taken into the service of his kinsman, Henry, earl of St. Albans. He died on 18 Jan. 1679. He married Elizabeth, daughter and heiress of William, lord Hervey of Kidbrooke [q. v.], but had no children.

[Authorities cited; Collins's Peerage (Brydges), iv. 149–51; Sprat's Life of Cowley.] G. G.

**HERVEY, JOHN, LORD HERVEY OF ICKWORTH** (1696–1743), the eldest son of John, first earl of Bristol [q. v.], by his second wife, was born on 15 Oct. 1696. He was educated at Westminster School, whence he was removed to Clare Hall, Cambridge, on 20 Nov. 1713. He graduated M.A. in 1715, and in the following year visited Paris. From Paris he went to Hanover to pay his court to George I, where he ingratiated himself with Prince Frederick, of 'the blooming beauties of whose person and character' he sent a lively description to his father. Upon his return to England Hervey gave up some thoughts of the army, and spent much of his time at Ickworth, in spite of his father's remonstrances, in 'the perpetual pursuit of poetry.' He frequently visited the court of the prince and princess at Richmond, where he fell in love with Mary Lepell [see HERVEY, MARY, LADY], whom he married in 1720. On the death of his half-brother Carr [see under HERVEY, JOHN, first EARL OF BRISTOL] in November 1723 he succeeded to the courtesy title of Lord Hervey. At a by-election in April 1725 he was returned to the House of Commons for the borough of Bury St. Edmunds, and, as a devoted follower of the prince's court, joined Pulteney in his opposition to Walpole. When, however, George II adopted Walpole as his minister Hervey changed sides, and was granted a pension of 1,000*l.* a year. On the meeting of the new king's first parliament in January 1728 Hervey moved the address in the House of Commons (*Parl. Hist.* viii. 638), but shortly afterwards went with Stephen Fox to Italy, where he remained for the sake of his health some eighteen months. He returned to England in September 1729. Both Walpole and Pulteney bid for his support. Hervey finally broke with Pulteney, and was rewarded by Walpole with the office of vice-chamberlain of the household on 7 May 1730, being admitted to the privy council on the following day. Early in 1731 appeared an anonymous pamphlet entitled 'Sedition and Defamation display'd,' &c., containing a dedication 'to the patrons of the Craftsman,' in which both Pulteney and Bolingbroke were severely attacked. In answer to this Pulteney wrote 'A Proper Reply to a late Scurrilous Libel,' &c., referring to Hervey in the most offensive terms. The quarrel ended in a duel, which took place 'in the Upper St. James's Park, behind Arlington Street' (now the Green Park), on 25 Jan. 1731, when both the combatants were slightly wounded, and Pulteney would have ran Hervey through the body but for a slip of his foot, when the seconds intervened (COXE, *Memoirs of*

*Sir Robert Walpole*, iii. 88–9). According to Coxe the pamphlet was really written by Sir William Yonge, 'as he himself informed the late Lord Hardwicke' (*ib.* i. 363 *n.*), but Hervey probably wrote the 'Dedication' (see HERVEY, *Memoirs*, i. xxxvi). In January 1732 Hervey opposed Lord Morpeth's amendment for the reduction of the army (*Parl. Hist.* viii. 882–7), and by a writ dated 11 June 1733 was called up to the House of Lords in his father's barony (*Journals of the House of Lords*, xxiv. 307). Here he was an active advocate of the ministry. As the familiar intimate of the queen Hervey rendered Walpole invaluable service. Though only vice-chamberlain Hervey's influence at court was great, and it was owing mainly to this influence that Walpole governed the queen, and through her the king. On the queen's death in November 1737 Hervey, who had been dissatisfied from the first with his household appointment, urged his claims for preferment upon Walpole. The Duke of Newcastle protested against Hervey's claims, on the ground of their mutual dislike, in a letter to Lord Hardwicke of 14 Oct. 1739 (MAHON, *Hist. of England*, iii. 21). Though the duke threatened to resign, the difficulty was at length overcome, and on 1 May 1740 Hervey was appointed lord privy seal in the place of Lord Godolphin. In February 1741 he strenuously opposed Lord Carteret's motion for the removal of Sir Robert Walpole (*Parl. Hist.* xi. 1214–15). But in January of the following year Horace Walpole records that, though Hervey was 'too ill to go to operas, yet, with a coffin-face, is as full of his little dirty politics as ever. He will not be well enough to go to the house 'till the majority is certain somewhere, but lives shut up with my Lord Chesterfield and Mr. Pulteney' (*Letters*, i. 114; see also CHESTERFIELD, *Letters*, v. 444). Sir Robert Walpole resigned in February, but Hervey clung to his office, and in May helped to reject the Indemnification Bill (*Parl. Hist.* xii. 646, 667–73). He was, however, dismissed from his office in July, and was succeeded by Lord Gower.

Hervey now went into opposition, and in February 1743 supported Lord Stanhope's motion for the dismissal of the Hanoverian troops (*ib.* 1063–4, 1102–16). In the same session he distinguished himself by his spirited opposition to the Gin Bill. His health had, however, been gradually failing, and he died, in the lifetime of his father, on 5 Aug. 1743, aged 46, and was buried at Ickworth on the 12th of the same month.

Hervey was a clever and unprincipled man, of loose morals and sceptical opinions. He was an effective though somewhat pompous speaker, a ready writer, and a keen observer of character. His wit and charm of manner made him a special favourite of women. Effeminate in appearance as well as in habits, he is described by the Duchess of Marlborough as having 'a painted face, and not a tooth in his head' (*The Opinions of Sarah, Duchess-Dowager of Marlborough*, 1788, p. 43; see also Lord Hailes's note, *ib.* and *Autobiography of Mrs. Delany*, 1861, i. 544).

Throughout his life Hervey suffered from bad health, which his father ascribed to the use of 'that detestable and poisonous plant, tea, which had once brought him to death's door, and if persisted in would carry him through it' (*Memoirs*, i. xxvii). A liability to epileptic attacks induced him to adopt a strict regimen, of which he gives a detailed account in a letter to his physician, Dr. Cheyne (*ib.* i. xlvii). The intimate terms of his friendship with the queen were remarkable, and he relates that she used to call him 'her child, her pupil, and her charge,' and to frequently say, 'It is well I am so old, or I should be talked of for this creature' (*ib.* ii. 46). He is said also to have 'made a deep impression on the heart of the virtuous Princess Caroline' (WALPOLE, *Letters*, i. cxxxvi.) The cause of the deadly quarrel between Hervey and Pope is obscure, but was probably owing to their rivalry for the good graces of Lady Mary Wortley Montagu. Pope dated the estrangement as far back as 1725, and sneeringly alludes to Hervey in his 'Miscellanies,' 1727, and in the first edition of the 'Dunciad,' 1728. In 1733 he published his 'Imitation of the First Satire of the Second Book of Horace,' in which he grossly attacked Lady Mary by the name of 'Sappho,' and bestowed the contemptuous nickname of 'Lord Fanny' on Hervey. In reply to these attacks 'Verses addressed to the Imitator of Horace' shortly afterwards appeared. Lady Mary and Hervey were generally supposed to be joint authors, though there is some evidence in favour of Hervey's sole authorship (*Memoirs*, i. xxxix–xl; but see *Notes and Queries*, 2nd ser. iii. 325–6, where it is suggested that Lady Mary was the sole author; and compare Pope's letter to Swift of 2 April 1733 in SWIFT, *Works*, 1814, xviii. 166). In the same year Hervey also attacked Pope in 'An Epistle to a Doctor of Divinity from a nobleman at Hampton Court.' Pope retorted in the first instance with his bitter 'Letter to a Noble Lord,' &c. (POPE, *Works*, ed. Roscoe, 1824, ix. 459–84), dated 30 Nov. 1733, and in 1735 renewed the attack in his famous assault upon 'Sporus' in the 'Epistle to Arbuthnot.' Hervey retained

[illegible] a curious resemblance to [illegible] Walpole, a bitter tone of [illegible] spirit of universal de- [illegible] apparent. Though Middle- [illegible] share of the correspond- [illegible] Hervey in the mode of electing [illegible] in 1747. Hervey's letters [illegible] 1778, when they were [illegible]

[illegible] by which Middle- [illegible] Cicero to Hervey in [illegible] the fourth book of the [illegible] From the corre- [illegible] Lekworth it appears [illegible] made in Park's edition of [illegible] 232–3), on the autho- [illegible] Anecdotes,' that the ex- [illegible] in Middleton's [illegible] by Hervey is incorrect. [illegible] are pronounced by Ho- [illegible] equal to any that [illegible] and by some of them he [illegible] service to the govern- [illegible] Robert Walpole. A few of [illegible] were collected together, with [illegible] Hammond (q. v.), and pub- [illegible] 1818. Several of his [illegible] will be found in Dodsley's [illegible] 1782, iii. 194–204, iv. [illegible] the New Foundling [illegible] 1784, i. 239–43 (see also [illegible] lxvi. pt. i. p. 580). [illegible] Letters to Dr. [illegible] several poems. Hervey is [illegible] in a manuscript [illegible] Tragedy in Rhyme' (Park, [illegible] He was the author of [illegible] 1. 'An Answer to the [illegible] Weekly No. II (with an 'Ap- [illegible] the Answer to the Occasional [illegible] No. II.' anon., London, 1727, 8vo. [illegible] Occasional Writer, No. IV. To his [illegible] Observations on the [illegible] the Craftsman' (i.e. on Lord [illegible] letters on English history), [illegible] 1730, 8vo. 4. Sequel of the [illegible] anon., London, 1730, 8vo. [illegible] Observations on the Writings of [illegible] Craftsman,' anon., London, 1730. [illegible] Remarks on the Craftsman's Vin- [illegible] of his two humble patrons, in his [illegible] of May 22, 1731,' 2nd edit., anon., [illegible] 8vo. This has also been [illegible] William Arnall. 7. 'Letter to Mr. [illegible] in his reply to "Sedition and De- [illegible] displayed."' London, 1731, 8vo. [illegible] Remarks on the Minute Philoso- [illegible] Berkeley, bishop of Cloyne, q.v.] [illegible] Letter from a Country Clergyman to his [illegible] London,' anon., London, 1732, 8vo; [illegible] 2nd edit., London, 1732, 8vo. 9. 'The Pub-

ment, pt. ii. pp. 55, 67; Notes and Queries, 2nd ser. iii. 325-6, 3rd ser. iv. 265, 474; Brit. Mus. Cat.] G. F. R. B.

**HERVEY, JOHN,** first EARL OF BRISTOL (1665-1751), second son of Sir Thomas Hervey, knt., M.P. for Bury St. Edmunds, by Isabella, daughter of Sir Humphrey May, vice-chamberlain of the household to Charles I, was born on 27 Aug. 1665. He was educated at the grammar school at Bury St. Edmunds, and afterwards went to Clare Hall, Cambridge, where he matriculated on 5 July 1684, and was admitted to the degree of LL.D. on 16 April 1705. On 10 May 1692 he was appointed a deputy-lieutenant of Suffolk, and at a by-election in March 1694 was returned to parliament as one of the members for Bury St. Edmunds. He continued to sit for Bury until 23 March 1703, when he was created Baron Hervey of Ickworth in the county of Suffolk, a title which had already existed in the family, but had become extinct on the death of William, baron Hervey of Kidbrooke [q. v.], in June 1642. Hervey's elevation to the peerage is said to have been due to the influence of the Duke and Duchess of Marlborough. He took his seat in the House of Lords on 22 June 1703 (*Journals of the House of Lords*, xvii. 325). He was a staunch whig, and a warm supporter of the principles of the revolution and of the Hanoverian succession. For his Hanoverian zeal he was created Earl of Bristol on 19 Oct. 1714. After the accession of George I he took but little part in public affairs, though he appears in private to have been strongly opposed to Walpole's administration. A single speech delivered by Hervey in March 1733 in favour of the reduction of the army is the only one contained in the 'Parliamentary History' (viii. 1260). He died on 20 Jan. 1751, in his eighty-sixth year, and was buried in Ickworth Church on the 27th of the same month. His epitaph, written during his life by his son John, lord Hervey, is in Gage's 'Suffolk' (pp. 296-7). He was succeeded in the earldom by his grandson, George William [q. v.] (the eldest son of John, lord Hervey), who in right of his grandmother became joint heir to the barony of Howard de Walden, the exclusive right to which devolved, on the extinction of the issue of Essex, Lady Griffin, in November 1799, upon Frederick Augustus Hervey, fourth earl of Bristol [q. v.]

Hervey married, first, on 1 Nov. 1688, Isabella, sole daughter and heiress of Sir Robert Carr of Sleaford, Lincolnshire, bart., chancellor of the duchy of Lancaster, by whom he had two daughters and one son, CARR, LORD HERVEY (1691-1723), who was born on 17 Sept. 1691, and was educated at Clare Hall, Cambridge, where he graduated M.A. in 1710. At the general election in the summer of 1713 he was returned for the borough of Bury St. Edmunds, which he continued to represent until the dissolution in March 1722. He was appointed one of the gentlemen of the bedchamber to the Prince of Wales, and is described by Horace Walpole as 'elder brother of the more known John, Lord Hervey, and reckoned to have superior parts' (*Letters*, cxxiii.) According to Lady Louisa Stuart, Horace Walpole was generally supposed to be his son (*Letters and Works of Lady M. W. Montagu*, 1861, i. 71-4). There is some corroborative evidence for the story. He died unmarried at Bath on 14 Nov. 1723, aged 32. Two letters of his will be found in the first volume of the Countess of Suffolk's 'Letters,' 1824, pp. 21-5. There is a portrait of him at Ickworth.

Hervey's first wife died 7 March 1693, aged 23. He married, secondly, in 1695, Elizabeth, daughter and sole heiress of Sir Thomas Felton of Playford, Suffolk, bart., master of the household to Queen Anne, by his wife Lady Elizabeth Howard, daughter and coheiress of James, third earl of Suffolk. By his second wife he had six daughters and ten sons, of whom John Hervey, baron Hervey of Ickworth, and Thomas Hervey are noticed separately. The second countess, 'whose vivacity, eccentricity, and love of pleasure and of play are all celebrated by her contemporaries' (*Letters of the Countess of Suffolk*, 1824, i. 50, note), served as one of the ladies of the bedchamber to Queen Caroline, and was a friend and correspondent of Lady Mary Wortley Montagu. She died on 1 May 1741, aged 64. Hervey was a very amiable man, and an accomplished scholar. He was on affectionate terms with his son John, lord Hervey, in spite of political and other differences. His character is sketched by the queen and John, lord Hervey, in the third volume of the 'Memoirs' (pp. 240-3). Macky describes Hervey as 'a great sportsman, lover of Horse-matches and play; . . . a handsom Man in his Person, fair complexion, middle stature, Forty years old' (MACKY, *Memoirs*, 1733, p. 108). A large collection of Hervey's correspondence is preserved at Ickworth, and among it are several copies of verses, which he used at times to write. A portrait of him, painted by Kneller in 1699, is in the Guildhall at Bury St. Edmunds. There are two portraits of Hervey at Ickworth, and also one of each of his wives.

[Lord Hervey's Memoirs of the Reign of George II, 1884; Gage's History and Antiquities of Suffolk, Thingoe Hundred, 1838, pp. 287-8, 295-7, 306, 308, 309, 316-17, 319; Collins's

Peerage of England, 1812, iv. 152–5; Burke's Peerage, 1888, pp. 178, 737; Doyle's Official Baronage, 1886, i. 238; Grad. Cantabr. 1823, p. 230; Official Return of Lists of Members of Parliament, pt. i. pp. 569, 576, 583, 590, 597, 604, pt. ii. pp. 33, 44; Gent. Mag. 1741 xi. 277, 1751 xxi. 42, 1799 vol. lxix. pt. ii. 1005, 1085; Historical Register, 1723, vol. viii. Chron. Diary, p. 52.] G. F. R. B.

HERVEY, MARY, LADY (1700–1768), the daughter of Brigadier-general Nicholas Lepell, by his wife Mary, daughter and coheiress of John Brooke of Rendlesham, Suffolk, was probably born on 26 Sept. 1700; there is, however, some uncertainty about the date of her birth. According to the inscription in Ickworth Church, the year should be 1706 (GAGE, p. 319), but Pope in a letter, said to be dated 13 Sept. 1717, speaks of her as already maid of honour to the princess (LORD HERVEY, *Memoirs*, i. xix *n.*; and ELWIN and COURTHOPE's edition of *Pope's Works*, ix. 273–5). Her father, while a page of honour to Prince George of Denmark, married in 1698, and in the following year obtained an act of naturalisation (LUTTRELL, 1857, iv. 470). On 3 April 1705 he received a commission to raise a new regiment of foot (*ib.* v. 536), and on 1 Jan. 1710 was promoted to the rank of brigadier-general. According to a letter written by the Duchess of Marlborough in December 1737, Mary was made a cornet by her father 'in his regiment as soon as she was born . . . and she was paid many years after she was a maid of honour. She was extreme forward and pert, and my Lord Sunderland got her a pension of the late king [George I], it being too ridiculous to continue her any longer an officer in the army' (WALPOLE, *Letters*, i. clii.) At court Mary Lepell divided the honours for wit and beauty with her friend Edith Bellenden, subsequently the wife of Colonel John Campbell, who became the fourth duke of Argyll. Pope and Gay sang her praises. Pulteney and Chesterfield wrote a joint ballad in her honour to the tune of 'Molly Mogg.' Voltaire, another of her numerous admirers, addressed a copy of verses to her beginning with the lines:

> Hervey, would you know the passion
> You have kindled in my breast?

which are the only English verses now extant of his composition. They were subsequently transcribed and addressed to one Laura Harley, the wife of a London merchant, by one of her lovers, and formed part of the husband's evidence in his proceedings for a divorce (CHURTON COLLINS, *Essay on Voltaire in England*, 1886, pp. 248–9). Even Horace Walpole, who became a correspondent of hers later in life, and in 1762 dedicated to her his 'Anecdotes of Painting in England,' always spoke of her with the greatest respect and admiration (see *Letters*, v. 129). Her good sense and good nature won for her the esteem of the ladies as well as the flatteries of the wits. Her marriage with John Hervey [q. v.], afterwards Lord Hervey of Ickworth, was announced to have taken place on 25 Oct. 1720 (*Historical Reg.* v. Chron. Diary, p. 46). It must, however, have occurred several months earlier, as in a letter preserved at Ickworth, and dated 20 May 1720, Lord Bristol congratulates her on her marriage, which he calls a secret (see LORD HERVEY, *Memoirs*, i. xxii–iv). Lady Mary Wortley Montagu records, in a letter written to the Countess of Mar, in July 1721, 'the ardent affection' shown to her by 'Mrs. Hervey and her dear spouse' (*Letters and Works*, i. 457).

In spite of her husband's infidelity she lived with him on very amicable terms, and was an admirable mother to a large family of troublesome children, who inherited those peculiar qualities which gave rise to the well-known saying, ascribed to Lady Mary Wortley Montagu among others, 'that this world consisted of men, women, and Herveys' (*ib.* i. 95). She appears to have been always a warm partisan of the Stuarts. Though she suffered greatly from severe attacks of the gout, she retained many of the attractions of her youth long after her husband's death.

Chesterfield, in a letter to his son dated 22 Oct. 1750, directed him to 'trust, consult, and to apply' to Lady Hervey at Paris. He speaks in the most admiring terms of her good breeding, and says that she knows more than is necessary for any woman, 'for she understands Latin perfectly well, though she wisely conceals it' (*Letters*, ii. 40). She died on 2 Sept. 1768, in the sixty-eighth year of her age, and was buried at Ickworth, Suffolk. The epitaph on her tombstone was written by Horace Walpole (GAGE, pp. 319–20). Lady Hervey was a lively and intelligent letter-writer. Her letters to the Rev. Edmund Morris, formerly tutor to her sons, written between 1742 and 1768, were published in 1821. Several earlier letters of hers written to the Countess of Suffolk are in the two volumes of Lady Suffolk's 'Letters,' 1824.

Two portraits of Lady Hervey are in the possession of the Marquis of Bristol at Ickworth. Another, formerly belonging to the Strawberry Hill collection, painted by Allan Ramsay, was lent by Lord Lifford to the Loan Collection of National Portraits at South Kensington in 1867 (*Catalogue*, No. 258). An engraving from a miniature, also

formerly at Strawberry Hill, is in Walpole's 'Letters' (v. opp. p. 129).

[Lord Hervey's Memoirs, 1884; Letters and Works of the Earl of Chesterfield, 1845–53, ii. 40-1, 65, 73–4, 103, 141, 180–1, iii. 402, iv. 2, 55; Letters of Horace Walpole (Cunningham edit.), i. cxxiii–iv. clii–iii. iii. 71, 104, iv. 30, 31, v. 129; Letters and Works of Lady M. W. Montagu, 1861, i. 96–7, 457, 480–1, ii. 29; Gage's History of Suffolk, Thingoe Hundred, 1838, pp. 288, 299, 308, 309, 319; Crisp's Richmond and its Inhabitants, 1866, pp. 416–18; Quarterly Review, lxxxii. 505–8; Edinburgh Review, lxxxviii. 490; Chester's London Marriage Licenses, 1887, p. 837; Notes and Queries, 2nd ser. ii. 416, x. 47, 76, 3rd ser. v. 98, 4th ser. ix. 506, x. 19, 98, 197, 237, 402, 506.] G. F. R. B.

**HERVEY, THOMAS** (1698–1775), eccentric pamphleteer, born 20 Jan. 1698, was second son of John Hervey, first earl of Bristol [q. v.], by his second wife, Elizabeth, sole daughter and heiress of Sir Thomas Felton. He was sent to a university, no doubt to Cambridge, but did not take a degree; was then put to study a profession which he did not like, apparently law at Lincoln's Inn; was denied what he desired, a post in the army; and gave himself up to drink, with the result that, as his allowance from his father was only 120*l.* per annum, he 'many, many times wanted a dinner.' At an early age he was engaged in two duels, and was nearly involved in a third. His ill-health was chronic. For eleven years he was unable to lie in his bed 'one single night from night to morning;' he was racked by a 'constant fever, for which in 17 or 18 years he had been blooded more than 100 times,' and before he was of age his mind was 'unhinged.' Hervey was placed in parliament on 29 June 1733 for one of the seats for the family borough of Bury St. Edmunds, and continued to sit until 1747. His first appointment was that of equerry to Queen Caroline, wife of George II, which he held from July 1728 until he resigned it in 1737, and in 1733 he was created vice-chamberlain of the queen's household. On 23 May 1738 he was appointed superintendent of the gardens at the royal palaces. In spite of great disparity in their ages, Sir Thomas Hanmer [q. v.] married in 1725 Elizabeth Folkes, and after a few years she eloped with Hervey, who for the rest of his days made Hanmer the constant subject of attack. Though Hervey's mother disinherited him for his refusal to separate himself from Colonel Thomas Norton, his colleague in the representation of Bury St. Edmunds, his income through his places and the property which he acquired from Lady Hanmer amounted to 2,000*l.* per annum. By this woman he had a natural son, Thomas, an officer in the first regiment of foot-guards, who, on 26 Feb. 1774, had leave to drop the name of Hanmer and to use the name and arms of Hervey. She died on 24 March 1741, and Hervey married (it is said in the Fleet prison in 1744) Anne, daughter of Francis Coghlan, a counsellor-at-law in Ireland, after she had lived with him for some time, and their son, William Thomas, aide-de-camp to General Shirley, was killed at Ticonderoga. It is erroneously stated that she died in Bond Street, London, 27 Dec. 1761, and that he married again. Hervey himself died in Bond Street on 16 Jan. 1775. Two years before he endeavoured by appeals to the court of delegates to set aside his marriage, but after a full hearing failed. On his deathbed he sent for his wife, and acknowledged the validity of their union.

Hervey was always scribbling. He printed: 1. 'A Letter to Sir Thomas Hanmer, Bart.,' n.d. [1741], in which he complained of the baronet's sale to others of the wood on the estate in Wales vested in him in reversion, and offered to sell his interest therein for about 3,000*l.* In this whimsical production he speaks of 'our wife (for, in Heaven, whose wife shall she be?),' and naively says of her: 'She was plain, you know.' Shenstone, writing to Jago in 1741 (*Works*, iii. 37, ed. 1769), says: 'What is now read by the whole world and the world's wife is Mr. Hervey's letter to Sir T. Hanmer. I own my taste is gratified in it . . . though people say (I think idly) he is mad.' This provoked 'A Proper Reply to a late very Extraordinary Letter. By a Lady,' 1742, which was assigned to the Duchess of Queensberry, and Hervey's pamphlet was defended in a counter-production, 'Measure for Measure, or a Proper Reply to a late scurrilous Pamphlet entitled "A Proper Reply to a Letter."' 2. 'A Letter to William Pitt concerning the fifteen new Regiments lately voted by Parliament' [anon.], 1746. Hervey was opposed to their formation. 3. 'Mr. Hervey's Letter to the Rev. Sir William Bunbury, Bart., together with a short preface by the author,' n.d. [1753], complaining that the baronet had injured the child of Lady Hanmer. Of this piece Horace Walpole writes: 'Hervey, who always obliges the town with a quarrel in the dead season, has published a letter to Bunbury full of madness and wit.' 4. 'A Letter to the late King' [dated 1755], to which is prefixed one to the Duke of Newcastle, 1763, the objects of which were to secure the payment of 'a civil list arrear of long standing, to the amount of two thousand pounds,' and to obtain a fresh grant of 200*l.* per annum

for his wife. Of this letter Walpole wrote: 'It beats everything for madness, horrid indecency, and folly, and yet has some charming and striking passages.' 5. 'A Complaint on the part of the Hon. Thomas Hervey concerning an undue Proceeding at Court. Set forth in two Letters to the Princess of Brunswick,' 1766; 3rd edit., much expanded, 1767. To this last edition was prefixed a ferocious declaration of enmity against his nephews, the then Earl of Bristol and Augustus Hervey, and to it were added two letters to Miss Anne Coghlan, apparently love-letters before marriage. The 'Complaint' was that some part of the pension payable to him by the government had been appropriated for the support of his wife and son. He had previously published in the daily papers the following advertisement: 'Whereas Mrs. Hervey has been three times from home last year and at least as often the year before without either my leave or privity, and has encouraged her son to persist in the like rebellious practices, I hereby declare that I neither am nor will be accountable for any future debts of hers whatever. She is now keeping forcible possession of my house, to which I never did invite or thought of inviting her in all my life. Tho. Hervey.' A letter from his wife to George Selwyn respecting one of these insults is in Jesse's 'Selwyn,' i. 220–3. 6. 'An Elegy upon the Death of the late Earl Granville' [by Hon. T. H.], 1767. 7. 'Mr. Hervey's Answer to a Letter he received from Dr. Samuel Johnson to dissuade him from parting with his Supposed Wife,' 1772, 'but first printed and written in 1763,' according to note on the copy of the work at the British Museum. In this he makes frequent references to his wife's violence of temper. Hervey had been attacked in a pamphlet, written, as it was thought, by Sir Charles Hanbury Williams. Johnson, who was introduced to Hervey by his brother, Henry Hervey, afterwards Aston, an officer in the army quartered at Lichfield, wrote a defence. This was not printed, as the assailant proved to be a garreteer, but in consideration of Johnson's services Hervey sent him 50*l.* in a letter, to which he added: 'P.S. I am going to part with my wife.' Johnson sent a reply of expostulation, and when Hervey died, gave as his epitaph, 'Tom Hervey, though a vicious man, was one of the genteelest men that ever lived.' A whimsical letter of remonstrance, dated 5 Dec. 1762, from Hervey to Pitt on the latter's political action is in the 'Chatham Correspondence,' ii. 197–9. Eight lines by him 'on a pencil sent to his wife,' are printed in Nichols's 'Collection of Poems,' vi. 56.

[Boswell's Johnson (Hill), ii. 32–3; Walpole's Letters, i. 101, ii. 342, 447, iv. 78, vi. 182; Hervey's Suffolk Visitation (Howard), ii. 198; Gent. Mag. 1775, p. 47; Jesse's Selwyn, i. 220–227, 408; Hanmer's Life, p. 79.] W. P. C.

HERVEY, THOMAS KIBBLE (1799–1859), poet and editor, son of James Hervey, was born at Paisley on 4 Feb. 1799. He was brought to Manchester in 1803, where his father settled as a drysalter, and he was educated at the Manchester grammar school. After being articled to a solicitor at Manchester, he was transferred to a London office, and subsequently was set to qualify for the bar. He was entered about 1818 at Trinity College, Cambridge, where he remained two years. While there he published some poems which, unfortunately for his success as a barrister, brought him much into notice. He went to London, and never returned to take his degree, nor was he ever called to the bar. The poem which had so much success was entitled 'Australia,' of which a second edition, with some additional pieces, came out in 1824. He contributed novelettes and poems to several of the annuals. His popular poem, 'The Convict Ship,' first appeared in the 'Literary Souvenir' for 1825. He edited the 'Friendship's Offering' for 1826 and 1827, and the 'Amaranth' for 1839. In 1827 he migrated to Paris, but soon returned to London in straitened circumstances. He wrote in its early days for the 'Dublin Review.' After contributing for many years to the 'Athenæum,' he was appointed sole editor of that journal on 23 May 1846, which charge he relinquished at the end of 1853, in consequence of ill-health. He was a sound critic of art as well as of literature, and afterwards wrote frequently in the 'Art Journal.'

On 17 Oct. 1843 he married Eleanor Louisa (*b.* 1811), daughter of George Conway Montagu of Lackham, Wiltshire. She was herself a poetess of merit, and by her Hervey left an only son. Hervey was a charmingly genial and witty companion, and, according to his brother, was as a young man extremely eloquent. He died on 27 Feb. 1859 at Kentish Town, London, and was buried at Highgate cemetery.

In addition to 'Australia,' he published the following separate works: 1. 'The Poetical Sketch-Book,' 1829, 12mo; this contained the third edition of 'Australia.' 2. 'Illustrations of Modern Sculpture, with descriptive Prose and illustrative Poetry,' 1834, 4to. 3. 'The Book of Christmas, with Illustrations by R. Seymour,' 1836, 8vo. 4. 'The English Helicon of the Nineteenth Century,' 1841, 8vo. 5. 'A Selection of Essays from the Livre Cent et Un,' 3 vols. In 1866 his

widow collected his poems and published them, with memoir and portrait, at Boston, United States of America.

[Gent. Mag. April 1859, i. 431; Art Journal, 1859, p. 123; J. F. Smith's Manchester School Reg. (Chetham Soc.), iii. 284; Alaric Watts, by his son, 1884, i. 275; John Francis, by J. C. Francis, 1888, i. 89, 362; Lester's Criticisms, 3rd edit. 1853.] C. W. S.

**HERVEY, WILLIAM** (*d.* 1567), Clarenceux king-at-arms. [See HARVEY, WILLIAM.]

**HERVEY, WILLIAM, LORD HERVEY OF KIDBROOKE** (*d.* 1642), was the only son of Henry Hervey, eldest son of Sir Nicholas Hervey, gentleman of the privy chamber to Henry VIII, and ambassador at Ghent, by his second wife, Bridget, daughter and heiress of Sir John Wiltshire, knt., of Stone Castle in Kent, and widow of Sir Richard Wingfield, K.G., of Kimbolton Castle in Huntingdonshire. His mother was Jane, daughter of James Thomas of Glamorganshire. He first signalised himself in 1588 against the Spanish Armada, when he is said to have boarded one of the Spanish ships and killed the captain, Hugh Monçada, with his own hands. On 27 June 1596 he was knighted for his services in the capture of Cadiz. In 1597 he was present at the taking of Fayal on Essex's 'Islands' Voyage.' The queen conferred on him the keepership of St. Andrew's Castle, Hampshire, on 8 Feb. 1598 (*Cal. State Papers*, Dom. 1598–1601, p. 19). In 1600 he commanded one of the royal ships, and brought relief to his cousin, Sir George Carew [q. v.], president of Munster, who was engaged in reducing the rebels in Ireland. In June of that year he was appointed scout-master, and was wounded in a skirmish before Dundalk on the following 2 Oct. (*ib.* Carew MSS. 1589–1600, pp. 397, 465). Hervey stayed some time in Ireland, and was successful in several actions. He was also very serviceable at the siege of Kinsale, and on its surrender on 9 Jan. 1601–2 he was sent, in pursuance of the capitulation, to take possession of the castles of Dunboy, Castlehaven, and Flower. He was afterwards made governor of Carbery, from Ross to Bantry, took Cape Clear Castle, and successfully stood his ground until the final reduction of the rebels. For these services James I created him a baronet on 31 May 1619, and an Irish peer on 5 Aug. 1620, with the title of Baron Hervey of Ross, co. Wexford. On 7 Feb. 1627–8 he was raised to the English peerage as Baron Hervey of Kidbrooke, Kent. He died in June 1642, and was buried on the following 8 July in St. Edmund's Chapel in Westminster Abbey (*Register*, Harl. Soc., p. 136). He married (1) in May 1598 Mary (*d.* 1607), widow of Henry Wriothesley, earl of Southampton, and daughter of Anthony Browne, viscount Montacute, by whom he had no issue (*Cal. State Papers*, Dom. 1598–1601, pp. 54, 157); and (2) on 5 Feb. 1607 Cordell, youngest daughter of Brian Ansley of Lee, Kent, and gentleman-pensioner to Queen Elizabeth, by whom he had three sons and three daughters; but all dying except Elizabeth, wife of John Hervey (1616–1679) [q. v.] of Ickworth, Suffolk, the titles became extinct at his death. His second wife was buried at St. Martin-in-the-Fields on 5 May 1636.

[Collins's Peerage (Brydges), iv. 145–7, ix. 480; Burke's Dormant and Extinct Peerages, p. 277; Sidney State Papers, ii. 53.] G. G.

**HESELTINE, JAMES** (1690–1763), organist and composer, a pupil of Dr. Blow, was in the early part of the century organist to St. Katharine's Hospital, near the Tower (GROVE). In 1710 he was elected organist of Durham Cathedral. A misunderstanding between him and the dean and chapter led him to destroy his compositions, but he held the post of organist until his death on 20 June 1763, and was buried in the Galilee of the cathedral. Early in 1730 Heseltine married a daughter of Sir George Wheler, canon of Durham. His portrait is in the Music School, Oxford. He died a widower without family, and his property was claimed by a nephew and niece in America.

Heseltine's anthem, 'Unto Thee will I cry,' in his own handwriting, and dated 'September ye 17th, 1707,' is in the British Museum Library (Addit. MS. 30860). Other manuscript pieces by him are in the Lambeth Palace Library.

[Hutchinson's Durham, ii. 238; Hist. Reg. xv. 22; Georgian Era, iv. 542; Dict. of Musicians, 1827, i. 363; Grove's Dict. i. 733; P. C. C. Admon. Grants, June 1765.] L. M. M.

**HESILRIGE** or **HASELRIG, SIR ARTHUR** (*d.* 1661), statesman, was eldest son of Sir Thomas Hesilrige, bart., of Noseley, Leicestershire, and Frances, daughter of William Gorges of Alderton, Northamptonshire (NICHOLS, *Leicestershire*, ii. 743). His father died in 1629, and he was, according to Clarendon, 'brought up by Mr. Pym' (*Rebellion*, iii. 128). On the death in 1632 of his first wife, Frances, daughter of Thomas Elmes of Lilford, Northamptonshire, Hesilrige married Dorothy, sister of Robert Greville, lord Brooke [q. v.] (NICHOLS, p. 748). His early political conduct seems to have been largely guided by the influence of Pym and Brooke. Himself a staunch puritan, he was bitterly opposed to

the ecclesiastical policy of Laud, with whom he seems also to have had a personal quarrel (*Diary of Thomas Burton*, iii. 89; *Cal. State Papers*, Dom. 1641–3, p. 547). In the two parliaments which met in 1640 Hesilrige was elected for Leicestershire. His opponent in the second election was sent to the Tower for breach of privilege in characterising Hesilrige as a man with 'more will than wit' (*Commons' Journals*, ii. 43). In like manner Clarendon terms him 'an absurd, bold man,' and adds that he was used by the leaders of his party, like the dove out of the ark, to try what footing there was when new propositions were to be brought forward (*Rebellion*, iii. 128, 156, 244). His name is associated with the introduction of the bill of attainder against Strafford. He was one of the promoters of the 'Root-and-Branch Bill,' and the proposer of the Militia Bill (7 Dec. 1641). To the last he probably owed his inclusion among the five members impeached by the king on 3 Jan. 1642, of which he gives some account in a later speech (Burton, *Diary*, iii. 93).

In June 1642 Hesilrige was very active in executing the parliamentary commission of array in Leicestershire (*Lords' Journals*, v. 147). He raised a troop of horse in Essex's army, and fought under the command of Sir William Balfour at Edgehill (Peacock, *Army Lists*, p. 53; Holles, *Memoirs*, § 11). A letter from Hesilrige to Essex is printed by Sanford (p. 559). Hesilrige then became second in command to Waller, and Vicars calls him Waller's 'Fidus Achates.' He took part in the captures of Chichester and Malmesbury, and did not hesitate to seize the communion plate of Chichester Cathedral, to devote it to the parliament's service (Vicars, *Jehovah-jireh*, pp. 235, 292; *Mercurius Rusticus*, ed. 1685, p. 243; *Military Memoir of Col. Birch*, p. 203). At the head of a regiment of cuirassiers, known to their opponents as 'the Lobsters,' he greatly distinguished himself in the victory of Lansdowne (5 July 1643). At Roundway Down his regiment bore the brunt of the battle, and some accounts attribute Waller's defeat to Hesilrige's mistaken tactics (Clarendon, *Rebellion*, vii. 104, 118; Holles, *Memoirs*, § 11; *Bibliotheca Gloucestrensis*, p. 193). At both these battles he was wounded, and it is said that after the latter he was publicly prayed for in the London churches (*Mil. Mem. of Col. Birch*, p. 51). Nevertheless, he at once set to work to recruit his cuirassiers, with whom he again did excellent service at the battle of Cheriton (29 March 1644). He undertook also to raise a regiment of foot, but 'delighting all in horse,' left the management of it entirely to Birch, his lieutenant-colonel (*ib.* pp. 3, 14; Ludlow, *Memoirs*, ed. 1751, p. 43; Clarendon, *Rebellion*, viii. 13). Holles, who always accuses his enemies of cowardice, relates a story of Hesilrige's misconduct at Cheriton, which has obtained more credit than it deserves (*Memoirs*, § 28). His fault throughout his life was overboldness rather than want of courage. Parliament showed appreciation of his services by stipulating in the Uxbridge treaty that he should be made a baron, and given lands worth 2,000*l.* a year (*Commons' Journals*, iv. 360). In the disputes which led to the passing of the self-denying ordinance Hesilrige was prominent among the opponents of Essex, and he was one of the witnesses for Cromwell in his quarrel with Manchester (Holles, §§ 25, 28; *Manchester's Quarrel with Cromwell*, Camden Soc., 1875, pp. lxvi, 85, 87, 97).

Hesilrige now laid down his commission, and taking his place in parliament became one of the recognised leaders of the independents there. In the summer of 1647 he took part boldly with the army against the presbyterians. He was suspected of complicity in Joyce's seizure of the king, and of arranging the flight of Lenthall to the army. On one occasion he told the House of Commons that he feared the parliament of England would not save the kingdom of England, and that they must look another way for safety (Holles, § 96; Walker, *Hist. of Independency*, ed. 1661, pt. i. pp. 47, 51, 57). On 30 Dec. 1647 the House of Commons approved Fairfax's appointment of Hesilrige as governor of Newcastle, a post which the danger of a war with Scotland made one of consequence and trust (*Commons' Journals*, v. 239). Hesilrige's letters announcing the rising of the cavaliers and their seizure of Berwick (28 April 1648) are printed in Cary's 'Memorials of the Civil War' (i. 397, 410, 413, 419). With the small force at his command he succeeded in maintaining Newcastle, defeating Colonel Grey and the Northumbrian royalists (1 July), and recapturing Tynemouth (11 Aug., Rushworth, viii. 1177 1227). In October he accompanied Cromwell into Scotland, and was entertained with him at Edinburgh by Leven and Argyll (*ib.* p. 1295; Whitelocke, *Memorials*, ed. 1853, ii. 422). When Cromwell, in 1650, invaded Scotland a second time, Hesilrige was charged to raise a second army of new levies to second him (*Mercurius Politicus*, 3 Aug. 1650). To him Cromwell wrote the night before the battle of Dunbar, urging him to gather what forces he could, either to fall on the rear of the Scottish position, or to prevent their further progress into England

[illegible] but refused to act, and also [illegible] take the engagement respectively, although approving of it (Nalson, *Impartial Collections*, I. p. 3; *Cal. State Papers*, Dom., 1649–50, p. 91). He made a merit of this abstention at the Restoration, but spoke very vaguely of the king's execution in 1660 (Burton, *Diary*, iii. 96, 101). Hesilrige was a member of every council of state elected during the Commonwealth, and steadfastly [illegible] the army's proposal that parliament should dissolve themselves and devolve their authority on a small select council. "I told them," he says, "that the work they went about was accursed, that it was impossible to bear the curse" (*ib.* p. 98; cf. Ludlow, [illegible] 178). From the day when Cromwell forcibly expelled the Long parliament, Hesilrige was the bitter enemy of his government. He refused to pay taxes not levied by parliament, and persisted in [illegible] his tenants of [illegible] 10s., 20s., and 40s. apiece (Burton, [illegible]). In 1654, 1656, and 1659 he was returned to parliament for Leicester. At the beginning of the parliament of 1654 he was very instrumental in opening the eyes [illegible] members to Cromwell's usurpation; [illegible] excluded (12 Sept.) for refusing to take the engagement to the [illegible] and the new constitution (Ludlow, [illegible]; *State Papers*, Dom. 1654, [illegible]). For the same reason he was excluded from the parliament of [illegible] (appears at the head of the [illegible] signed the protest (White[illegible], Mem., ed. 1853, iv. 274). In [illegible] of the House of Commons [illegible] appointed him one of [illegible] constituted in 1657 in accordance with the terms of the Petition [illegible]. But Hesilrige, in spite of all [illegible] inquiry, and on 25 Jan. [illegible] taking his seat in the commonwealth [illegible] 227; Burton, ii. 346). "The Bishops' seat," he said, "[illegible] not how long after I shall [illegible] lands" (*ib.* ii. 425). Forthwith [illegible] attack the new second [illegible] as a return to the [illegible] monarchy, and urged the restoration of the old House as the [illegible] (*ib.* iii. 407, 436, 462). [illegible] called by Richard Cromwell [illegible] still more prominent [illegible] the government. He [illegible] of the new protector, [illegible] representatives of [illegible] and [illegible] proposed, also [illegible] the bill pass with the other [illegible] pass, we shall not [illegible] and wooden shoes for

the free people of England' (*ib.* iv. 79). He urged the release of Overton and other persons imprisoned by the late protector, and inveighed against his war with Spain. On one occasion he spoke for three hours, giving an exhaustive review of public affairs from the beginning of the Long parliament (*ib.* iii. 27, 117, 457, iv. 86, 152, 271). Even before Richard was forced to dissolve parliament, Hesilrige seems to have begun to intrigue with the officers of the army (THURLOE, vii. 660, 666; LUDLOW, p. 242). Immediately afterwards a meeting took place between Hesilrige and three other republican leaders and some representative officers, in consequence of which the army declared for the restoration of the assembly expelled by them in 1653 (*ib.* p. 246).

Hesilrige now became one of the most powerful men in England. He was a member of the committee of safety (7 May), one of the council of state (17 May), one of the committee of seven for the appointment of officers, and the recognised leader of parliament (*ib.* pp. 257, 259; *Cal. State Papers*, Dom. 1658–9, pp. 341, 349). He was also given the command of the regiment lately Colonel Howard's. But, exaggerating the theoretical claims of the parliament, and forgetting that its power rested solely on the support of the army, he offended the officers by restricting their commissions and injudiciously limiting the Act of Indemnity (LUDLOW, pp. 252, 258). From the beginning he suspected Lambert's designs, and when his officers petitioned that he might be appointed major-general, Hesilrige openly accused them of intending to set up again the rule of 'a single person.' At his instigation, when the officers persisted in their demands, the parliament passed a stringent act against raising money without parliamentary sanction, and cashiered Lambert and seven other officers (BAKER, *Chronicle*, ed. 1670, pp. 676–682). Ludlow, while admitting the rectitude and sincerity of Hesilrige's intentions and his anxiety 'to keep the sword subservient to the civil magistrate,' nevertheless lays on him the blame of the breach, describing him as a man of disobliging carriage, sour and morose in temper, liable to be transported with passion, to whom liberality seemed to be a vice (*Memoirs*, p. 273). After Lambert had turned out the parliament, Hesilrige and others of the old council of state wrote a joint letter to Monck, promising to stand by him in the attempt to restore the parliament (BAKER, p. 695). Then, in company with Colonels Morley and Walton, he repaired to Portsmouth, gained over the governor (3 Dec. 1659), and proceeded to collect troops against Lambert (*A Letter from Sir Arthur Haselrigge in Portsmouth to an Honourable Member of the late Parliament*, 1659; *Several Letters from Portsmouth by Sir Arthur Haslerig, &c., to the Lord Fleetwood*, 1659; LUDLOW, pp. 284, 291, 297).

Monck's march into England and the restoration of the Rump were both facilitated by this demonstration. Hesilrige marched into London at the head of a body of cavalry, received the thanks of parliament, and was appointed one of the new council of state (2 Jan. 1660). On 11 Feb. 1659–60 he was named one of the five commissioners for the government of the army (*Commons' Journals*, vii. 841). Blind to the precariousness of his position, he was 'so elevated that he could scarce discern friend from foe, and eager for the punishment of the officers who had acted against parliament' (LUDLOW, pp. 284, 308). Monck's ambiguous conduct roused his suspicions for a moment, but they were stilled by the general's protestations of devotion to 'the good old cause,' which he swallowed with the greatest credulity (*ib.* pp. 311, 317, 320, 323). He not only consented to the removal of his own regiment from London, but agreed to a conference with the secluded members, and even to their readmission to parliament. Then, when it was too late to resist, he found himself accused of intriguing with Lambert and other officers against Monck, and sank into the deepest dejection (*ib.* pp. 325, 330; BAKER, p. 709). According to some accounts, he sought to prevent a restoration by urging Monck to assume the crown (*ib.* p. 715; *Clarendon State Papers*, iii. 706). Failing in that, he promised to stop all further opposition on receiving an engagement from Monck that his own life should be safe in the event of the return of the Stuarts (*ib.* iii. 740; *Egerton MS.* 2618, f. 71). Though his son took part in Lambert's rising, he remained passive himself (KENNETT, *Register*, p. 120).

When the Restoration did take place, he presented a petition urging his innocence so far as the king's trial was concerned; but so bitter was the feeling of royalists and presbyterians against him, that Monck's intervention alone saved his life (*Cal. State Papers*, Dom. 1660–1, p. 8; *Old Parliamentary History*, xxii. 348, 402, 434, 444, 451). By section 40 of the Act of Indemnity Hesilrige was excepted for pains and penalties not extending to life, to be imposed by a future act for that purpose. The rest of his life was passed in the Tower, where he died on 7 Jan. 1660–1 (NICHOLS, pp. 749, 753). His epitaph is given by Nichols, who mentions a portrait.

He was succeeded in the family estates by his son, Thomas Hesilrige. Sir Arthur Grey Hesilrige, the eleventh baronet, altered the spelling of his surname to Hazlerigg by license dated 8 July 1818 (FOSTER, *Baronetage*, 1883).

[Nichols's History of Leicestershire, pt. ii.; Ludlow's Memoirs, ed. 1751, folio; Diary of Thomas Burton, ed. J. T. Rutt, 1828; authorities cited above.] C. H. F.

**HESKETH, HARRIET, LADY** (1733–1807), friend of Cowper, baptised at Hertingfordbury, Hertfordshire, on 12 July 1733, was the daughter and coheiress of Ashley Cowper (1701–1788), clerk of the parliaments, third son of Spencer Cowper (1669–1727) [q. v.] the judge. Her mother was Dorothy, daughter of John Oakes (CLUTTERBUCK, *Hertfordshire*, ii. 195). She married Thomas Hesketh of Rufford, Lancashire, who was created a baronet on 5 May 1761, and died without issue on 4 March 1778, aged 51. Lady Hesketh was the friend and favourite correspondent of her cousin William Cowper (1731–1800) [q. v.] the poet. She supplied William Hayley [q. v.] with most of the materials for his life of Cowper. Hayley's correspondence with her is now in the British Museum, Addit. MS. 30803 A, B. Lady Hesketh died at Clifton, near Bristol, on 15 Jan. 1807 (*Gent. Mag.* 1807, pt. i. p. 94).

[Betham's Baronetage, iii. 298; Burke's Peerage, 1889, p. 708. See also art. COWPER, WILLIAM (1731–1800), the poet.] G. G.

**HESKETH, HENRY** (1637?–1710), divine, was born in Cheshire about 1637. In June 1653 he was admitted a commoner of Brasenose College, Oxford, and proceeded B.A. on 13 Oct. 1656 (WOOD, *Fasti Oxon.* ed. Bliss, ii. 192). He was rector of Charlwood, Surrey, and chaplain in ordinary to Charles II when on 11 Nov. 1678 he was chosen vicar of St. Helen, Bishopsgate. Manning and Bray wrongly give the date of his institution to Charlwood as 1685 (*Surrey*, ii. 193). He also became chaplain to William III. He was a popular preacher, and published numerous sermons. In 1689–90 he was nominated bishop of Killala, but was not consecrated, and in January 1694 he resigned the vicarage of St. Helen (J. E. Cox, *Annals of St. Helen's*, p. 55). He appears to have died in December 1710. He married, first, in 1662, Sarah, daughter of Thomas Mulcaster, rector of Charlwood; and secondly, in 1687, Mary Pillet of St. Helen, Bishopsgate (CHESTER, *London Marriage Licenses*, ed. Foster, col. 672).

He was author of: 1. 'Piety the best Rule of Orthodoxy: or an Essay upon this proposition, that the conduciveness of doctrines to holiness, or vice, is the best rule for private Christians to judge the truth or falsehood of them by, in a letter to his honoured friend, H. M.,' 8vo, London, 1680. 2. 'The Charge of Scandal and giving offence by Conformity refelled and reflected back upon Separation,' [anon.], 4to, London, 1683; also in vol. i. of 'A Collection of Cases . . . written to recover Dissenters to the Communion of the Church of England,' 4to, London, 1685. 3. 'An Exhortation to frequent receiving the Holy Sacrament . . . being the substance of several sermons preached in St. Hellens Church, London,' 12mo, London, 1684. The work cited by Wood (*Athenæ Oxon.* ed. Bliss, iv. 604–5) as 'The Case of Eating and Drinking unworthily stated, and the Scruples of coming to the Holy Sacrament upon the danger of unworthiness satisfied,' &c., 8vo, London, 1689, is apparently another edition.

[Manning and Bray's Surrey, ii. 275; Newcourt's Repertorium, ii. 365.] G. G.

**HESKETH, SIR PETER** (1801–1866), founder of the town of Fleetwood. [See FLEETWOOD, SIR PETER HESKETH.]

**HESKETH, RICHARD** (1562–1593), Roman catholic exile, third son of Sir Thomas Hesketh of Rufford and Martholme, by Alice, daughter of Sir John Holcroft of Holcroft, was baptised at Great Harwood, near Blackburn, Lancashire, on 28 July 1562, and brought up in the catholic religion. He joined the English refugees on the continent, and probably served in Sir William Stanley's regiment in Flanders. On the death of Henry Stanley, fourth earl of Derby [q. v.], in September 1592, Hesketh was commissioned by Sir William Stanley and the jesuit Father Holt to encourage the earl's son and successor, Ferdinando, lord Strange, to lay claim to the succession to the crown after the death of Elizabeth, on the ground that the Stanleys 'were next in propinquity of blood' to the queen. Hesketh was directed to promise Spanish aid. The new Earl of Derby refused to entertain Hesketh's proposals, and delivered him to justice. He was executed at St. Albans on 29 Nov. 1593, and when on the scaffold, 'naming Sir William Stanley and others, cursed the time he had ever known anie of them' (SADLER, *State Papers*, iii. 20, Appendix). Dodd denounces as a calumny Hesketh's assertion that the catholic exiles had set him upon the project (*Church Hist.* ii. 160).

[See art. STANLEY, FERDINANDO, fifth EARL OF DERBY; Strype's Annals, iv. 103, 148, fol.; Collier's Eccl. Hist. (Barham), vii. 253; Cardinal Allen's Defence of Sir W. Stanley, ed. Heywood

(Chetham Soc.), Introd. p. xlii; Letters and Memorials of Cardinal Allen; Gillow's Bibl. Dict.] T. C.

**HESKETH**, ROGER, D.D. (1643–1715), Roman catholic controversialist, born in 1643, was a younger son of Gabriel Hesketh, gentleman, of Whitehill, Goosnargh, Lancashire, by Ann, daughter of Robert Simpson of Barker in Goosnargh. He received his education in the English College at Lisbon, was ordained priest and made procurator of the college in 1667, and confessarius in 1672. He began to teach philosophy in January 1675–6, and divinity in September 1677. On 6 Dec. 1678 he was appointed vice-president, and he held that office till 1686, when he was recalled to England by Bishop Leyburne. He left Lisbon on 29 April in that year, being then a doctor of divinity. When Dr. Watkinson desired to resign the presidency of the college at Lisbon, Hesketh was nominated his successor; but Watkinson was induced to retain the presidency. In 1694 Hesketh was elected a capitular, and in 1710 he assisted at the general chapter. He served the mission in Lincolnshire, probably at Hainton, the seat of the Heneage family, and died in April 1715, aged 71.

He wrote a treatise on transubstantiation, one of the numerous anonymous tracts published in the reign of James II. Dodd says it was written in answer to John Patrick, M.A., preacher at the Charterhouse, and he adds that a reply to Hesketh's treatise was published by Edward Bernard, D.D. [q. v.]

[Information from Joseph Gillow, esq.; Kirk's MS. Bicg. Collections, No. 23, quoted in Gillow's Bibl. Dict.; Catholic Mag. and Review (1835), vi. 105; Dodd's Certamen Utriusque Ecclesiæ, pp. 16, 17; Fishwick's Parochial Chapelry of Goosnargh, pp. 160, 162*.] T. C.

**HESKETH** or **HASKET**, THOMAS (1561–1613), botanist, brother of Richard Hesketh [q. v.], was born at Martholme Hall, Blackburn, Lancashire, in 1561. He practised as a physician and surgeon at Clitheroe, where he died 7 Dec. 1613. He seems to have been a correspondent of Gerard, if not also of Johnson and Parkinson, the latter speaking of him as 'a painefull chirurgion and simplist.'

[Palatine Note-book, 1885, v. 7; Pulteney's Biog. Sketches of Botany, i. 124; Gerard's Herbal, ed. Johnson, pp. 241, 780, 1629, &c.; Parkinson's Theatrum Botanicum, pp. 766, 1015, &c.] G. S. B.

**HESKYNS** or **HESKIN**, THOMAS, D.D. (*fl.* 1566), Roman catholic divine, was a native of Heskin, in the parish of Eccleston, Lancashire. After studying for twelve years at Oxford, he removed to Cambridge, where he commenced M.A. in 1540, being then a priest and a fellow of Clare Hall. He graduated B.D. at Cambridge in 1548. When it was proposed in 1549 to suppress Clare Hall in order to unite it to Trinity Hall, Heskyns signed a paper stating that as an obedient subject to the king he consented to the dissolution, though it was done contrary to his oath to the college. He was rector of Hildersham, Cambridgeshire, from 1551 to 1556, and was created D.D. in 1557. On 18 Oct. 1558 he was admitted to the chancellorship of the church of Sarum by the mandate of Cardinal Pole (*Lansdowne MS.* 980, f. 261), and on 16 Nov. the same year he became vicar of Brixworth, Northamptonshire, on his own petition, that benefice being in his gift as chancellor of Sarum. In August 1559 he was deprived of all his preferments for refusing to swear to the queen's supremacy. Thereupon he withdrew to Flanders, entered the Dominican order, and became confessor to some English Dominican nuns at Bergen-op-Zoom, whither they had been permitted to retire from England in the first year of Elizabeth's reign. Some years later Heskyns secretly returned to this country, for in 1565 Dr. Philip Baker [q. v.], provost of King's College, Cambridge, was charged with having entertained him. It was stated that Heskyns had been brought to Baker's table at Cambridge in the dark, and conveyed away again in the like manner (Cooper, *Annals of Cambridge*, ii. 225). He was much esteemed by the catholics on account of his zeal for their cause. A portrait of him on wood is prefixed to the Antwerp edition of his 'Parliament of Chryste.' It is not known when or where he died.

He wrote 'The Parliament of Chryste, avouching and declaring the enacted and receaved Trueth of the Presence of his Bodie and Bloode in the Blessed Sacrament, and of other Articles concerning the same, impugned in a wicked Sermon by M. Juel,' Brussels, 1565, fol., Antwerp, 1566, fol. Two replies to this work were published by William Fulke [q. v.] in 1579, one being entitled 'Heskins' Parliament Repealed.'

[Cooper's Athenæ Cantabr. i. 419; Addit. MSS. 5808 f. 112, 5871 ff. 107, 154; Gillow's Bibl. Dict.; Pits, De Angliæ Scriptoribus, p. 765; Lamb's Cambridge Documents, pp. 113, 223; Dodd's Church Hist. i. 525; Strype's Works (general index); Gough's Index to Parker Soc. Publications; Tanner's Bibl. Brit.; Ames's Typogr. Antiq. (Herbert), pp. 1057, 1059, 1148; Le Neve's Fasti (Hardy), ii. 652; Cooper's Annals of Cambridge, v. 262, 263; Bromley's Cat. of Engraved Portraits, p. 35.] T. C.

**HESLOP, LUKE** (1738–1825), archdeacon of Buckingham, was born and baptised on St. Luke's day, 18 Oct. 1738. He was admitted a sizar at Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, 30 May 1760; was appointed chapel clerk on 31 Oct. following; was elected a Sterne scholar 19 Oct. 1764, a Spencer scholar November 1764, and a fellow of his college 26 Jan. 1769. In 1764 he was senior wrangler. He graduated B.A. 1764, M.A. 1767, and B.D. 1775. He was an unsuccessful candidate for the professorship of chemistry in 1771, but served as moderator (1772–3). John Green [q. v.], bishop of Lincoln, a former master of Corpus Christi, appointed Heslop his examining chaplain, and on 2 Sept. 1778 collated him to the archdeaconry of Buckingham, together with a prebendal stall at Lincoln. On 28 Sept. 1776 he was appointed prebendary in St. Paul's Cathedral and vicar of St. Peter-le-Poor, London. He was subsequently rector of Adstock, Buckinghamshire, for upwards of twenty-five years, holding in addition during the latter part of the period the rectory of Addington. In 1803 he became rector of Bothal in Northumberland, but soon resigned the living on being appointed rector of St. Marylebone, London, and vicar of St. Augustine's in Bristol. In 1809 he settled in Marylebone and devoted himself to his extensive parish. Few men ever held successively more church preferments, yet he died a comparatively poor man at 27 Nottingham Place, Marylebone, on 23 June 1825, aged 87. His constitution was remarkably vigorous, and for eighty years he never suffered from ill-health. He was buried in the new church of St. Marylebone. He married in 1773 Dorothy, daughter of Dr. Reeve. She died at Bury, 28 Dec. 1827. Heslop was the author of two sermons and a charge (1807) and of: 1. 'Observations on the Statute of 31 Geo. II, c. 29, concerning the Assize of Bread,' 1799, 4to. 2. 'A Comparative Statement of the Food produced from Arable and Grass Land and the returns from each, with Observations on Inclosures and the Effect of an Act for Enclosing Commons,' 1801, 4to. 3. 'Observations on the Duty of Property,' 1805.

[Gent. Mag. 1826, pt. i. pp. 89–90, 386; Masters's History of Corpus Christi (Lamb's Continuation), 1831, pp. 409–10; information from Dr. Edward H. Perowne, master of Corpus Christi College.] G. C. B.

**HESLOP, THOMAS PRETIOUS** (1823–1885), physician, was born in the West Indies in 1823, his father being a Scottish officer of artillery, and his mother an Irish lady named Owen. His youth was spent with his uncle, Dr. Underhill of Tipton, Staffordshire, by whom he was educated for the medical profession. He completed his course at Dublin and Edinburgh, where he graduated M.D. in 1848. After being house-physician to the General Hospital, Birmingham, from 1848 to 1852, Heslop was lecturer on physiology at Queen's College, Birmingham, from 1853 to 1858, and physician to the Queen's Hospital from 1853 to 1860 and from 1870 to 1882. He actively promoted the establishment of the Women's Hospital, the Free Hospital for Children, and the Skin and Lock Hospital at Birmingham, and of the Birmingham Medical Institute. He did important work as a governor of King Edward's Grammar School, and as chairman of Mason's College; to the latter institution he gave a library of eleven thousand books. He died near Braemar on 17 June 1885, of angina pectoris, and was buried at Dublin on 20 June. Heslop wrote 'The Realities of Medical Attendance on the Sick Children of the Poor in Large Towns,' 1869.

[Birmingham Daily Post, 18, 19, 20 June 1885.] G. T. B.

**HESSE-HOMBURG, LANDGRAVINE OF** (1770–1840). [See ELIZABETH, PRINCESS.]

**HESSEL, PHŒBE** (1713?–1821), reputed female soldier and centenarian, was buried, according to the registers of Brighthelmstone (Brighton) parish, Sussex, on 16 Dec. 1821, at the age of 108 years (*Notes and Queries*, 5th ser. i. 222). A tombstone in Brighton churchyard, erected by a local tradesman soon afterwards, relates that Phœbe Hessel, born in Stepney in 1713, 'served in many parts of Europe as a private soldier in the 5th regiment of foot,' and that she was wounded at Fontenoy (where the 5th foot was not present), and died 12 Dec. 1821 (*ib.* 1st ser. vi. 170). Different writers, among them Erredge, the Brighton historian, and Hone (*Year-Book*, p. 210), give portraits of her as a well-known 'character' in Brighton, accompanied by accounts of her military career taken down from her own lips. It is not unlikely that she had served in the ranks, and if not actually a centenarian attained a great age; but the stories, as given, are utterly inconsistent with each other and with the facts of regimental history.

[The facts have been fully discussed in Nav. and Mil. Gazette, 1853, p. 630, and by Mr. W. J. Thoms in Notes and Queries, 5th ser. i. 222 et seq.] H. M. C.

**HESTER, JOHN** (*d.* 1593), distiller, or, as he styled himself, 'practitioner in the Spagericall Arte,' carried on business at Paul's

Wharf, London, from about 1579 until his death in 1593. From time to time he issued in folio sheets curious advertisements of his preparations. His recipes were purchased by James Fourestier, distiller, of Blackfriars. Hester was author of: 1. 'The Pearle of Practise, or Practisers Pearle, for Phisicke and Chirurgerie. Found out by I. H(ester) . . . Since his death garnished and brought into some methode by a welwiller of his [J. Fourestier],' 4to, London, 1594. 2. 'The first (— the second) part of the Key of Philosophie. Wherein is contained most excellent secretes of Phisicke and Philosophie, divided into two bookes,' 2 pts., 8vo, London, 1596. He also made the following translations: 1. 'A Short Discours of . . . L. Phioravanti uppon Chirurgerie . . . Translated out of Italyan . . . by J. Hester,' 4to, London, 1580. 2. 'A Compendium of the Rationall Secretes of the . . . moste excellent Doctour of Phisicke . . . L. Phioravante . . . devided into three Bookes' [translated and edited by I. Hester], 8vo, London, 1582. 3. 'An Excellent Treatise teaching howe to cure the French-Pockes: with all other diseases arising and growing thereof, and in a manner all other sicknesses. Drawne out of the Bookes of . . . T. Paracelsus. Compiled by . . . P. Hermanus, and now put into English by J. Hester,' 4to, London, 1590. 4. 'The Sclopotarie of Iosephus Quercetanus . . . or His booke containing the cure of Wounds received by shot of Gunne or such like Engines of Warre. Published into English by I. Hester,' 8vo, London, 1590. 5. 'A Breefe Aunswere of Iosephus Quercetanus . . . to the exposition of Iacobus Aubertus Vindonis concerning the original and causes of Mettalles. Set foorth against Chimists. Another . . . treatise of the same Iosephus concerning the Spagericall preparations, and use of minerall, animall, and vegitable medicines. Whereunto is added divers rare Secretes . . . By I. Hester,' 2 pts., London, 1591, 8vo. 6. 'A hundred and foureteene Experiments and Cures of . . . Paracelsus. Translated out of the Germane tongue into the Latin. . . . Whereunto is added certaine . . . workes by B. G. à Portu Aquitano, also certaine Secrets of Isacke Hollandus concerning the Vegetall and Animall worke. Also the Spagericke Antidotarie for gunneshot of Josephus Quirsitanus, collected [and translated] by J. Hester,' 4to, London, 1596. 7. 'A Discourse upon Chyrurgery . . . Translated out of Italian by J. Hester, . . . and now newly published and augmented, . . . by R. Booth,' 4to, London, 1626.

Hester edited: 'A Joyfull Jewell. Contayning . . . orders, preservatives . . . for the Plague . . . written in the Italian tung by . . . L. Fiorovantie . . . and now . . . translated . . . by T. H(ill),' 4to, London [1579]. 'Olde John Hester' is mentioned as a distinguished chemist in Gabriel Harvey's 'Pierces Supererogation,' 1593 (pp. 39, 194 of J. P. Collier's reprint).

[Tanner's Bibl. Brit.; Brit. Mus. Cat.] G. G.

**HESTON, WALTER** (*fl.* 1350), Carmelite, was a Cambridge scholar and doctor of divinity, who is said to have obtained a great reputation as a philosopher and theologian. He belonged to the Carmelite house at Stamford. Tanner, on the authority of Bale, states that he was never provincial or vicar-general of the order in England; Cosmas de Villiers, however, says that he was so styled in the general chapters of the order held at Metz in 1348, Toulouse 1351, Perpignan 1354, and Ferrara 1357. He is said to have died and been buried at Stamford. He is also called Hessodunus, Nestonus, or Keso. According to Bale, he wrote, among other works: 1. 'Quæstiones de Anima.' 2. 'Propositiones.' Fabricius thinks he is the Walter who was author of certain treatises on logic which are preserved in a manuscript at Turin.

[Bale, x. 91; Harl. MS. 3838, f. 68 *b* (Bale's Heliades); C. de Villiers, Bibl. Carm. i. 579; Tanner, Bibl. Brit.-Hib. p. 400; Fabricius, Bibl. Lat. Med. Ætatis, iii. 115, ed. 1754.]

C. L. K.

**HETHERINGTON, HENRY** (1792–1849), printer and publisher of unstamped newspapers, born in Compton Street, Soho, London, in 1792, was apprenticed to Luke Hansard [q. v.] the parliamentary printer. He afterwards went to Belgium, but soon returned to London. Hetherington was one of the most energetic working men engaged with Dr. Birkbeck in establishing the Mechanics' Institution in London. In 1830 he drew up a 'Circular for the Formation of Trades Unions,' which formed the basis of the 'National Union of the Working Classes,' and led eventually to chartism. On 9 July 1831, at his house in Kingsgate Street, he began to issue 'The Poor Man's Guardian, a Weekly Paper for the People, price one penny.' On the title appeared the words 'Published in defiance of the "law" to try the power of "right" against "might."' It was edited, printed, and published by Hetherington. Politics as well as news were then taxed, but Hetherington refused to pay. Working men needed knowledge, and Hetherington was their foremost champion in procuring the repeal of the newspaper tax. He published many weekly papers, but the 'Poor Man's

Guardian,' remained to the last his principal achievement.

In 1832 Hetherington was imprisoned for six months in Clerkenwell gaol, and a second time for six months for issuing his newspaper in defiance of the law, but the regular issue of the 'Guardian' was not affected. Hetherington's was by no means a profitable business. He had to leave his shop disguised and return to it disguised—sometimes as a quaker, a waggoner, or a costermonger. After one of his flights he returned to London to see his dying mother, when a Bow Street runner seized him as he was knocking at the door. To distribute his paper dummy parcels were sent off in one direction by persons instructed to make all resistance they could to constables who seized them; in the meantime real parcels were sent by another road. His shopmen were imprisoned, his premises entered, his property taken, and men brought into the house by constables, who broke up with blacksmiths' hammers his press and his type. Hetherington started a new weekly paper called 'The Destructive and Poor Man's Conservative' on 2 Feb. 1833. The 'Conservative,' as his new venture was jocularly called, was a journal in defence of trades unions. The 'Guardian' was still appearing, and for the publication of that journal and of the 'Conservative' he was indicted anew in 1834. The case came for trial before Lord Lyndhurst. Hetherington defended himself with force and relevance. The verdict was for the crown on the 'Conservative,' and the penalties were 120*l.* On the 'Poor Man's Guardian,' Hetherington was acquitted. At last No. 159 of the 'Poor Man's Guardian' bore these words: 'This paper, after sustaining a persecution of three years and a half duration, in which upwards of five hundred persons were imprisoned for vending it, was declared in the Court of Exchequer to be a strictly legal publication.' Politics were henceforth free, but news unstamped remained illegal, and the taxes on the press, in addition to the stamp, were still serious. Hetherington stated to the jury 'he paid 500*l.* a year duty on the paper he consumed.'

In Dec. 1840 Hetherington was indicted for publishing 'Haslam's Letters to the Clergy of all Denominations,' whose arguments were mainly directed against passages which the writer thought cruel or immoral in the Old Testament. Hetherington defended himself, and Lord Denman, who was judge, spoke of his defence 'as one to which he had listened with feelings of great interest and sentiments of respect too.' Mr. Justice Talfourd afterwards said that 'Hetherington conducted his defence with great propriety and talent.' Sentence was deferred, but he was ultimately imprisoned for four months. Acting on the advice of Francis Place, Hetherington, to ascertain whether the law had an equal application to gentlemen and workmen, indicted Moxon, the publisher of Shelley's works, for blasphemy in June 1841. Serjeant Talfourd, who was engaged for the defence of Moxon, contended that there 'must be some alteration of the law, or some restriction of the right to put it in action,' but Moxon was found guilty. Hetherington was not less active in trades unionism and in chartism. Besides drawing up the 'Circular for the Formation of Trades Unions,' he sat in chartist conventions. He died at 57 Judd Street, London, on 24 Aug. 1849, of cholera, through trusting to his temperance, and not accepting aid in time. At his burial at Kensal Green two thousand persons were present, his friend G. J. Holyoake delivering his funeral oration from the tomb of Captain Williams, the 'Publicola' of the 'Weekly Dispatch,' who had defended Hetherington with his pen. Hetherington was ready of speech, with an honest voice, disinterested earnestness, strong common sense, and indignation without anger, which he owed to discipleship of Robert Owen.

[Trial of H. Hetherington before Lord Denman, 1840; G. J. Holyoake's Life of Henry Hetherington, 1849; Reasoner, vol. vii. 1849; G. J. Holyoake's Last Trial by Jury, 1878; Poor Man's Guardian, 1834–5.] G. J. H.

**HETHERINGTON, WILLIAM MAXWELL** (1803–1865), Scottish poet and divine, was born 4 June 1803 in the parish of Troqueer, on the opposite bank of the Nith from Dumfries. Receiving a parish school education, he was bred a gardener, but entered the university of Edinburgh in 1822, and became a distinguished student. Before completing his studies for the church he published, in 1829, 'Twelve Dramatic Sketches founded on the Pastoral Poetry of Scotland,' being faithful delineations of scenery and manners familiar to the author, interspersed with graceful and melodious lyrics. Hetherington became minister of Torphichen, Linlithgow, in 1836; in 1843 he adhered to the free church, and in 1844 was appointed to a charge in St. Andrews; he became minister of Free St. Paul's, Edinburgh, in 1848; and was appointed professor of apologetics and systematic theology in New College, Glasgow, in 1857. He died 23 May 1865. In 1836 he married Jessie, daughter of the Rev. Dr. Meek of Hamilton.

Besides his poems Hetherington published: 1. 'The Minister's Family,' 1838, a popular evangelical work. 2. 'History of the Church of Scotland from the Introduction of Christianity to the Period of the Disruption,

May 18, 1843,' 1843. It was preceded by an essay 'On the Principles and Constitution of the Church of Scotland,' and reached a seventh edition in 1852. Its purpose being manifest rather impairs its value as an historical authority. 3. 'History of the Westminster Assembly of Divines,' 1843. A useful work of reference, especially as edited and annotated in 1878 by the Rev. R. Williamson. In 1844 Hetherington established the 'Free Church Magazine,' which he edited for four years. He also contributed to religious periodicals, especially the 'British and Foreign Evangelical Review,' and published sermons, poems, and some small religious works.

[Glasgow and Edinburgh newspapers, May 1865; Rogers's Scottish Minstrel; Grant Wilson's Poets and Poetry of Scotland; Hew Scott's Fasti Eccl. Scot. i. 204.] T. B.

**HETON, MARTIN, D.D.** (1552-1609), bishop of Ely, was son of George Heton of Heton Hall in the parish of Dean, Lancashire, and Joanna, the daughter of Sir Martin Bowes [q. v.], lord mayor of London in 1545. Martin, born at Heton Hall in 1552, was dedicated 'to the service of God and of the Reformed Church' by his mother, who died at his birth. He was educated at Westminster School, whence he proceeded to Christ Church, Oxford, in 1571 as student. He graduated B.A. 17 Dec. 1574, M.A. 2 May 1578, B.D. 6 July 1584, D.D. 6 July 1589 (*Reg. Univ. Oxf.* II. iii. 44, Oxf. Hist. Soc.) He became celebrated as an able and subtle disputant, first in philosophy, and subsequently in theology (cf. *ib.* i. 129). In December 1582 he was appointed to a canonry at Christ Church. He was nominated vice-chancellor 16 July 1588 (*ib.* ii. 165), and in the following year, at the early age of thirty-six, he succeeded Dr. Humphrey as dean of Winchester. When Elizabeth visited the university of Oxford in 1592, he was one of the divines appointed to preach at Christ Church (*ib.* i. 229). He was present at the convocation, 16 March 1592-3, and was one of the deans of the newly erected cathedral churches (formerly monastic) who petitioned Burghley for the confirmation of their grants (STRYPE, *Parker*, iii. 264-5, *Whitgift*, ii. 143-5). In 1598-9 he was compelled by Elizabeth to accept the see of Ely, which had lain vacant since the death of Bishop Richard Cox [q. v.], eighteen years before. Elizabeth, shamed at last into filling up the see, found in Heton a compliant instrument for her avarice. He willingly accepted the office on condition of alienating to the queen and her heirs the richest of the few manors still left to the see. Fuller says that 'his memory groaneth under the suspicion of sacrilegious compliances;' but, according to Harington, 'he was compelled in a sort to take the bishoprick on these terms' (HARINGTON, *State of the Church*, pp. 76, 81; FULLER, *Worthies*, i. 543; WILLIS, *Survey of Ely*, i. 340, 361). As bishop he maintained the dignity of the office, being esteemed 'inferior to few of his rank for learning and other good parts belonging to a prelate' (HARINGTON). His hospitality obtained for him the reputation in Ely of being 'the best housekeeper within man's remembrance.' He was considered a learned and able preacher, winning the encomium of James I that while 'fat men were wont to make lean sermons, his were not lean, but larded with much good learning.' He died at Mildenhall in Suffolk, where he had gone for the benefit of his health, 14 July 1609. He was buried in the south aisle of the presbytery of his cathedral, where there is a monument to him, with a life-size alabaster effigy, vested in a rich cope embroidered with figures of the Apostles, and two long eulogistic epitaphs in Latin verse, one written by Dr. William Gager [q. v.], his chancellor, and the other by his nephew, George Heton, B.D., of Cambridge. He was married, and left two daughters, one married to Sir Robert Filmer of Kent, the other to Sir Edward Fish of Bedfordshire. In his lifetime he contributed 40*l.* to purchase books for the newly established Bodleian Library. There is a portrait of him in the palace at Ely, which has been engraved by Harding, 8vo and 4to. Another portrait is in the hall of Christ Church, Oxford. He was succeeded in his see by Lancelot Andrewes [q. v.]

A near relative, THOMAS HETON, who was a London cloth merchant in close business relations with Flanders, was an enthusiastic protestant, and on Mary's accession received into his house in Flanders Pilkington, Sampson, and other protestant refugees from England. In 1573 he negotiated for the settlement of English cloth merchants at Emden, so that they might avoid Spanish exactions. He seems to have died in want (cf. STRYPE, *Whitgift*, ii. 424, *Memorials*, p. 225, and *Annals*, II. i. 397).

[Bentham's Ely, pp. 195-7; Godwin, De Præsul. i. 274; Browne Willis, i. 340, 361; Harington's Brief View, pp. 76-81; Fuller's Worthies, i. 543; Wood's Athenæ, ii. 847; Strype's Annals, iv. 490, Parker, iii. 264-5, Whitgift, ii. 143-5. For his alienations see Cole MSS. xix. 107-9, xlvi. 186-90.] E. V.

**HEUGH, HUGH, D.D.** (1782-1846), presbyterian divine, was the son of the Rev. John Heugh (1731-1810), minister of View-

field Associate Church, Stirling, and grandson of the Rev. John Heugh, A.M. (1688–1731), parish minister of Kingoldrum, Forfarshire. His father was for some time professor of ethics to the antiburgher synod, now absorbed in the united presbyterian church. He was born at Stirling in 1782, and was ordained as colleague to his father on 14 Aug. 1806. Heugh took part in the negotiations during 1818 to 1820, which led to the union of the two branches of the secession church, and was moderator of the general associate synod in 1819. In September 1821 he was translated to the charge of a new congregation that had been founded in Regent Place, Glasgow. He was one of the pioneers of the home and foreign mission schemes in connection with the secession church, and his congregation became one of the largest of that body in Glasgow. The degree of D.D. was conferred upon him by the college of Pittsburg, Pennsylvania, U.S.A., in 1831. In May 1834 he was one of the deputation appointed by the united secession church to attend the meeting of the English congregational union at London. He died 10 June 1846. In the records of the kirk session of Regent Place, where his death is referred to, he is described as 'illustrious for his piety, wisdom, devotedness, liberality, and zealous and unwearied exertions for the support and extension of the cause of Christ.' A memoir of Heugh was published by his son-in-law, the Rev. Hamilton M. Macgill, D.D., together with his select works (2 vols. 8vo, 1850; 2nd edition, 1852). His principal works were: 1. 'The Spirit of the Gospel amidst Religious Differences' (preached before the general associate synod, 1819). 2. 'Christian Liberty.' 3. 'Importance of Early Piety,' Glasgow, 1826. 4. 'Synodical Addresses on Missions and Revivals.' 5. 'The Voluntary Controversy' (pamphlets). 6. 'Notices of the State of Religion in Geneva and Belgium,' Glasgow, 1844. 7. 'Irenicum, an Inquiry into the real amount of the differences alleged to exist in the Synod of the Secession Church on the Atonement and Doctrines connected with it.' 8. 'Statement of Principles.' 9. 'Christian Beneficence,' &c.

[McKelvie's Annals and Statistics of the United Presb. Church; McKerrow's Hist. of Secession Church; Macgill's Memoir of Dr. Heugh; Hew Scott's Fasti Eccl. Scot. (for account of grandfather. John Heugh); Hist. Memoranda of Regent Place United Presb. Church, 1869; private information.] A. H. M.

**HEVENINGHAM, WILLIAM** (1604–1678), regicide, member of an influential family seated at Ketteringham in Norfolk, born in 1604, was the eldest surviving son of Sir John Heveningham, knt. (1577–1633), of Ketteringham, by his second wife, Bridget (*d.* 1624), daughter of Christopher Paston of Paston, Norfolk (Pedigree facing p. 5 of HUNTER's *Ketteringham*, also p. 41). In 1633 he was chosen sheriff of Norfolk (*Vicecomites Norfolciæ*, 1843). On 27 Oct. 1640 he was elected M.P. for Stockbridge in the county of Southampton (*Lists of Members of Parliament, Official Return*, pt. i. 493). At the outbreak of the civil war he took sides with the parliament. He advanced 250*l.* presumably for the garrison of Newport Pagnell, Buckinghamshire, which was ordered to be repaid him by the collector of the county of Suffolk on 31 Jan. 1644 (*Commons' Journals*, iv. 37). In January 1646 he was serving on the committee of the Eastern Association (*Hist. MSS. Comm.* 8th Rep. pt. i. p. 10 *a*). On being nominated one of the high court of justice to try the king he attended on 22, 23, and 27 Jan. 1649, when the sentence was confirmed, but refused to sign the death-warrant. He was constituted a member of the council of state on the following 13 Feb., and placed on various committees (*Cal. State Papers*, Dom. 1649–50 p. 6, 1650 p. 322). At the sales of bishops' lands he purchased, on 1 June 1649, the manors of Dalston, Rose Castle, and Linstock, the property of the diocese of Carlisle, for 4,161*l.* 12*s.* 10*d.* (*Collectanea Topographica et Genealogica*, i. 290). In 1651 he became vice-admiral of Suffolk (*Cal. State Papers*, Dom. 1651 p. 241, 1651–1652 pp. 130, 550). At the Restoration Heveningham surrendered upon the proclamation of 6 June 1660, and stated that he was the very first to come in. Between 21 May 1660 and 7 Feb. 1662 he petitioned the lords four times for mercy on the plea that he refused to consent to the king's death in spite of Bradshaw's importunity. He also asserted that he had furnished 500*l.* towards Sir George Booth's [see BOOTH, GEORGE, first LORD DELAMERE] expedition in 1659. He boasted of generosity towards his dead brother, the loyalist Colonel Arthur Heveningham (*d.* 1657) (*Hist. MSS. Comm.* 7th Rep. pt. i. pp. 86, 125, 129, 158). His brother's widow Jane (then Mrs. Wakeham), however, declared that he had defrauded her and her family and turned them out of doors without means of support (*Cal. State Papers*, Dom. 1660–1 p. 360, 1661–2 p. 351). On 18 Oct. 1660 he was tried at the Sessions House in the Old Bailey. He was brought up by himself on 19 Oct., and sentence of death formally passed (COBBETT, *State Trials*, v. 995, 1000, 1219, 1225, 1229–30). He was then imprisoned in Windsor Castle, attainted,

and deprived of his estates. The crown, however, made a grant of the property, on 26 Sept. 1661, to Brian, viscount Cullen, and four others, as trustees for his wife, Lady Mary Heveningham, and thus the estate was recovered to the family (*Cal. State Papers*, Dom. 1661–2, pp. 97, 158). Owing to the exertions of the Careys, earls of Dover, into which family Heveningham had married, Charles ultimately resolved to spare his life (*ib.* Dom. 1660–1, pp. 312, 313). In 1662 Lady Mary Heveningham petitioned the king to be allowed to remove her husband from Windsor Castle to her own house at Heveningham in Suffolk (*ib.* 1661–2, p. 624). On 15 Aug. 1664 a warrant was issued to Lord Mordaunt, constable of Windsor Castle, to take Heveningham into custody and keep him safe until further orders (*ib.* Dom. 1663–4, p. 667). In September 1667 he was still confined in Windsor Castle (*ib.* Dom. 1667, p. 465). He died on 21 Feb. 1677–8, and was buried in Ketteringham Church on the 25th of the same month (parish register). His grave is covered with a plain slab of black marble. During the same year, 1678, Lady Mary Heveningham erected on the north side of the chancel a sumptuous marble monument to herself, children, and husband, but carefully omitted his name from the inscription. Heveningham was twice married, first by license dated 23 Nov. 1629 to Catherine, daughter of Sir Henry Wallop of Farley, Wiltshire (CHESTER, *London Marriage Licenses*, 1521–1869, ed. Foster, col. 673), who died without surviving issue on 13 Aug. 1648, and was buried at Heveningham. He married, secondly, Mary, only surviving daughter and heiress of Sir John Carey, K.B., who succeeded in April 1666 as second earl of Dover. Their son William was knighted on 19 May 1674 (TOWNSEND, *Cat. of Knights*, 1660–1760, p. 35), and was buried at Heveningham on the following 14 Oct. (parish register). Lady Mary Heveningham died at her house in Jermyn Street, London, on 19 Jan. 1695–6, and was buried at Ketteringham on 9 Feb. (*ib.*)

[Information kindly communicated by Sir Francis G. M. Boileau; Joseph Hunter's Hist. and Topography of Ketteringham, 1851; C. J. Palmer's Perlustration of Great Yarmouth, iii. 314–15; Cal. State Papers, Dom. 1650, 1651–2, pp. 130, 550, 1658–9 p. 7, 1660–1 p. 340, 1661–1662 p. 50, 1663–4 pp. 163, 167, 185; Noble's Lives of the English Regicides, i. 348–51 (worthless); will of Lady Mary Heveningham (P. C. C. 138, Bond); Collectanea Topographica et Genealogica, ii. 203; Chester's Westminster Abbey Registers, pp. 13, 191, 220; Chester's London Marriage Licenses, 1521–1869 (Foster), cols. 971, 1066.] G. G.

HEWETT, SIR GEORGE (1750–1840), commander-in-chief in India, born 11 June 1750, was only son of Major Schuckburgh Hewett (a descendant of an old Leicestershire family, who served under the Duke of Cumberland as an officer in the 3rd Buffs) and his wife, Anne Ward. He was sent to the grammar school at Wimborne, Dorsetshire, and his parents having died, resided with the Rev. William Major, rector of Wichley, Wiltshire. In 1761 he was entered as a cadet at the Royal Military Academy, Woolwich, and the year after was given an ensigncy in the 70th foot, whose colonel, Cyrus Trapaud, had been a friend of his father. Hewett accompanied the regiment to the West Indies, where he served ten years. He served against the maroons in Grenada, and was brigade-major of the troops sent from that island to St. Vincent's during the Carib insurrection there. Returning home with his regiment in 1774, he obtained his company the year after, and went with the corps to Halifax, Nova Scotia, whence he was detached with the grenadier company to Long Island, and served with it as part of the 2nd battalion of grenadiers at the siege of Charleston. He afterwards embarked with it as marines on board Admiral Digby's [q. v.] flagship, in which Prince William, afterwards William IV, was serving as midshipman. He obtained a majority by purchase in the 43rd foot, and as deputy quartermaster-general accompanied a brigade of reinforcements under General O'Hara to the West Indies. He returned to New York after Rodney's defeat of the French fleet in 1782. Hewett commanded the 2nd battalion of grenadiers at New York until invalided home. When subsequently doing royal duty with his regiment, the 43rd, at Windsor, then a line station, he was very favourably noticed by George III. He proceeded in command of the regiment to Ireland in 1790. Three years later he was made adjutant-general in Ireland, and held the post until 1799. In 1794 he raised an Irish regiment, numbered as the 92nd—the third of four which have borne that number—which was drafted soon after. He became a major-general in 1796. He is credited with originating the ideas of a brigade of instruction in light duties, the command of which was given to (Sir John) Moore, and of a permanent commissariat staff (*Private Record*, p. 28). Lord Cornwallis refers to Hewett's removal to the English staff in 1799 as a very serious loss (*Cornwallis Correspondence*, iii. 119). Hewett was appointed to succeed Lieutenant-general Fox [see FOX, HENRY EDWARD, 1755–1811] as head of the recruiting department in 1799, with a district

command at Chatham and Maidstone. He was also made colonel-commandant of a new second battalion added to the 5th foot. In 1801 the headquarters of the recruiting department were removed from Chatham to Parkhurst, Isle of Wight, and Hewett was appointed to command the island as a part of the south-western district. He was transferred to the colonelcy of the 61st foot, 4 April 1800. In 1803 he was made inspector-general of the royal army of reserve, a force of forty thousand men raised by ballot under the Defence Acts (see *Ann. Reg.* 1804, Appendix). In 1805 he became barrackmaster-general, and in 1806 was appointed commander-in-chief in the East Indies. He landed in India 17 Oct. 1807, and left 18 Dec. 1811. Among the events of that period were the unfortunate disputes between the Madras officers and the government, and the despatch from India of the expeditions against the Isle of France (Mauritius) and Java. He was commander of the forces in Ireland in 1813–16, and was created a baronet in 1818. Hewett was a G.C.B., a full general, colonel 61st foot, and an Irish privy councillor. He married at Bath, 26 July 1785, Julia, daughter of John Johnson of Blackheath, by whom he had five sons and seven daughters. He is described as a tall, soldierly old man, much beloved in private life. He had resided some years at his seat, Freemantle Park, near Southampton (now the local suburb of that name), and had expressed a particular desire to see the 61st, of which he had been colonel for forty years, on its return home. By a curious coincidence he died suddenly the day the regiment landed at Southampton, 21 March 1840. He was buried in Shirley Church, and a monument was erected to him in the adjacent parish church of Millbrook.

[A Private Record of the Life of Sir George Hewett was privately printed in 1840. Some notices of Hewett in India will be found in Life and Letters of Gilbert Elliot, first Earl of Minto, 1807–14, London, 1879, pp. 147 et seq., 210, 223, 226. See also Foster's Baronetage, under 'Hewett;' Gent. Mag. 1840, pt. i. 539.]

H. M. C.

**HEWETT**, Sir WILLIAM (*d.* 1567), lord mayor of London, son of Edmund Hewett, was born in Wales, a hamlet of Laughton-en-le-Morthen in South Yorkshire. His family had been settled in the adjoining county of Derby from early times. He followed the trade of a clothworker, and after duly serving his apprenticeship was admitted to the freedom of the Clothworkers' Company of London before 1529, in which year he himself took an apprentice as a freeman (*Records of the Company*). He succeeded well in commerce (Stow estimates his 'estate' at 6,000*l.* per annum), and was joined by many of his relatives and friends from Yorkshire. He employed his brother Thomas and the latter's son Henry to assist him in his business, which he probably carried on at a house called the Three Cranes in Candlewick Street, which he bequeathed to his nephew Henry, with remainder to Thomas Hewett.

Hewett became master of the Clothworkers' Company in 1543. He was elected alderman of Vintry on 16 Sept. 1550, and on refusing to serve was committed to Newgate (*City Records*, Repertory 12, pt. ii. fol. 261 *a*). He represented Vintry ward until 9 July 1554, when he removed to Candlewick (*ib.* 13, pt. i. fol. 67). On 11 Feb. 1556–7, in view of the approaching mayoralty duties, he begged to be discharged 'of his cloke and room' (*ib.* 13, pt. ii. fol. 478 *b*), but a small committee appointed by the court of aldermen (1 June) prevailed upon him to alter his decision (*ib.* fol. 512 *b*). He served the office of sheriff in 1553, and was charged with carrying out the sentences of execution upon Lady Jane Grey and her husband, and on Sir Thomas Wyatt's adherents. In the same year he countersigned, with other principal citizens, the letters patent of Edward VI leaving the crown to Lady Jane Grey (Clode, *Early History of the Merchant Taylors' Company*, ii. 119). In 1559 he became lord mayor, being the first member of the Clothworkers' Company to attain that dignity. On 8 June 1560 he presided at the trial of one Chamberlain for treason (*State Papers*, Dom. 1547–1580, p. 160), and on 4 Oct. the queen wrote directing him to affix the marks of a greyhound and portcullis on the testoons in currency, to distinguish the base from the better sort (*ib.* Addit. 1547–65, p. 503). He was knighted at Greenwich by Elizabeth on 21 Jan. 1559–60. Hewett's name appears on the register of admissions to Gray's Inn on 4 March 1565–6, but this date is clearly wrong, since he is described as '*after* lord mayor of London' (Foster, *Register of Admissions to Gray's Inn*, 1889, col. 35). His arms, inscribed with his name, are in Gray's Inn Hall (Dugdale, *Origines Jurid.* p. 306).

Hewett lived in Philpot Lane. He had also a country house at Highgate, and Chief-justice Sir Roger Cholmeley chose him as one of the six governors of his newly established grammar school there in 1565 (Lysons, *Environs of London*, iii. 64). He also possessed the manor of Parsloes in Dagenham, Essex (*ib.* iv. 75), and various other manors and estates in Yorkshire, Derbyshire, and Not-

tinghamshire (HUNTER, *South Yorkshire*, i. 142; MORANT, *Essex*, Beacontree Hundred, pp. 3–4).

Hewett died on 25 Jan. 1566–7, and was buried beside his wife in St. Martin Orgar. His monument perished in the destruction of the church at the great fire of 1666. His will (printed by Mr. Chester Waters in his 'Chesters of Chicheley,' i. 228–9) is dated 3 Jan. 1566–7, and was proved in the P. C. C. 11 March [9 Stonarde]. Stow and Pennant state that a portrait of Hewett in his robes as lord mayor was preserved at Kiveton House, Yorkshire, the seat of the Duke of Leeds; it has since been removed to Hornby Castle. It is a half-length on board; his dress is a black gown, furred, with red vest and sleeves, a gold chain, and a bonnet.

Hewett married Alice, third daughter of Nicholas Leveson of Halling in Kent, a rich mercer of London and sheriff in 1534. Machyn speaks of her as 'the good lady,' for her pious and charitable works. She died on 8 April 1561, and was buried with great pomp on 17 April at St. Martin Orgar. By this marriage Hewett is said to have had several children, all of whom died in infancy except Anne, who was born in 1543, and was twenty-three years old at her father's death. According to Stow, Anne as a child, while playing at one of the windows of her father's house on London Bridge, was dropped by a careless maid into the river, and was rescued by Edward Osborne [q. v.], her father's apprentice. Osborne certainly married her afterwards, being preferred by Sir William above many other suitors, among them George Talbot, sixth earl of Shrewsbury, who was a member of the Clothworkers' Company (*City Records*, Repertory 15, fol. 66), and an intimate friend of Hewett. But the date of 1536 which Pennant assigns to the episode (*Some Account of London*, 1791, p. 322) is wrong, since Hewett had not married his wife, Alice Leveson, on 7 Nov. 1536 (CHESTER WATERS, *Genealogical Memoirs of the Chesters of Chicheley*, i. 227; and statement corrected by the author); nor is there any proof that Hewett ever lived on London Bridge. Osborne, who became lord mayor, inherited through his wife the greater portion of her father's estates (*Inq. post mortem*, W. Hewett, 9 Eliz.), and his great-grandson was the well-known Earl of Danby and Duke of Leeds [see OSBORNE, SIR THOMAS].

[Collections for the Life of Hewett, by Samuel Gregory, preserved at Clothworkers' Hall; Machyn's Diary; Thomson's Chronicles of London Bridge; City Records; Orridge's Citizens of London and their Rulers; Notes and Queries, 2nd ser. vi. 332, 466–7.] C. W–H.

HEWETT, SIR WILLIAM NATHAN WRIGHTE (1834–1888), vice-admiral, son of Dr. William Hewett, physician to William IV, was born at Brighton on 12 Aug. 1834. He entered the navy in March 1847, and served as a midshipman in the Burmese war of 1851. In 1854, while acting mate of the Beagle gun-vessel, he was attached to the naval brigade in the Crimea, and on 26 Oct. was in command of a Lancaster gun in battery before Sebastopol. A column of Russians threatened it in flank, and hurried orders were sent to spike the gun and draw off the men. Hewett boldly answered that he took no orders that did not come from Captain Lushington, the commander of the brigade; and breaking down the side parapet of the battery, he slewed the gun round, and opened a terrible fire of grape on the Russian column, then barely three hundred yards distant. The effect in that part of the field was decisive. A few days later his gallant conduct at Inkerman (5 Nov.) was again reported by Captain Lushington, and he was immediately promoted to be lieutenant, with seniority of 26 Oct. He was also appointed to the command of the Beagle, in which he served during the war, especially in the operations against Kertch and in the Sea of Azof, and which he held after the peace till the summer of 1857. On the institution of the Victoria Cross Hewett was one of the first recipients, his conduct on 26 Oct. and 5 Nov. 1854 being equally named in the 'Gazette,' 24 Feb. 1857 (O'BYRNE, *The Victoria Cross*, p. 43). His rank had been all this time only provisional; he now passed his examination at Portsmouth, and was appointed to the royal yacht, from which he was promoted to the rank of commander 13 Sept. 1858. He then successively commanded the Viper on the west coast of Africa, and the Rinaldo on the North American and West Indian station. On 24 Nov. 1862 he was made a captain. He afterwards commanded the Basilisk on the China station from 1865 to 1869; was flag-captain to Sir Henry Kellett in the Ocean on the China station from 1870 to 1872; was captain of the Devastation 1872–3; and from October 1873 to October 1876 was commodore and commander-in-chief on the west coast of Africa, in charge of the naval operations during the Ashantee war, being present at Amoaful and the capture of Coomassie. For his services during this campaign he was nominated a K.C.B. on 31 March 1874. In May 1877 he was appointed to the Achilles, and commanded her in the Mediterranean and the Sea of Marmora under Sir Geoffrey Hornby. He attained his flag on 21 March 1878, and in April 1882 he was appointed com-

mander-in-chief in the East Indies. During the Egyptian war of 1882 he conducted the naval operations in the Red Sea, especially the occupation of Suez and the seizure of the canal in August. The war in the Eastern Soudan again called him to the Red Sea. After the defeat of the Egyptians at El Teb Hewett landed with a force of seamen and marines for the defence of Suakim, 6 Feb. 1884, and on the 10th was formally appointed governor by Baker Pasha, as representative of the khedive. On the 29th he was present, unofficially, it would seem, at the second battle of El Teb. In April he went on a mission to King John of Abyssinia, whom, by judicious concessions on points relating to traffic, he induced to support the Egyptian garrisons in his neighbourhood, and more especially Kassala. On 8 July 1884 he became a vice-admiral, and from March 1886 to April 1888 was in command of the Channel fleet. He had been for some months in very delicate health, which became seriously worse after his retirement from his command; he was sent as a patient to Haslar Hospital, where he died on 13 May 1888. He married, in 1857, Jane Emily, daughter of Mr. T. Wood, consul for the Morea, and left issue, besides two daughters, three sons, two of whom, William Warrington Hewett and Edward Matson Hewett, are lieutenants in the navy. Besides the K.C.B. he was also K.C.S.I., chevalier of the Legion of Honour, of the Medjidie, and of the Abyssinian order of Solomon.

[Information from Lady Hewett; Navy Lists; Kinglake's War in the Crimea, v. 16; Brackenbury's Ashanti War; Archer's War in Egypt and the Soudan, vol. ii.; Royle's Egyptian Campaigns.] J. K. L.

**HEWIT or HEWETT, JOHN** (1614–1658), royalist divine, fourth son of Thomas Hewett or Huet, a clothworker, was born at Eccles, Lancashire, in September 1614, and baptised there on the 4th of that month. He is said to have been educated first at Bolton-le-Moors and afterwards at Merchant Taylors' School. The last statement is very doubtful. According to the 'Register of Merchant Taylors' School' (ed. Rev. C. J. Robinson, i. 98), the only boy of the name at the school during this period was 'John Hewet,' born in September 1609 and admitted in 1619. But this entry cannot refer to the subject of this article, for the latter was admitted as a sizar at Pembroke College, Cambridge, 13 May 1633, at the age of eighteen, and matriculated 4 July. Of Hewit's Cambridge life it is only known that he never took a degree. He was at Oxford as one of Charles I's chaplains, and received the degree of D.D. by royal mandate on 17 Oct. 1643. Thence he is said to have been sent into Lancashire and Cheshire to advocate the royal cause. A few verses, found in some editions of 'Εἰκὼν Βασιλική,' subscribed 'J. H.,' are attributed to him. He subsequently became chaplain to Montague Bertie [q. v.], second earl of Lindsey, at Havering in Essex, but removed to London on being chosen (in what year is not known) minister of St. Gregory's by St. Paul's. Here he was noted for his effective preaching, both by words and gesture, and for his devout and distinct reading of prayers (D. Lloyd, *Memoirs*, 1668, p. 553), apparently continuing the use of the proscribed church service. Cromwell's daughter Mary was privately married by him to Lord Falconbridge in November 1657 (Clarendon, xv. 101). His loyalty was so openly manifested that he occasionally made collections in his church for the exiled king under the transparent disguise of urging the congregation to 'remember a distressed friend.' When the Marquis of Ormonde came to England in February 1657–8 to ascertain the state of the royalist preparations, Hewit is said to have harboured him in London; but in his speech on the scaffold he declared that he could not remember ever having seen him. He was at the time actively engaged in correspondence with those who were attempting to organise a rising. Upon Cromwell's arresting John Stapley in April 1658, the latter confessed the plot in which he was engaged, related conferences he had held with Hewit, and declared he had received from Hewit's hands a commission from the king. Upon this, Hewit was arrested, and brought for trial before Cromwell's high court of justice on 1 June. Before this court he refused to plead, claiming the right to be tried by a jury, and putting in an able plea which had been drawn up for him by Prynne, and which was printed anonymously in the following year under the title of 'Beheaded Dr. John Hewytt's Ghost pleading.' He was sentenced on 2 June 1658 to be beheaded, and the sentence was carried out, in spite of Mrs. Claypoole's earnest intercession with Cromwell, on 8 June. On the scaffold he was attended by Dr. Wilde and Dr. Warmstry, and also by Dr. John Barwick, to whom shortly before he had entrusted some hundreds of pounds for transmission to the king, and who wore to the end of his life a ring which Hewit then gave him. He was buried on the day following in St. Gregory's Church, and on the next Sunday Nathaniel Hardy [q. v.] preached a funeral sermon on Isaiah lvii. 1, 'The righteous perisheth,' &c., with an outspokenness which implied assurance of general sympathy. The

sermon was printed surreptitiously and anonymously (often wrongly ascribed to Dr. G. Wilde), and Dr. Hardy thereupon boldly published a correct copy under his own name at the shop of a bookseller named Joseph Crawford, who had for his sign 'The King's Head.' Hewit's speech and prayer upon the scaffold were immediately printed in more than one edition, and mourning-rings were distributed to his friends, which were inscribed with the words 'Herodes necuit Johannem.' The publication of 'Nine Select Sermons' preached at St. Gregory's speedily followed. This volume was disavowed, as unauthorised by Dr. Wilde and Dr. Barwick on behalf of Hewit's widow, in a notice reprinted in a second volume of sermons entitled 'Repentance and Conversion the Fabrick of Salvation; being the last Sermons preached by Dr. Hewytt.' But Hardy, in the preface to the funeral sermon, speaks of 'two books of sermons' as having been surreptitiously issued, and implies that the second volume bore Barwick's and Wilde's names without their knowledge or consent.

Hewit married, first, a daughter of Robert Skinner, merchant-tailor, of London: and secondly, Mary, daughter of Robert Bertie, first earl of Lindsey [q. v.], who was slain at Edgehill. By his first wife he had three children, and by his second wife (who survived him) two daughters. When Dr. Barwick went to meet Charles II at Breda in 1660, among several petitions which he preferred to the king was one that Hewit's widow and his eldest son, John, might receive some recompense. In consequence an annuity of 100*l.* was granted to the son 19 Feb. 1661 (*Cal. State Papers*, Dom. 1660–1, p. 523). On 21 June in that year Lady Mary Hewit (who shortly afterwards was re-married to the well-known royalist, Sir Abraham Shipman) petitioned the House of Lords to except from the Act of Oblivion all those who had passed sentence on her husband.

Other publications under Hewit's name are: 1. 'Certain Considerations against the Vanities of this World and the Terrors of Death, delivered to a friend a little before his death,' in verse, on a single sheet. 2. 'Letter to Dr. Wilde the day before he suffered death, read by Dr. Wilde at his funerall,' a single sheet, London, 9 June 1658. 3. 'Prayers of Intercession for their Use who mourn in Secret for the Publick Calamities of the Nation,' 1659. A prayer is included in a collection of prayers used before and after sermons called 'Pulpit Sparks,' 1659. Portraits are prefixed to his sermons on repentance and to Prynne's plea. In a note in Ashmole MS., Bodleian Library, 826, f. 115, he is styled 'doctor mellifluus, doctor altivolans, et doctor inexhaustibilis,' and it is said that these three epithets can never be separated from him.

[Wood's Fasti Oxon. 1820, ii. 69; Clarendon's Hist. Reb. book xv. §§ 95, 101; Thurloe's State Papers, vii. 65, 74, 89; Peter Barwick's Vita Jo. Barwici, 1721, pp. 116–17, 192; State Trials, 1730, i. 277–88, 296–8; Notes and Queries, 2nd ser. xii. 409–10; J. P. Earwaker's Notes of the Life of Dr. John Hewytt, Manchester, 1877; Hist. MSS. Comm. 7th Rep. 1879, App. pp. 102–103; information from the Master of Pembroke College and from the Registrary of the Univ. of Cambridge.] W. D. M.

**HEWITSON, WILLIAM CHAPMAN** (1806–1878), naturalist, was born at Newcastle-upon-Tyne on 9 Jan. 1806. Educated at York, he was brought up as a land-surveyor, and was for some time employed under George Stephenson on the London and Birmingham railway. Delicate health and the accession to an ample fortune through the death of a relative led him to give up his profession and devote himself to scientific studies. After residing for a time at Bristol and Hampstead, he purchased in 1848 about ten or twelve acres of Oatlands Park, Surrey, and built a house there, in which the last thirty years of his life were spent, and where everything was arranged with a view to his favourite studies. In early life he collected British coleoptera and lepidoptera; he then devoted attention for some years to the study of birds' eggs, in 1833 making a trip to Norway to discover the breeding-places of some of our migratory species. Notes on ornithology and oology from his pen will be found in vol. ii. of Jardine's 'Magazine of Zoology,' in the 'Ibis,' the 'Zoologist,' and other periodicals; but from the date of his settlement near London he concentrated his attention on lepidoptera, more particularly the diurnal lepidoptera of the world. He bought specimens from travellers and naturalists in all quarters of the globe, whose expenses he often partly or wholly paid. In one instance a single specimen cost him 350*l.* He thus formed what was probably the most complete collection of diurnal lepidoptera in the world, and this, together with some choice pictures and water-colour drawings, and some valuable stuffed birds, he left to the nation; they are now in the natural history section of the British Museum in Cromwell Road, South Kensington. Hewitson was a most accomplished artist and scrupulously accurate draughtsman, and his figures, whether of birds' eggs or butterflies, are drawn and coloured with conscientious care, but they were, after all, only perfect diagrams, as he

intended them to be. In his own line, as a pictorial describer of butterflies, Hewitson stands unrivalled. He became a member of the Entomological Society in 1846, the Zoological in 1859, and the Linnean in 1862.

Hewitson died at Oatlands on 28 May 1878. He married about 1848, but his wife soon died, and left no children. He left his library of works on natural history, with a legacy of 3,000*l.*, to the Natural History Society of Newcastle, his native town, and a large sum to the Müller Institute, Bristol. The rest of his fortune he bequeathed to various charities, and in legacies to friends interested in his own studies.

Hewitson's principal works are: 1. 'British Oology,' 3 vols., Newcastle-on-Tyne, 1833–42. 2. 'Coloured Illustrations of the Eggs of British Birds,' 2 vols., 1846; 3rd edit. 1856. 3. 'The Genera of Diurnal Lepidoptera' (written in conjunction with E. Doubleday), 1846, fol. 4. 'Illustrations of New Species of Exotic Butterflies,' 5 vols. 4to, 1851–76. 5. 'Illustrations of Diurnal Lepidoptera,' 2 vols. 4to, 1863–78. 6. 'Descriptions of One Hundred New Species of Hesperidæ,' 1867, &c. 7. 'Descriptions of some New Species of Lycænidæ,' 1868. 8. 'Equatorial Lepidoptera,' 1869–1870. 9. 'Bolivian Butterflies,' 1874, and a number of articles on kindred subjects in the magazines devoted to entomology and ornithology.

[The Entomologist, 1878, xi. 166; private information.] A. N.

**HEWITT, JAMES,** Viscount Lifford (1709–1789), lord chancellor of Ireland, born in Coventry in 1709, was son of William Hewitt, a mercer and draper, who was in 1744 mayor of Coventry. With the view of becoming an attorney he served his time with James Birch of the same place, receiver-general for the county of Warwick, but soon after resolved to join the bar, entered the Middle Temple in 1737, and was called in November 1742. Before long he secured a considerable share of business. He stood for Coventry unsuccessfully in 1754, but was returned for the borough at the general election in 1761. His legal success had procured him in 1755 the dignity of the coif, and four years after the position of king's serjeant. He was a ponderous speaker. Charles Townsend, when leaving the house one day, was asked 'whether the house was up?' 'No,' he replied, 'but the serjeant is.'

On 6 Nov. 1766 Hewitt was appointed to a vacant judgeship in the king's bench, with the promise of further promotion, and on 9 Jan. 1768 received his patent as lord chancellor of Ireland. On the same day he was created Baron Lifford in the Irish peerage, and he was advanced to a viscountcy in January 1781. Lifford was lord chancellor of Ireland during the struggle between the two parliaments which resulted in the short-lived independence of the Irish legislature. He held the great seal for twenty-two years, longer than any of his predecessors from the time of Edward I. Having amassed a considerable fortune, the emoluments of the office in his time being estimated at 12,000*l.* per annum, he intended to resign on a pension, but died in Dublin, on 28 April 1789, of a severe cold caught at the House of Lords. He was buried in Christ Church Cathedral, where there is an inscription to his memory.

He married (1) the only daughter of the Rev. Rice Williams, D.D., rector of Stapleford Abbots, Essex, prebendary of Worcester, and archdeacon of Carmarthen, and had, with other issue, James (1750–1830), who succeeded him, and was for more than thirty years dean of Armagh; Joseph (*d.* 1794), who was a judge of the king's bench in Ireland; and John (*d.* 1804), who was dean of Cloyne; (2) Ambrosia, daughter of the Rev. Charles Bayley of Navestock, Essex, and by her also had issue.

Lifford's success as a judge was due to the accuracy of his technical knowledge and general professional skill; and though formal in manner, and with old-fashioned ideas, by his patience and urbanity he gained universal esteem. He was the first lord chancellor of Ireland whose judgments have been preserved. Many of them remain in manuscript; but a volume entitled 'Reports of Select Cases argued and determined in the High Court of Chancery in Ireland, principally in the time of Lord Lifford,' was published in 1839. Though these decisions range from 1767 to 1786, they were entirely overlooked by the profession until they appeared in print. They show a greater degree of legal learning and acquaintance with the authority of decided cases than the bar of Ireland at the time had credit for, and are the best monuments which we possess of the profession in the last century.

[Lodge's Peerage of Ireland, ed. Archdall, vi. 53; Burke's Peerage and Baronetage, 1880, p. 754; Foss's Judges of England, p. 345; Smyth's Law Officers of Ireland, p. 41; O'Flanagan's Lord Chancellors of Ireland, ii. 125–55; Gent. Mag. 1789, lix. pt. i. p. 468; Finlayson's Monumental Inscriptions, &c. in Christ Church Cathedral, Dublin, p. 32.] B. H. B.

**HEWITT, JOHN** (1719–1802), alderman of Coventry, a relative, perhaps uncle, of James Hewitt [q. v.], was born in that city

in 1719, and succeeded his father in business as a draper. He was three times elected mayor, in 1755, 1758, and 1760, and was for thirty years a justice of the peace. He published (1779–90) a journal of his magisterial proceedings 'in cases of riots, coiners, murder, highway robberies, burglaries, returned transports, and every species of events that falls under the cognizance of the laws of this kingdom.' The book is a curious medley, in which the record of offences more or less serious is found side by side with explanations of the criminal law, correspondence with official persons, and an account of the writer's municipal achievements and hospitalities. Hewitt also published 'A Guide for Constables,' 1779, and 'Memoirs of Lady Wilbrihammon, *alias* Mollineux, *alias* Irving, an Impostress,' Birmingham (1778?), 4to. He died 20 April 1802.

[A Journal of the Proceedings of J. Hewitt, Senior Alderman of the City of Coventry; Coventry Mercury, 26 April 1802; Colville's Worthies of Warwickshire; Watt's Bibl. Brit.] J. M. S.

**HEWITT, JOHN** (1807–1878), antiquary, born at Lichfield in 1807, studied music in youth, and was for some time organist of St. Mary's Church in that city. He also contributed to many periodicals. Subsequently he was appointed to a post in the war office, and while living in London was well known in literary society. He enjoyed the friendship of Bulwer Lytton, Mary Howitt, Mrs. S. C. Hall, Allan Cunningham, Leigh Hunt, and others, and wrote under the *nom de guerre* of 'Sylvanus Swanquill.' For many years he resided at Woolwich, but on his retirement from the war office he removed to Lichfield, where he died on 10 Jan. 1878.

His works are: 1. 'The Tower [of London]: its History, Armories, and Antiquities: before and since the Fire,' London, 1841, 8vo, published by the authority of the master-general and board of ordnance. It has gone through several editions in English, French, and Spanish. 2. 'Chart of Ancient Armour from y^e XI to y^e XVII cent.,' with descriptions of the figures in the chart [London, 1847], fol. and 8vo. 3. 'Ancient Armour and Weapons in Europe: from the Iron period of the Northern nations to the end of the [seventeenth] century,' 3 vols., London, 1855–60, 8vo. A work of great erudition. 4. 'Official Catalogue of the Tower Armories,' London, 1859, 12mo. 5. 'Old Woolwich,' 1860, published by the Royal Artillery Association. 6. 'Handbook for the City of Lichfield and its Neighbourhood,' Lichfield, 1874, 8vo; 2nd edit. 1884. 7. 'Handbook of Lichfield Cathedral,' 1875; 3rd edit., enlarged by the Dean of Lichfield (E. Bickersteth), Lichfield, 1886, 8vo. 8. An enlarged edition of Stothard's 'Monumental Effigies,' London, 1876. 9. Numerous contributions to the 'Archæological Journal' and the 'Reliquary,' including a series of papers in the latter periodical on 'Mediæval Arms and Armour.'

[Reliquary, xviii. 228; Anderson's Book of British Topography, p. 259.] T. C.

**HEWLETT, EBENEZER** (*fl.* 1747), antitrinitarian writer, lived at the New Pales in Sun Street, without Bishopsgate, London, and was for a time employed by the East India Company. He wrote a number of theological tracts, the doctrines of which, he says, brought him 'only poverty, disgrace, and loss of friends.' Their titles are: 1. 'An Answer to Mr. Tho. Chubb's Book entitled "The True Gospel of Jesus Christ,"' 8vo, London, 1738. 2. 'Mr. Whitefield's Chatechise. Being an Explanation of the Doctrine of the Methodists. In a Letter to Mr. Seagrave [occasioned by his answer to Dr. Trapp],' 8vo, London, 1739. 3. 'The Deist turned Christian, the Papist turned Protestant, and the Calvinist turned Arminian, by being undeceived concerning the Doctrine of Free Justification by Christ's Blood. By way of dialogue between E. Hewlett and a Deist,' 8vo, London, 1740. 4. 'Miracles real evidences of a Divine Revelation, and the influence of evil Angels carefully examin'd: in answer to Mr. Chubb's Discourse on Miracles, and Mr. Fleming's Animadversions thereon,' 8vo, London, 1741. 5. 'A Vindication of the Bible from the censures of the Deists and the inconsistencies of Popery and Calvinism, &c.,' 8vo, London, 1741. 6. 'Satisfaction by the Merits of Christ Blasphemy against God,' 8vo, London, 1741. 7. 'Letter to A. P.,' 8vo, London, 1747, which was answered by A. P. in 'A Plain, Practical, and Experimental Discourse on the Infinite and Eternal Trinity,' 8vo, Reading, 1747.

[Hewlett's Works.] G. G.

**HEWLETT, JAMES** (1789–1836), flower-painter, born in 1789, practised chiefly at Bath as a painter of flowers in water-colours. These are much esteemed for good drawing, colour, and botanical accuracy. He occasionally painted other subjects, such as gipsies, and contributed to the Royal Academy and other exhibitions. He died at his residence, Park House, Isleworth, 18 Aug 1836, and was buried in Isleworth Church, where a monument was erected by his widow. There are four drawings of flowers by him at

the South Kensington Museum. Another painter of the same name, perhaps father of the above, practised at Bath at a rather earlier date. Queen Caroline visited his studio in 1817. It is difficult to distinguish their works. The elder Hewlett died at Notting Hill, London, in 1829. The sister of one was the wife of Benjamin Barker [q.v.]

[Bryan's Dict. of Painters and Engravers; Aungier's Hist. of Syon and Isleworth, p. 166; Tunstall's Rambles about Bath, ed. R. E. Peach; Notes and Queries, 7th ser. v. 467.] L. C.

**HEWLETT, JOHN** (1762–1844), biblical scholar, was born in 1762, and after taking priest's orders was admitted a sizar at Magdalene College, Cambridge, on 18 Jan. 1786, at the age of twenty-four. He proceeded B.D. in 1796; kept a school at Shackleford, Surrey, which he ultimately sold; became morning preacher at the Foundling Hospital, London, about 1802, and in 1819 rector of Hilgay, Downham, Norfolk. He was at one time professor of belles-lettres at the Royal Institution of Great Britain. He died at 55 Hunter Street, Brunswick Square, London, 13 April 1844, and was buried in the catacombs of the Foundling Chapel.

Hewlett was well known in the literary world as author of a 'Vindication of the Parian Chronicle,' published in 1789, in which he displayed great knowledge of the Arundel marbles. He also edited a useful edition of the Bible, which appeared in monthly parts, and had been originally undertaken by Dr. George Gregory (1754–1808) [q.v.] Besides seven single sermons he published: 1. Sermons on different subjects, 1786; 6th edition, 1816. 2. 'A Vindication of the Authenticity of the Parian Chronicle, in Answer to a Dissertation on that Subject,' 1789. 3. 'Answer to some Strictures on the Authenticity of the Parian Chronicle,' 1789. 4. 'The Holy Bible, containing the Old and New Testament and Apocrypha, with Critical, Philosophical, and Explanatory Notes,' 1812, 3 vols. 5. 'A Manual of Instruction and Devotion on the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper,' 1815, 12mo; 6th edition, 1835, 24mo. 6. 'An Introduction to Reading and Spelling,' 1816, 12mo. 7. 'Commentaries and Annotations on the Holy Scriptures,' 1816, 5 vols. 8. 'Elements of Algebra. By L. Euler. Revised and corrected,' 1822.

[Gent. Mag. 1844, pt. ii. p. 217; The Pulpit, by Onesimus, 1809, i. 57–65; Brownlow's Foundling Hospital, 1858, p. 79; Norwich Mercury, 20 April 1844, p. 3.] G. C. B.

**HEWLETT, JOSEPH THOMAS JAMES** (1800–1847), novelist, son of Joseph Hewlett of the parish of St. Pancras, Middlesex, was born in 1800, and educated at the Charterhouse, where he was placed by Lord-chancellor Eldon. He matriculated from Worcester College, Oxford, on 13 May 1818, and graduated B.A. on 5 Feb. 1822, and M.A. on 25 May 1826. After taking holy orders he was appointed head-master of Abingdon grammar school. His career there was a failure; he did not hold the post long, and his subsequent life was a prolonged struggle with poverty. Retiring to Letcombe Regis, near Wantage, Berkshire, he endeavoured to gain an income by writing novels. In 1840, through the intercession of Fox Maule (afterwards Lord Panmure), an old schoolfellow, Lord-chancellor Cottenham presented him to the rectory of Little Stambridge, near Rochford, Essex, of the annual value of 175*l.* He died there on 24 Jan. 1847.

His works are: 1. 'Peter Priggins, the College Scout,' 3 vols., London, 1841, with illustrations by 'Phiz' (Hablot K. Browne). This novel was edited by Theodore Hook, the author's intimate friend. 2. 'The Parish Clerk,' 1841. 3. 'Poetry for the Million; poems. . . . By a Member of Parliament,' London, 1842, 8vo; 2nd ser. 1843. 4. 'College Life; or the Proctor's Note-Book,' 3 vols., London, 1843. 5. 'Parsons and Widows,' a novel, 3 vols., London, 1844, 12mo, and London, 1857, 8vo, in which, under the name of the 'Curate of Mosbury,' he obviously describes himself. 6. 'Dunster Castle: a Tale of the Great Rebellion,' 1845. 7. 'Great Tom of Oxford,' a novel, 3 vols., London, 1846, 12mo. 8. Many articles in Colburn's 'New Monthly Magazine,' including a series of amusing tales and sketches, under the title of 'Æsop Illustrated.'

[Gent. Mag. 1847, pt. i. 441; Foster's Alumni Oxon.; Cat. Oxf. Grad.] T. C.

**HEWLEY, SARAH, Lady** (1627–1710), foundress of the Hewley trust, born in 1627, was the only daughter and heiress of Robert Wolrych (*d.* 11 Dec. 1661), bencher of Gray's Inn. Her mother, whose maiden name was Mott, had a fortune derived from her first husband, whose name was Tichborne. Sarah Wolrych married John (*b.* 1619), son of John Hewley of Wistow, near Selby, West Riding. Her husband was admitted of Gray's Inn, 4 Feb. 1638, and became recorder of Doncaster. He sat for Pontefract 1658–60, was knighted at Whitehall, 30 June 1663, and sat for York in 1678, 1679, and 1681. He encouraged letters, giving pecuniary aid in the production of Dugdale's 'Monasticon' and Poole's 'Synopsis.' He kept a presbyterian chaplain, who gathered a public congregation in York, for which a small chapel, cruciform

in shape, was built at St. Saviourgate in 1692 (registered 8 April 1693). Sir John Hewley died at his country residence, Bell Hall, near York, on 24 Aug. 1697, and was buried in St. Saviour's Church, York.

Dame Hewley, his widow, spent large sums in works of charity. In 1700 she built and endowed an almshouse at York for ten poor women of her own religious views [see BOWLES, EDWARD]; in 1705 she contributed 200*l.* to charity schools founded at York by Archbishop Sharpe.

On 13 Jan. 1704–5 Dame Hewley conveyed to trustees a landed estate, of which the income was, after her death, to be devoted to benevolent objects, including the support of 'poor and godly preachers for the time being of Christ's holy gospel.' The benefactions were increased by a further deed (26 April 1707) and by her will (9 July 1707, codicil 21 Aug. 1710). The will was contested without result. Though the trustees were all presbyterian, grants were made to ministers of the 'three denominations.' By the end of the last century all the trustees and a majority of the presbyterian recipients were unitarian; but by a judgment of the House of Lords (5 Aug. 1842) three congregationalists, three orthodox presbyterians, and one baptist were appointed trustees. The income of the trust was then 2,830*l.*, and has since increased.

Dame Hewley died on 23 Aug. 1710, and was buried with her husband. Portraits of Sir John Hewley and his wife are preserved in the vestry of St. Saviourgate Chapel. Their two children, Wolrych and John, died in infancy.

[Manchester Socinian Controversy, by George Hadfield (1787–1879) [q. v.], 1825, pp. 195 sq.; Historical Illustrations and Proofs, Shore *v.* Attorney-General, by Joseph Hunter [q. v.], 1839, pp. 95 sq.; the Foundation Deeds, &c., relating to Dame S. Hewley's Charity, 1849; James's Hist. Litig. and Legis. Presb. Chapels and Charities, 1867, pp. 228 sq.; Kenrick's Memorials of the Presb. Chapel, St. Saviourgate, York, 1869, pp. 28 sq.] A. G.

**HEWSON, JOHN** (*d.* 1662), regicide, was, according to Wood, 'sometime an honest shoemaker in Westminster' (*Fasti*, 1649). This statement seems confirmed by the fact that on 26 Feb. 1628 the Massachusetts Company agreed to purchase of John Hewson eight pairs of shoes (YOUNG, *Chronicles of the first Planters of the Colony of Massachusetts Bay*, 1846, p. 46). Hewson served in the parliamentary army from the beginning of the war, first in the armies of Essex and Manchester, and then as lieutenant-colonel of Pickering's regiment in the new model (*Cal. State Papers*, Dom. 1654, p. 33; SPRIGGE, *Anglia Rediviva*, ed. 1854, p. 329). At the storming of Bridgwater (22 July 1647) the forlorn hope was led by Hewson, and in December following, on Pickering's death, he succeeded to the command of his regiment (*ib.* p. 78). In the quarrel between the army and parliament Hewson sided with the former, was one of the commissioners appointed to represent the grievances of the soldiers in April 1647, and one of the presenters of the charge against the eleven members (RUSHWORTH, vii. 458, 481). He is mentioned as praying in the meeting of the army council at Windsor on 21 Dec. 1647 (*ib.* viii. 974). Fairfax, in his account of the fight at Maidstone (1 June 1648), notices 'the valour and resolution of Col. Hewson, whose regiment had the hardest task' (FAIRFAX, *Correspondence*, iv. 32). Hewson took part also, under the command of Colonel Rich, in the relief of Dover and in the defeat of the cavaliers before Deal (14 Aug. 1648; RUSHWORTH, viii. 1149, 1228). He was one of the king's judges, sat regularly, and signed the death-warrant (NOBLE, *Regicides*, i. 352). On 19 May 1649 he was created M.A. at Oxford.

Hewson commanded a foot regiment in Cromwell's expedition to Ireland, relieved Arklow, captured Ballyronan and Leighlinbridge, was wounded at the storming of Kilkenny, and became governor of Dublin (MURPHY, *Cromwell in Ireland*, pp. 140, 281, 283, 287, 299). A number of his letters during his service in Ireland are printed in 'Mercurius Politicus' and 'Proceedings in Parliament' (see also *Old Parliamentary History*, xix. 462, 481, xx. 32; CARY, *Memorials of the Civil War*, ii. 273). An independent of the extreme type, he joined the church established by John Rogers at Dublin, giving him an account of his religious experience, which was printed by Rogers in the pamphlet entitled 'Ohel, or Bethshemesh,' pp. 395, 412, 1653. He favoured the anabaptists, petitioned the Protector (2 Dec. 1655) to send Fleetwood back to Ireland, and headed a faction which gave much trouble to Henry Cromwell (THURLOE, iv. 276, 348, 422, 742). According to Ludlow, he was bribed to support the Protector by the payment of his arrears, but he was far from being a thoroughgoing supporter of his government (*ib.* v. 327, vi. 94; LUDLOW, ed. 1751, p. 195; *Cal. State Papers*, Dom. 1654, p. 13; BURTON, *Diary*, i. 421). Hewson represented Ireland in the Little parliament of 1653, Dublin in 1654, and Guildford in 1656 (*ib.* iv. 492). He was knighted by Cromwell in December 1657, and was also called to his 'House of Lords' (*Mercurius Politicus*, 3–10 Dec. 1657;

THURLOE, vi. 668). On 8 July 1659 the committee for the nomination of officers appointed him commander-in-chief of the foot during his stay in Ireland, and on 26 Oct. following, after Lambert had expelled the parliament, Hewson was named one of the committee of safety established by the officers of the army (*Cal. State Papers*, Dom. 1659–1660, p. 13; BAKER, *Chronicle*, ed. 1670, p. 684). On 5 Dec. 1659 he was ordered to suppress a tumult of the London apprentices, who were petitioning for a free parliament, and in carrying out his orders two or three apprentices were killed and about twenty wounded (*ib.* p. 697; LUDLOW, p. 294; *Public Intelligencer*, 5–12 Dec. 1659). This made Hewson extremely unpopular, and gave rise to lampoons and caricatures which dwelt on his early occupation, his one eye, and other characteristics. Thomas Flatman [q. v.], in 'Don Juan Lamberto' (pt. i. chap. xviii.), gave a satirical account of his exploits against the apprentices, and prefixed to pt. ii. a caricature of 'the giant Husonio.' Edmund Gayton [q. v.] attacked him in 'Walk, Knaves, Walk,' 1659, a mock sermon on boots, supposed to have been preached by Hewson's chaplain. Ballads were circulated against him, like 'The Cobbler's last Will and Testament, or the Lord Hewson's translation,' and 'A Hymn to the gentle Craft, or Hewson's Lamentation' (*The Rump, or an Exact Collection of the Choicest Poems*, &c., 1662, ii. 145, 157; for caricatures see *Catalogue of Prints and Drawings in the British Museum*, 'Satires,' i. 519, 521, 535, 537, 548). On the restoration of the parliament (26 Dec. 1659), Hewson was pardoned by it, but seems to have lost his regiment (*Commons' Journals*, vii. 804). On 26 Jan. 1660 Pepys notes that a gibbet was set up in Cheapside with Hewson's picture upon it. In May he deemed it wise to leave England, and on 21 May the House of Commons was informed of his escape (KENNETT, *Register*, p. 155).

Hewson was excepted from the act of indemnity (*ib.* pp. 176, 240). He is said by Wood to have died at Amsterdam in 1662 (*Fasti*, 1649). In March 1666 a wandering tobacco-seller who was arrested in England under the belief that he was Hewson stated that he was at Rouen when Hewson died there (*Cal. State Papers*, Dom. 1665–6, p. 321).

[Wood's Fasti Oxon. ed. Bliss, ii. 134; Notes and Queries, 1st ser. iii. 123; Noble's Lives of the Regicides. The originals of some of the letters are in the Tanner and Rawlinson Collections in the Bodleian Library.] C. H. F

**HEWSON, WILLIAM** (1739–1774), surgeon and anatomist, son of William Hewson, surgeon, was born at Hexham, Northumberland, on 14 Nov. (O. S.) 1739. After attending Hexham grammar school, he was apprenticed to his father, and was also pupil to Mr. Lambert of Newcastle. In 1759 he came to London, lodged with John Hunter while attending the anatomical lectures of Dr. William Hunter [q. v.], and studied at St. Thomas's and Guy's hospitals. When John Hunter went abroad with the army in 1760 he left Hewson to instruct the other pupils in the dissecting-room. William Hunter afterwards proposed to Hewson to take him into partnership as a lecturer if he would study one year in Edinburgh. This arrangement was carried out, and in the autumn of 1762 Hewson returned to London, and began to share in the lectures and the profits of William Hunter's anatomical school, which was then in Litchfield Street, Soho. In 1765 Hewson went to France to visit the hospitals, but returned to give the winter lectures on anatomy. In 1768 he visited the coast of Sussex to study the lymphatic system in fishes, and made his researches the subject of a paper communicated in the following year to the Royal Society, which was rewarded with the Copley medal. On 8 March 1770 he was elected F.R.S. In 1769 William Hunter opened the celebrated anatomical school in Windmill Street, where a room was assigned to Hewson, who continued in partnership as lecturer, receiving a larger share of profits than before. He also obtained a not inconsiderable practice in surgery and midwifery. In 1770 he married Miss Mary Stevenson, a young lady whose intellectual culture had been much influenced by the interest taken in her by Benjamin Franklin, the American philosopher having lodged in her mother's house since he came to London in 1757. On his marriage Hewson removed to a house of his own in Craven Street, and this was made by William Hunter a ground for giving notice of breaking off their partnership. This was a blow to Hewson, especially as the building and anatomical museum necessary for carrying on the lectures were exclusively Hunter's property. Some disagreement arose about the right of Hewson to make preparations for his own use; but this was smoothed over by the mediation of Franklin. Hewson used his leisure during the year of notice provided for by the terms of partnership in making preparations for future use in his own lectures, and the museum thus formed was so valuable that it subsequently sold for 700*l.* In September 1772 Hewson began to lecture on his own account at a theatre which he built adjoining his own residence. His reputation was now so high, especially since the publication of various researches by him

in the 'Philosophical Transactions' and separately, that he had no difficulty in attracting a large class, and he lectured for two winter sessions with great success. Early in 1774 he brought out the second part of his 'Experimental Inquiries,' and his increase of reputation as a lecturer and anatomist was accompanied by a considerable augmentation of his practice. While thus busily occupied, Hewson wounded himself in making a dissection. Serious symptoms followed, and he died after a few days' illness on 1 May 1774, in his thirty-fifth year. He was buried at St. Martin's-in-the-Fields, but his grave cannot now be traced. His widow, who was left with two young children and expecting another, went on the advice of Benjamin Franklin to America. The second son, Thomas Tickell Hewson, after studying at Edinburgh, became an eminent physician and president of the College of Physicians in Philadelphia. Hewson's portrait, by Van der Gucht, is engraved in the Sydenham Society edition of his works.

Hewson was an excellent anatomist, and a physiological inquirer of much originality. His researches on the blood were of great importance, as establishing the essential character of the process of coagulation, and the forms of the red corpuscles in different animals. They were a good example of the experimental method characteristic of the school of the Hunters. The third part of his 'Experimental Inquiries,' relating to the blood, was published after his death by Magnus Falconar, who compiled four chapters of Hewson's observations, which the latter had never committed to writing. Hewson's researches on the lymphatic system gave rise to an acrimonious controversy with Professor Alexander Monro (secundus) of Edinburgh, who in a letter addressed to the Royal Society, read 19 Jan. 1769, and in a pamphlet ('A State of Facts concerning Paracentesis of the Thorax, &c., and concerning the Discovery of the Lymphatic System in Oviparous Animals, in answer to Mr. Hewson,' 8vo, Edinburgh, 1770) claimed the priority in these discoveries. Hewson's reply was given in an appendix to his 'Experimental Inquiries,' pt. i. The minor point of the operation of paracentesis had no reference to the other question; and in regard to this Hewson frankly admitted that he had been anticipated by Monro. But in the more important matters he successfully vindicated his own priority.

He wrote: 1. 'An Experimental Inquiry into the Properties of the Blood,' 12mo, London, 1771; 2nd edit. (called 'Experimental Inquiries, Part the First'), 8vo, 1772; 3rd edit. 1780. 2. 'Experimental Inquiries, Part the Second, a Description of the Lymphatic System,' &c., 8vo, 1774. 3. 'Experimental Inquiries, Part the Third, a Description of the Red Particles of the Blood, &c., being the remaining part of the Observations of the late William Hewson, by Magnus Falconar,' 8vo, 1777. And the following papers: 'The Operation of Paracentesis Thoracis, proposed for Air in the Chest,' &c. ('Medical Observations and Inquiries,' iii. 372, London, 1767); three memoirs on the 'Lymphatic System in Birds, Amphibious Animals, and Fish,' in 'Philosophical Transactions,' vols. lviii. and lix. 1768–9; four memoirs on the 'Blood' ('Philosophical Transactions,' vols. lx. and lxiii. 1770–3); a 'Letter to Dr. John Haygarth, on the Red Particles of the Blood,' in 'Medical and Philosophical Commentaries,' by a society in Edinburgh, vol. iii., London, 1775.

Hewson's works were collected and admirably edited for the Sydenham Society in 1846. The editor, George Gulliver [q. v.], has done full justice to their scientific merits. A collective Latin edition, 'Opera Omnia,' appeared in 8vo at Leyden in 1795.

[Letter from Mrs. Hewson, in Simmons's Life of William Hunter, London, 1783, p. 38; longer narrative by the same in Pettigrew's Memoirs of John Coakley Lettsom, 3 vols., London, 1817, i. 136 (of correspondence); J. C. Lettsom, Trans. Med. Society of London, 1810, vol. i. pt. i. p. 51; memoir in Gulliver's edition of works.]

J. F. P.

**HEWSON, WILLIAM** (1806–1870), theological writer, son of William Hewson of 7 Tottenham Court New Road, clerk in a bank, was born on 12 April 1806; baptised at St. Margaret's, Westminster, on 28 Dec. in the same year; and entered at St. Paul's School, London, on 9 Oct. 1815. He won an exhibition and proceeded to St. John's College, Cambridge, in 1826, where he graduated B.A. in 1830 and M.A. in 1833. From June 1830 to 1833 he held the curacy of Bishop Burton in the East Riding of Yorkshire. From January 1834 he was curate of Spofforth, Yorkshire, for one year, and then became head-master of Sherburn grammar school, Yorkshire, with Sunday duty as a curate in Sherburn parish. From January 1838 until June 1847 he was head-master of St. Peter's School, York. In 1848 the Archbishop of York presented him to the perpetual curacy of Goatland, worth only 53*l.* a year, with permission to reside at Whitby, as there was no house for the incumbent in the parish. Hewson succeeded in obtaining an increased stipend of 275*l.* a year. He began to build a house, which was

nearly completed at the time of his death. Prophecy and its fulfilment were the principal subject of his studies. He was a laborious writer, and produced twenty-six publications, but his method of exposition was not lucid, and his works were little read. His favourite belief was that the Book of Revelation is an inspired interpretation of the spirit of Jewish prophecy. The ordnance surveyors received assistance from him in regard to the Roman stations in Yorkshire. He died from disease of the heart at 1 St. Hilda Terrace, Whitby, on 23 April 1870, and was buried, as had been his wife and son, in York cemetery. On 2 Nov. 1830 he married, at St. Luke's, Chelsea, Mary Ann, only child of Samuel and Mary Reckster, and widow of Lieutenant Alfred A. Yeakell. She died on 14 Feb. 1861, having had two children, Frances Anne Hewson, who was born at Beverley on 8 Nov. 1833, and completed the publication of her father's Hebrew and Greek scriptures in 1870; and John Singleton (1835–1850). Some of William Hewson's publications were: 1. 'The Christian's Bible Companion,' 1855. 2. 'The Key of David, or the Mystery of the Seven Sealed Books of Jewish Prophecy,' 1855. 3. 'The Oblation and Temple of Ezekiel's Prophetic Visions, in their Relation to the Restoration of the Kingdom of Israel. To which is appended a Practical Exposition of the Apocalypse. The Symbolic Chronometer. On the Mystic Number 666,' 1858, 5 parts. 4. 'Thy Kingdom come, or the Christian's Prayer of Penitence and Faith,' 1859. 5. 'Christianity in its Relation to Judaism and Heathenism, in three tracts. With Lithographic Illustrations and Revolving Diagrams,' 1860. 6. 'The Hebrew and Greek Scriptures compared with Oriental History, Dialling, Science, and Mythology. Also the History of the Cross gathered from many Countries,' 1870.

[Guardian, 4 May 1870, p. 513; Whitby Times, 29 April 1870, p. 4; Smale's Whitby Authors, 1867, pp. 104, 171–6, 217; information from Miss F. A. Hewson.] G. C. B.

**HEXHAM, JOHN** of (*d.* 1160), Augustinian canon. [See JOHN.]

**HEY, JOHN** (1734–1815), divine, elder brother of William Hey [q. v.] and Richard Hey [q. v.], was born in July 1734, entered Catharine Hall, Cambridge, in 1751, graduated B.A. in 1755, when he was among the wranglers, and M.A. in 1758. He became a fellow of Sidney Sussex College in 1758, and was tutor from 1760 to 1779. He took his B.D. degree in 1765, and his D.D. in 1780. He won the Seatonian prize poem in 1763, published as 'The Redemption: a Poetical Essay.' His lectures upon morality were admired, and were attended by William Pitt. In 1779 Lord Maynard presented him to the rectory of Passenham, near Stony Stratford, and he afterwards obtained the adjacent rectory of Calverton in exchange for a more distant living offered to him by Lord Clarendon; and as his two rectories were of small population, was able to attend effectually to the wants of his parishioners. His only absences were caused by his election in 1780 to the Norrisian professorship of divinity, of which he was the first holder. He was re-elected in 1785 and in 1790. According to the regulations then in force, he might have been elected for another term if he had resigned in 1794, before reaching the age of sixty, but declined to do so. He held his livings until 1814, when he resigned them and moved to London. He died 17 March 1815, and was buried in St. John's Chapel, St. John's Wood.

Hey's lectures in divinity were published in 1796 in 4 vols. 8vo. A second edition appeared in 1822, and a third, edited by Turton, appeared in 1841. He published also in 1801 a 'Set of Discourses on the Malevolent Passions' (reprinted 1815), and printed, but did not publish, in 1811, 'General Observations on the Writings of St. Paul.' He published, also, several sermons. Hey's lectures are agreeably written, and candid in treatment of opponents. He was a decided rationalist, representing the difference between the church of England and the unitarians as little more than verbal, though he defended subscription to the Thirty-nine Articles.

[Gent. Mag. 1815, i. 371; L. Stephen's English Thought in the Eighteenth Century, i. 424–6.]

**HEY, RICHARD** (1745–1835), essayist and mathematician, was born at Pudsey, near Leeds, on 22 Aug. 1745, being the younger brother of the Rev. John Hey, D.D. [q. v.], and of William Hey, F.R.S. [q. v.] He became a fellow of Magdalene College, Cambridge, graduating B.A. in 1768 as third wrangler, and obtaining the chancellor's medal. In 1771 he took the degree of M.A. as fellow of Sidney Sussex College, and in 1779 LL.D. *per lit. reg.* In 1771 he was called to the bar at the Middle Temple. He was admitted into Doctors' Commons, but obtaining no practice retired from the bar. He was fellow and tutor of Magdalene College from 1782 till 1796, and was also elected one of the esquire bedells. In 1776 he published 'Observations on the Nature of Civil Liberty and the Principles of Government.' His chief work was the 'Dissertation on the Pernicious Effects of

Gaming,' by which he gained a prize of fifty guineas offered through the university of Cambridge. The first edition appeared at Cambridge in 1783, and the third in 1812. Hey in 1784 gained a second prize, offered by the same anonymous donor, by his 'Dissertation on Duelling,' which also reached a third edition in 1812. His 'Dissertation on Suicide' gained him a third prize of fifty guineas. It was first printed in 1785, and again in 1812, when the three dissertations were published together. In 1792, at York appeared Hey's 'Happiness and Rights,' in reply to the 'Rights of Man' by Tom Paine, and pronounced to be an 'excellent and judicious answer.' He also wrote a tragedy in five acts called 'The Captive Monarch,' which was published in 1794, and in 1796 'Edington,' a novel, in two volumes. His last work was 'Some Principles of Civilisation, with detached thoughts on the Promotion of Christianity in British India,' Cambridge, 1815. He had at various times contributed papers to the 'Philosophical Transactions' and other magazines. He assisted in editing a pamphlet which gives a scientific account of an Egyptian mummy, with anatomical and other details.

Hey died on 7 Dec. 1835, at Hertingfordbury, near Hertford, in the ninety-first year of his age.

[Leeds Mercury, December 1835; Taylor's Biogr. Leodiensis; Graduati Cantabr. 1823.]

R. E. A.

**HEY, WILLIAM** (1736–1819), surgeon, third son of Richard Hey of Pudsey, near Leeds, drysalter, and of his wife Mary Simpson, daughter of a surgeon in Leeds, was born on 23 Aug. 1736. His brothers John and Richard Hey are separately noticed. At the age of four an accident deprived him of the sight of his right eye. The left eye remained perfect till advanced age. While at school at Heath, near Wakefield, Hey acquired a taste for science, and at fourteen was apprenticed to a surgeon at Leeds named Dawson. Between 1757 and 1759 he studied at St. George's Hospital, London, and became so skilful as a surgeon that as soon as he set up in practice at Leeds he treated the most serious cases, performing lithotomy, it is said, three times in his first year. In 1767 he was active in promoting the foundation of the Leeds Infirmary, being the only medical man on the building committee. From 1773 to 1812 he was senior surgeon. About 1769 Hey formed a close friendship with Dr. Priestley, who then lived at Leeds, and Priestley proposed Hey for the fellowship of the Royal Society in 1775, writing to Hey on his election: 'I wish I could say that one of the members in ten had equal pretensions to it.' Hey replied to some of Priestley's theological tracts, but their friendship was not impaired by their religious differences. In 1778 Hey was lamed by a blow in mounting his horse. In 1783 he became president of the first Leeds Literary and Philosophical Society, and read numerous papers before it between that year and 1786. In 1800, 1803, 1805, and 1809 he gave courses of anatomical lectures on bodies of executed criminals at the Leeds Infirmary, to which he gave the profits. He resigned his surgeoncy there in 1812. His second son, William Hey (see below), was his successor. Always of deeply religious temperament, he was a strong methodist till 1781, when he joined the church of England. His chief recreation was music. He was twice mayor of Leeds, in 1787–8 and 1801–2, and in that capacity so severely denounced profanity and vice that the populace burnt him in effigy, and threatened him with personal violence. He died 23 March 1819, aged 82. His portrait was placed in the boardroom of the Leeds Infirmary, and an excellent bust of him by Bullock was executed for Mr. Gott of Armley, near Leeds. A statue by Chantrey was erected in the infirmary by public subscription. His portrait, engraved from a painting by Allen, which precedes his 'Life,' indicates keen observation and discriminating benevolence. Hey married, in 1761, Alice, daughter of Robert Banks of Craven, by whom he had eleven children.

Hey was an excellent surgical operator. He introduced valuable improvements into the treatment of hernia, of cataract, of dislocations, and other surgical diseases. He first fully described and named the growth called 'fungus hæmatodes.' The name of 'Hey's operation' is given to a mode (devised by him) of partial amputation of the foot in front of the tarso-metatarsal joint. His proofs of the transmission of venereal disease to the fœtus in utero were convincing.

Hey wrote, besides several papers in 'Medical Observations and Inquiries:' 1. 'Observations on the Blood,' 1779, controverting Hewson's opinions on inflammation. 2. 'Practical Observations in Surgery,' 1803; 2nd edition, 1810; 3rd edition, 1814, both with additions. 3. 'Facts illustrating the Effects of the Venereal Disease on the Fœtus in utero,' 'Medico-Chirurgical Transactions,' 1816, vol. vii. 4. 'Tracts and Essays, Moral and Theological, including a Defence of the Doctrines of the Divinity of Christ, and of the Atonement,' 1822; a collection of tracts several of which were separately published in his lifetime.

WILLIAM HEY, the second son (1772–1844)

was a notable surgeon, and wrote a 'Treatise on Puerperal Fever,' 1815. His son, also WILLIAM HEY (1796–1875), was surgeon to the Leeds Infirmary from 1830 to 1851, and was one of the founders of the Leeds School of Medicine, in which he lectured on surgery from 1831 to 1857 (see *Brit. Med. Journ.* 1875, i. 763).

[Life of William Hey, 1822, by John Pearson, F.R.S., a most diffuse and tedious work; Life and Writings of William Hey, by Benjamin Bell in Edinb. Med. Journ. June 1867, xii. 1061–80.]
G. T. B.

**HEYDON, SIR CHRISTOPHER** (*d.* 1623), writer on astrology, eldest son of Sir William Heydon, knt., of Baconsthorpe, Norfolk, and descended from Sir Henry Heydon [q. v.], was educated at Cambridge. In 1586 he was induced by the 'immoderate brag' of Thomas Farmor to oppose his candidature for the representation of Norfolk in parliament. The election, on account of the contested return, attracted some attention, but finally the House of Commons adjudged the seats to Farmor and Gresham. However, in the parliament of 1588 Heydon represented the county, but he soon afterwards travelled abroad, and in 1596 he was knighted at the sacking of Cadiz by the Earl of Essex. His younger brother John went with Essex to Ireland in 1599, and was knighted there. Both brothers were suspected of complicity in Essex's conspiracy, but received pardons (1601). Sir Christopher died in 1623, and was buried in the church at Baconsthorpe. He was twice married, first to Mirabel, daughter and coheiress of Sir Thomas Rivet, knt., a London merchant; secondly to Anne, daughter and coheiress of John Dodge, esq., widow of Sir John Potts of Mannington, Norfolk. The first wife, by whom he had several sons, including Sir John Heydon [q.v.], was buried in Saxlingham Church; the second, by whom he had four daughters and a son, died in 1642, aged 75, and was buried beside her husband.

In 1601 John Chamber (1564–1604) [q. v.] published 'A Treatise against Judicial Astrologie,' London, 4to. To this Heydon replied in 'A Defence of Judiciall Astrologie. In Answer to a Treatise lately published by M. John Chamber.' Heydon was answered by Chamber in a treatise never published, and by George Carleton (1559–1628) [q. v.] in 'Ἀστρολογομανια, the Madnesse of Astrologers,' 1624. 'An Astrological Discourse . . . in Justification of the validity of Astrology . . . with an astrological judgement upon the great conjunction of Saturn and Jupiter,' 1603, by Sir Christopher Heydon, was published in 1650. A pamphlet, called 'A Recitall of the Caelestiall Apparititions of this present Trygon now in being,' was written, but never published (*Notes and Queries*, 3rd ser. vii. 416). Many of Heydon's letters are preserved among the Gawdy MSS.

A curious account of a duel between Sir Christopher's brother John and Sir Robert Mansfield in 1599, in which Sir John lost his hand (still preserved in the Canterbury Museum), is given from original documents at Canterbury, transcribed by Mr. John Brent in the 'Gentleman's Magazine,' 1853, pt. i. pp. 481–8. Another account is in Brit. Mus. Add. MS. 27961.

[Blomefield's Topogr. Hist. of Norfolk, vi. 508–510; Ret. of Memb. of Parl. i. 424; Wood's Athenæ (Bliss), i. 745, ii. 347, 424; Gawdy MSS., Hist. MSS. Comm.; Brit. Mus. Add. MSS. 23006 ff. 29, 30, 23024 f. 173, 27447 ff. 115, 120, 27959 f. 7.]
G. C.

**HEYDON, SIR HENRY** (*d.* 1503), country gentleman, belonged to an old family seated at Heydon in Norfolk. As early as the thirteenth century one of the family resided in Norfolk, and the principal branch of it remained for many years in that county, inheriting the estates at Heydon and Baconsthorpe. Sir Henry was son and heir of John Heydon of Baconsthorpe (*d.* 1479) (*Paston Letters*, iii. 196), an eminent lawyer, by Eleanor, daughter of Edmund Winter of Winter Berningham, Norfolk. He married Elizabeth or perhaps Anne (see *ib.* ii. 304), daughter of Sir Geoffrey Boleyn, knt., and aunt of Anne Boleyn.

Heydon was steward to the household of Cecilia, duchess of York, widow of Richard, duke of York. In 1485 he was knighted. He appears to have been a man of considerable public spirit, and of refined and devout sentiments. He built in the space of six years the manorhouse at Baconsthorpe, a sumptuous quadrangular pile, now ruinous, entirely from the ground, except the tower, which was built by his father. He also built West Wickham Court in Kent, and rebuilt the parish church of West Wickham, close by it. The church of Salthouse and the causeway between Thursford and Walsingham were erected at his expense. In 1443 the moieties of Hyde Manor in Pangbourne, Berkshire, of Nutfield, Surrey, and of Shipton Solery Manor, Gloucestershire, were settled upon him and Elizabeth his wife as her inheritance. He died in 1503, and was buried beside his father in the Heydon Chapel at Norwich Cathedral. The chapel is now destroyed, and the monuments mentioned by Blomefield have disappeared. In one of the windows of West Wickham Church there is the representation in old stained glass of a

kneeling human skeleton, with the words 'Ne reminiscaris domine delicta nostra nec delicta nostrorum parentum.' The figure is supposed to be a memorial of Sir Henry, whose arms are figured in the glass.

[Gurney's Records of the House of Gurney, 1848, &c., pp. 411, 412; J. H. Hayden's Records of the Connecticut Line of the Hayden Family, 1888, pp. 16, 17; Blomefield's Topographical Hist. of Norfolk, vi. 505, 506; Hasted's Hist. of Kent, 1778, i. 108; Verney Papers (Camd. Soc.), p. 39.] G. C.

**HEYDON,** SIR JOHN (*d.* 1653), military commander and mathematician, was the second son of Sir Christopher Heydon [q. v.] According to Wood, he was a distinguished soldier, and also an eminent scholar, being especially skilled in mathematics. In 1613 he was keeper of the stores in Sandown Castle, Deal, Kent. He was knighted in August 1620. In 1627 he was appointed lieutenant of the ordnance in the place of his brother Sir William, who was killed in the Isle of Rhé. Between 1627 and 1643 he was actively occupied in furnishing men, provisions, arms, guns, and ammunition for the service of the king (*Cal. State Papers*, Dom. 1627–43). When Charles I raised his standard at Nottingham 22 Aug. 1642, Heydon was in charge of cannon and ammunition at York. He soon joined the king, and accompanied the royalist army from Shrewsbury towards London in October 1642 (CLARENDON, *Hist.* ed. Macray, ii. 293, 346). He acted as lieutenant-general of the ordnance with Charles's forces, and joined his privy council. He was made D.C.L. at Oxford on 20 Dec. 1642. Heydon suffered much for the king's cause. His goods were sequestrated, and there is an inventory of them in the British Museum, entitled 'Inventarye of part of the Goods and Chattells of Sr John Hayden, knight, taken the 28 of Julye 1643,' and also of 'the goodes of Edward Stevens, seruant of Sir John Hayden, knight' (*Add. MS.* 28191 *d*). Heydon died on 16 Oct. 1653.

[Wood's Fasti (Bliss), ii. 43; Blomefield's Topogr. Hist. of Norfolk, vi. 510; Anecdotes and Traditions, ed. Thoms (Camd. Soc.), pp. 23, 69.] G. C.

**HEYDON,** JOHN (*fl.* 1667), astrologer and attorney, son of Francis Heydon of Sidmouth in Devonshire, by Mary Chandler of Worcestershire, was born at his father's house in Green Arbour, London, 10 Sept. 1629, and baptised at St. Sepulchre's Church. His father belonged to the Devonshire branch of the family of Heydon of Norfolk. According to his own account (Introduction to the *Holy Guide*) he was educated at Tardebigg in Worcestershire among his mother's friends, at first by John Dennis and afterwards by the Rev. George Linacre. In consequence of the outbreak of the civil war he did not go to the university, but is said to have joined the king's army; the statement that he commanded a troop of horse at Edgehill cannot be accepted if he has given the date of his birth correctly. In 1651 he went abroad, and of the next few years he gives the following account: 'It was,' he says, 'my fortune to travel into other countreys, first with a merchant, as factor; he dyed; afterwards I was forced to exercise myself in martial disciplines in Spain and Turkey,' and after many adventures 'went to Zant, from thence carried to Sevel, and then to the Spaw, and when I came to England I followed the law, and gave a very ignorant fellow five-and-thirty pounds to instruct me in that honourable profession; he, like a duns, took my money and left me as ignorant as when I came to him; it was my good hap to meet with an honest man, and by his instructions I came to be what I am' (Introd. to the *Prophetical Trumpeter*). He was 'indented a clark' 20 June 1652. In 1655 he was living in Clifford's Inn, practising as an attorney and casting nativities, but probably about that time he was imprisoned by the Protector's order in Lambeth House and his books burnt. The reason Heydon assigned was that he had foretold the date of Cromwell's death by hanging (cf. CARTE, *Ormonde*, ed. 1851, iv. 293). He continued in confinement for two years. In 1659 he complains he was 'vext with law suites,' and he hints that it was on his wife's account.

Heydon was intimate with all the astrologers of the Restoration. In 1662 he fell out with Lilly, whom he termed 'sterquilini filius,' but in 1664 he made offers of friendship, attributing the misunderstanding to the insinuations of John Gadbury [q. v.], formerly a friend of Heydon, who had recently cheated him out of 10*l.*

In 1663 Heydon was arrested and confined for a few weeks in the Gatehouse during his examination on a charge of putting treasonable matter into books which he took to Lillicraft to be printed. He also seems in 1664 to have suffered imprisonment for debt, from which he said he was released by the good offices of the Duke of Buckingham. Heydon's house after 1658 was 'in Spittalfields, near Bishopsgate, next door to the Red Lion.' In 1667 he was again in prison, this time accused of 'treasonable practices in sowing sedition in the navy, and engaging persons in a conspiracy to seize the Tower.' It was alleged that his patron Buckingham had

employed him (*ib.*) In a letter which he wrote from the Tower to Stephen Mounteagle, dated 13 March 1666–7 (cf. *Sir Henry Slingsby's Diary*, ed. Parsons, p. 368), he stoutly protests his innocence, and affirms that he was the victim of a villain hired to inform against him.

Heydon married, 4 Aug. 1656, the widow of Nicholas Culpeper [q. v.] He himself, writing in 1662, said: 'I had loved a lady in Devonshire, but when I seriously perused my nativity, I found the seventh house afflicted, and therefore resolve never to marry;' but this is merely an imitation of Sir Thomas Browne, from whose 'Religio Medici' the preface to the 'Holy Guide' is largely taken. He appears to have had a daughter (see ded. of *Advice to a Daughter*). The date of his death is uncertain; he is usually styled Doctor John Heydon. Heydon is termed by Ashmole 'an ignoramus and a cheate,' an opinion in which most of his contemporaries seem to have concurred. He borrowed from Bacon, from Sir Thomas Browne, from Thomas Vaughan, and others, and freely repeated himself. Waite considers that all that is of value in his mysticism is derived from anterior writers; he amusingly admits his obligations to others in the preface to the 'Harmony of the World.' Although he did not pretend to be a member of the English brotherhood of Rosicrucians, he explained the Rosicrucian principles to satisfy public curiosity. There is a portrait of Heydon by T. Cross, prefixed to the 'Holy Guide,' which appears in other works; another faces the title-page of the 'Theomagia.'

Heydon wrote: 1. 'Eugenius Theodidactus. The Prophetical Trumpeter sounding an Allarum to England,' Lond. 1655, 8vo, dedicated to Henry Cromwell. 2. 'A New Method of Rosie-Crucian Physick . . . ,' Lond. 1658, 4to. 3. 'Advice to a Daughter in Opposition to the Advice to a Sonne . . . [by F. Osborne],' Lond. 1658, 12mo; 2nd edit. 1659; this occasioned various burlesques, such as 'Advice to Balam's Ass,' by J. P[ecke], a friend of Lilly. 4. 'The Idea of the Law Charactered from Moses to King Charles, with the Idea of Government and Tyranny,' Lond. 1660, 8vo. 5. 'The Rosie-Crucian Infallible Axiomata,' &c., Lond. 1660, 12mo, dedicated to the Duke of York. 6. 'The Holy Guide: leading the Way to the Wonder of the World: (A Compleat Phisitian), teaching the Knowledge of all things, past, present, and to come,' &c., Lond. 1662, 8vo. In the title he terms himself '*Φιλόνομος*, a Servant of God and a Secretary of Nature.' The various books into which the 'Holy Guide' is divided have different dedications. 7. 'The Harmony of the World,' Lond. 1662, 8vo, dedicated to the Duke of Ormonde. 8. 'The Rosie Cross uncovered,' Lond. 1662, 8vo. 9. 'Ocia Imperialia, being Select Exercises of Philosophy, Policy, War, Government,' Lond. 1663, 8vo. 10. 'The Wise Man's Crown, or the Glory of the Rosie-Cross,' Lond. 1664, 12mo. 11. 'Theomagia, or the Temple of Wisdome,' Lond. 1664, 8vo. 12. 'Elhavarenna, or the English Physitians Tutor,' &c., Lond. 1665, 8vo. 13. '*Ψευδονυφανχια*, or a Quintuple Rosie-Crucian Scourge for the due Correction of . . . George Thompson,' Lond. 1665, 4to. In the 'Elhavarenna' Heydon also mentions 14. 'Hampaneah Hameguleh,' and 15. 'The Fundamental Elements of Moral Philosophy,' &c. He is credited with 16. 'A Rosycrucian Theomagical Dictionary' (see note to Wood, *Athenæ Oxon.* iv. 362), and at the end of the 'Idea of the Law' a number of Heydon's works, probably pamphlets, are advertised, which include, besides writings mentioned already: 17. 'The Familiar Spirit.' 18. 'The Way to Converse with Angels.' 19. 'A New Method of Astrology.' 20. 'Cabballa, or the Art by which Moses and Elijah did so many Miracles.' 21. 'Of Scandalous Nativities, Booker, Sanders, and Lilly.' 22. 'Oliver Cromwell: a Tragedy.' 23. 'A Tragedy of his Protectorship.' 24. 'A Comedy on the Phanatique Parliament.' Hazlitt (*Handbook*, ed. 1867, p. 268) mentions 'A threefold Discourse betweene three neighbours, Algate, Bishopgate, and John Heydon the late Cobler of Houndsditch . . . ,' &c., Lond. 1642, 4to. 'The Discovery of the Wonderful Preservation of his Excellency Sir Thomas Fairfax,' &c., Lond. 1647, 12mo, is the work of another John Heydon, who was an army chaplain. It is reprinted in the 'Somers Tracts' (ed. 1810), iv. 70.

[Heydon's Works contain many details as to his life, but the biographical notes by Heydon himself and Talbot must not be allowed too much credit; Cal. State Papers, passim; Waite's Real Hist. of the Rosicrucians, ch. xiii.; Hearne's Collect. (Oxf. Hist. Soc.), iii. 85; Watt, Lowndes, and Hazlitt's bibliographical works; authorities quoted; Brit. Mus. Addit. MS. 23024, f. 173; Hist. MSS. Comm. 12th Rep. App. vii. pp. 44, 45; Ashmole MSS. 2, 339, f. 97, 423, f. 242; notes kindly supplied by C. H. Firth, esq.]

W. A. J. A.

**HEYLYN, JOHN** (1685?–1759), divine, was eldest son of John Heylyn, citizen and saddler of London, who died at Chelsea on 24 Sept. 1736, and is said to have acquired a large fortune by army contracts. His mother was Susanna, sister of Thomas Sherman of St. Andrew's, Holborn. He was educated at Westminster School, where he was

admitted into college in 1700. In 1705 he was elected scholar of Trinity College, Cambridge, and graduated B.A. 1708, M.A. 1714, and D.D. 1728. Rud records in his 'Diary' that Heylyn 'preach'd a very fine sermon' at the archidiaconal visitation of Dr. Bentley in December 1716 (*Cambr. Antiq. Soc. Public.*, 8vo, No. v. p. 19). He became the first rector of the modern St. Mary-le-Strand on 1 Jan. 1724, and held that living until his death. He was also rector of Sunbury, Middlesex, a prebendary of St. Paul's, and a chaplain in ordinary to George II. On 2 July 1729 he was chosen lecturer of All-hallows, Lombard Street, and on 21 March 1743 was installed prebendary of Westminster. He died on 11 Aug. 1759, aged 74, and was buried on the 17th in Westminster Abbey, where there is a monument to his memory. He married twice. His second wife, Elizabeth, the daughter of Mrs. Elizabeth Ebbutt of St. Margaret's, Westminster, died on 9 June 1747, aged 49.

From his indulgence in mysticism, Heylyn acquired the name of the 'Mystic Doctor.' He was the author of 'Theological Lectures at Westminster Abbey, with an Interpretation of the Four Gospels. To which are added some Select Discourses upon the principal points of Reveal'd Religion,' London, 1749, 4to. A second part of this work, entitled 'An Interpretation of the New Testament . . . containing the Acts of the Apostles and the several Epistles,' &c., was prepared by Heylyn for the press, but was not published until after his death (London, 1761, 4to). He also published six single sermons, one of which was delivered by him at the consecration of his friend Joseph Butler, bishop of Bristol (London, 1738, 8vo). According to Allibone, 'Seventeen' and 'Forty' of his 'Discourses' were published in 1770 and 1793 respectively.

[Alumni Westmon. 1852, pp. 237, 245; Chester's Westminster Abbey Registers (Harl. Soc. Publ. No. x), pp. 371, 383, 394, 395; Le Neve's Fasti, ii. 416, iii. 366; Monthly Review, July 1761, xxv. 32–41; Gent. Mag. 1759, p. 392; Malcolm's Lond. Red. i. 162, iv. 282; Neale's Westminster Abbey, ii. 268; Grad. Cantabr. 1823, p. 232; Brit. Mus. Cat.] G. F. R. B.

HEYLYN, PETER (1600–1662), theologian and historian, born at Burford, Oxfordshire, in 1600, was second son of Henry Heylyn by his wife Elizabeth, daughter of Francis Clampard of Wrotham, Kent, and was grandnephew of Rowland Heylyn [q. v.] His father seems to have been a small country gentleman. Heylyn was educated at the school of Burford, and made such rapid progress in learning that at the age of fourteen he was sent to Hart Hall, in the university of Oxford, and in 1615 was elected demy of Magdalen College, on the strength of a copy of Latin verses describing a journey to Woodstock (cf. *Oxf. Univ. Reg.*, Oxf. Hist. Soc., II. ii. 347). He was made 'impositor of the hall,' with the duty of seeing that no one dined at each table save those entitled to their commons, and showed such diligence in that office that his comrades dubbed him 'the perpetual dictator.' He took the degree of B.A. on 17 Oct. 1617, and began to lecture on historical geography with such success that he was elected a fellow of Magdalen in 1618, and to celebrate his election wrote a Latin comedy, called 'Theomachia.' In 1620 he proceeded to the degree of M.A., and in 1624 he took holy orders; he proceeded B.D. on 13 June 1629 and D.D. on 13 April 1633 (*ib.* II. iii. 357). He published his 'Geography' in 1621, and presented a copy to the Prince of Wales; the book fell into the hands of James I, who took offence at a passage which said that 'France is the greater and more famous kingdom' than England. Heylyn explained that 'is' was a misprint for 'was,' and that the passage referred to the time of Edward III; but the clause was omitted from subsequent editions. This misadventure led him in 1625 to make a journey through France, after which he wrote a satirical journal to show that he had no French proclivities. This journal circulated in manuscript, and was published without Heylyn's consent in 1656 under the title of 'France Painted to the Life, by a Learned and Impartial Hand.' On this Heylyn issued the original work, 'A Survey of France.'

Heylyn now felt himself to be a man of mark, and resolved to enter upon his career as a theologian in such a way as to attract notice. In 1627 he chose as the subjects for disputation in the divinity school at Oxford the two burning questions of the visibility and infallibility of the church; he maintained against Dr. Prideaux, the regius professor of divinity, that the visible church of England came from the church of Rome, and not from the Waldenses, Wycliffites, and Hussites, and further incurred Prideaux's wrath by speaking approvingly of Bellarmine. This audacity raised a good deal of comment, and introduced Heylyn to the notice of Laud, then bishop of Bath and Wells. Heylyn now felt sure of promotion, and in 1628 took the somewhat rash step of marrying. His wife was Lætitia, daughter of Thomas Highgate, or Heygate, of Hayes, Middlesex, and his brother had already married her elder sister. He was married in his college chapel, and continued to hold his fellowship for a

year afterwards. He s accused later of having contracted a clandestine marriage, and deceived his college. It would seem that the greater part of the society were ignorant of it, and regarded the rumours about it as a joke, and that Heylyn did not act quite honourably in not immediately resigning his fellowship. He had a small inheritance from his father, but was looking out for preferment, and went as chaplain to the Earl of Danby, who was governor of Guernsey and Jersey. There Heylyn wrote a description of those islands, which he appended to his 'Survey of France.' Danby commended him to Laud, and in 1630 he was made one of the king's chaplains. He showed his gratitude to Danby by writing in 1631 a 'History of St. George of Cappadocia,' the patron saint of the order of the Garter. In this book Heylyn proved to his own satisfaction both the historical reality and the holiness of the martyr St. George. This book won him the presentation from a private patron of the benefice of Meysey Hampton in Gloucestershire; but the patron's right was disputed, and Bishop Goodman decided against him. Soon afterwards the king presented him to the rectory of Hemingford, Huntingdonshire, but Bishop Williams, who did not wish to have a partisan of Laud's in his diocese, claimed the presentation himself, and refused to institute Heylyn. The king retaliated by appointing Heylyn to a prebend of Westminster Cathedral (1631), of which Williams was dean. From that time forward it was one of Heylyn's occupations to annoy Williams, who was in disgrace at court, and make himself an instrument of the royal vengeance. In 1633 he made himself useful by preparing for Noy the case against Prynne for the publication of the 'Histriomastix.' He further prepared a memorandum for Noy on the subject of the feoffees for impropriations, a body of trustees who bought tithes for the purpose of endowing puritan lectureships. Heylyn had already preached against them at Oxford on 11 July 1630, probably at Laud's instigation; they were now proceeded against in the exchequer chamber, and were dissolved (GARDINER, *History from* 1603 *to* 1642, vii. 258–9).

In 1633 Heylyn was presented by the king to the benefice of Houghton in the bishopric of Durham, which he immediately exchanged for Alresford, Hampshire, that he might be nearer London. At Alresford Heylyn beautified the church and introduced the Laudian ritual; he also built a chapel for his parsonage, enlarged the house, and laid out his grounds, saying 'that he loved the noise of the workman's hammer.' He similarly improved his house at Westminster, and was a model of æsthetic munificence. In 1633, in his disputation for the degree of D.D., he again had a controversy with Prideaux about the authority of the church; Prideaux's arguments were laid before the king by Laud, and Heylyn was accused of having acted as an informer (*Examen Historicum*, ii. 211–18; SANDERSON, *Peter Pursued*, pp. 6–9). In 1635 Heylyn headed a complaint of the prebendaries of Westminster against their dean, Bishop Williams, which was referred to a body of commissioners. The points raised were trivial, and after many sessions the commissioners could not agree, so that Heylyn only gained the character of a malicious busybody (HACKET, *Life of Williams*, ii. 90–9). In 1636 Heylyn was ordered by the king to write a 'History of the Sabbath,' as an answer to the scruples raised by the puritans. The book was written and printed in four months. At the same time Heylyn enjoyed a malicious triumph over his old antagonist Prideaux by translating from the Latin a discourse on the sabbath which had been read at Oxford in 1622, and took a broader view of the matter than was agreeable to the puritans, who regarded Prideaux as one of their champions. This, however, was only an episode in Heylyn's pursuit of Bishop Williams, whom Charles I and Laud were desirous to discredit. Heylyn brought to light a letter of Williams to the vicar of Grantham, written in 162[illegible], in which the bishop ruled that the communion-table should stand, 'not altar-wise, but table-wise,' and supported his ruling from Elizabeth's injunctions. This letter Heylyn pulled to pieces in a pamphlet, 'A Coal from the Altar' (licensed 5 May 1636). To this Williams replied by a book, 'The Holy Table, Name and Thing,' which professed to be written by a Lincolnshire clergyman, and only to be licensed by the bishop (licensed for his own diocese 30 Nov. 1636). Heylyn quickly retorted by 'Antidotum Lincolnense, an Answer to the Bishop of Lincoln's Book,' and certainly had the best of it in smartness and point (*ib.* ii. 101–10; GARDINER, *Hist. Engl.* viii. 253). Williams was suspended by the Star-chamber 24 July 1637, and controversy with him became needless.

On the removal of Williams, Heylyn was made treasurer for the chapter of Westminster, and did good service in repairing the abbey. He was presented by the chapter to the living of Islip, Oxfordshire, which he at once exchanged for South Warnborough, Hampshire, so as to have his benefices nearer together. About this time Heylyn's eyesight began to fail him, and in 1638 he and his family were attacked by a d-

gerous fever at Alresford. On his recovery, undeterred by the fact that he had to depend on an uneducated amanuensis, he returned to his studies, and began to collect materials for his 'History of the Reformation of the Church of England.' But his literary pursuits were soon interrupted. When the Short parliament met in 1640, Heylyn in convocation proposed a conference with the commons about religious matters. He saw the need of some compromise, and was astounded when he heard of the dissolution. However, he showed his loyalty by suggesting to Laud a precedent of Elizabeth's reign for continuing convocation after parliament had ceased to sit, and by this means the clergy made a money grant to the king (*Observations*, p. 197). He is further said to have had the chief part in passing seventeen new canons which asserted the divine right of kings. The canons, however, were not efficacious against the Scottish arms, and Charles had to summon the Long parliament. Heylyn hastened from Alresford to London, when it was proposed that the bishops should take no part in Strafford's trial, as being a 'causa sanguinis.' Heylyn wrote a pamphlet, 'De jure paritatis episcoporum,' in which he asserted their right to take part in any matter brought before the House of Lords. But the tide had turned against Heylyn, and his enemies repaid him in kind. Prynne brought him before a committee of the commons to answer for his share in the condemnation of the 'Histriomastix.' Williams emerged from the Tower, and interrupted Heylyn's sermon in Westminster Abbey by knocking with his staff and exclaiming, 'No more of that point, Peter.' Heylyn soon found that between Williams and the committee of parliament life in London was impossible, and he was allowed to retire to Alresford. There for a time he was permitted to live in peace, but when war broke out, Sir William Waller in 1642 sent a troop of soldiers with orders to bring him prisoner to Portsmouth. He contrived, however, to escape and join the king at Oxford, where he was ordered to chronicle current events in the 'Mercurius Aulicus,' and to act as historian of the war, in which capacity he wrote several 'relations.' The news of this literary activity soon reached London, and led to his being declared a delinquent by the parliamentary committee, whereupon his house at Alresford was stripped of its contents, and his library dispersed, to his great grief. He was now reduced to destitution, and had to send his wife to London to live with her friends, while he wandered in disguise from house to house where he could find entertainment. His wife succeeded in raising some money, and joined her husband at Winchester, where they lived peaceably till the town was taken by the parliamentary forces in 1646. Heylyn had great difficulty in escaping, and again was condemned to wander in various disguises till in 1648 he settled at Minster Lovel, Oxfordshire, the seat of his elder brother, who rented it from his nephew, and farmed it himself. Though he was deprived of his ecclesiastical possessions, he compounded for his sequestered estate, and so obtained a little money. He was able again to return to his studies, and enlarged his 'Geography' into a 'Cosmography,' remembering, as he says in his preface, the advice given him by a bystander when he was examined before the commons' committee, 'Geography is better than divinity.' He was able to live quietly at Minster Lovel, where he entertained some of his old friends, who were less fortunate than himself. In 1653 he bought a house called Lacy's Court, near Abingdon, that he might be able to use the library at Oxford. Here he built a little chapel, and no man hindered him from daily using the liturgy of the church. His parishioners at Alresford showed their affection for him by restoring the chief articles of his furniture, which had been bought by them, and which quieter times allowed them to bring him as a present.

A quiet life, however, did not suit Heylyn. In 1656 he published anonymously 'Observations on Mr. Hamon L'Estrange's Life of Charles I,' in which he dissented from L'Estrange's views of the legality of the proceedings of the Laudian clergy. To this L'Estrange, who easily guessed the authorship, replied by a savage attack on Heylyn, who answered in 'Extraneus Vapulans, or the Observator rescued from the violent but vain attacks of Hamon L'Estrange, Esq.;' the smartest and most telling of Heylyn's controversial writings, abounding in sarcasm, and clothing a good deal of learning with a light garb of witty repartee. Encouraged by the reception of this book, he ventured next year to publish 'Ecclesia Vindicata, or the Church of England justified.' It is a sign of Cromwell's toleration that such a book was allowed to circulate; but though opinions were winked at, they had to be paid for, and Heylyn's estate was decimated by the major-general. Heylyn, however, was able to exercise his love of contention by struggling manfully to prevent a scheme for pulling down the church of St. Nicholas, Abingdon, a struggle in which he was practically successful. But he found a more important subject for controversy with Nicholas Bernard [q. v.], to some of whose remarks,

made in a funeral sermon on Archbishop Ussher, he had already replied in 'Extraneus Vapulans.' Bernard in 1657 published a book, 'The Judgement of the late Primate of Ireland of the extent of Christ's Death and Sacrifice, of the Sabbath and observance of the Lord's Day,' &c., to which Heylyn in 1658 made answer in 'Respondet Petrus, or the Answer of Peter Heylyn, D.D., to Dr. Bernard's book, with an Appendix in answer to certain passages in Mr. Sanderson's "History of the Life and Reign of King Charles."' In this Heylyn returned to the examination of the puritan view of the sabbath, and passed on to the relations between Ussher and Strafford. Bernard was said to have applied to Cromwell that Heylyn's book as directed against the sabbath should be burned. The question was committed by the lord mayor of London to a committee of divines, and Heylyn, who heard of this on a visit to London, begged that this indignity should not be inflicted on him, and the matter was allowed to drop (*Certamen Epistolare, or the Letter-combat managed with Mr. Baxter, Dr. Bernard*, &c., pp. 118–31).

Heylyn, however, could not long restrain his pen from criticism, nor abandon his function of setting all men right. In 1658–9 he published 'Examen Historicum, or a Discovery and Examination of the Mistakes, Falsities, and Defects in some Modern Histories.' In this book he first attacked Fuller's 'Church History,' and had no difficulty in pointing out a number of errors in matters of detail; but he further criticised the general method and spirit of the book, and exposed with sharpness its puritan tendencies. The second part of the 'Examen' was devoted to William Sanderson's 'History of Charles I from the Cradle to the Grave.' Sanderson replied in 'Post-haste,' a reply to which Heylyn added as an appendix in his second edition. Fuller also replied in 'The Appeal of Injured Innocence,' which was not so much a justification of himself as a witty apology. He sent a copy of this to Heylyn with a characteristically genial letter (*Certamen Epistolare*, pp. 312–14), which, however, did not mollify Heylyn's temper at the time, though a little while afterwards Fuller paid him a visit at Abingdon, which led to a friendship between the two men. Before this took place, however, Heylyn added to the number of his controversies by attacking Baxter for some passages in the preface of 'The Grotian Religion,' which reflected on himself. He now joined his various controversies together in 'Certamen Epistolare, or the Letter-combat managed with Mr. Baxter, Dr. Bernard, Mr. Hickman, and J. H. [John Harrington], Esq., with an Examination of Fuller's Appeal of Injured Innocence' (1659).

Controversy, however, was laid aside in the rapid changes of events which brought about the restoration of Charles II, on which Heylyn returned to his house at Westminster. He was present as sub-dean at the king's coronation on 23 April 1661, and urged upon Clarendon in a letter the desirability of calling convocation together when parliament met. His advice was adopted, and when convocation assembled in May, his house at Westminster, which he lost no time in repairing, was the meeting-place of his clerical friends, who came to him for counsel (KENNETT, *Register of Convocation*, pp. 450–451). In the proceedings of the ecclesiastical restoration he was consulted with respect, and would probably have been made a bishop but for his physical infirmity, which increased so that he rarely left his house except to go to church. His last years were entirely devoted to study; but he was afflicted with a quartan ague and gradually wasted away. He died on 8 May 1662, and was buried in Westminster Abbey, where an epitaph was put up in his honour composed by Dean Earle. He was the father of eleven children, and his widow survived him.

In personal appearance Heylyn was short and spare; Wood says that he was 'of very mean port and presence;' in later years he grew so spare that he 'looked like a skeleton.' There is a portrait of him by R. White in a frontispiece to his 'Historical and Miscellaneous Tracts' (1681). His temper was nervous and irritable, and his manner was restless. Though he subdued his temper in his ordinary dealings with others, it was increased in his writings by the intensity of a student's concentration on his subject. Heylyn was above all things a critical student of the academic type, a man of wide reading and tenacious memory, with an instinct for discovering mistakes in detail, and a contempt for ignorance, which blinded him to the good points of those from whom he differed. Though personally kindly, he was an acrimonious controversialist. Hacket calls him 'a bluster-master,' and Anthony à Wood expresses the opinion of many contemporaries when he characterises him as 'very conceited and pragmatical.' Heylyn was, however, a man who never shrank from expressing his opinions to the full. He was also a devoted student, and deserves admiration for his resolute struggle against the disadvantage of blindness. After 1651 he was entirely unable to read or write himself, and for some years before his sight had gradually been failing. It is remarkable that in spite of this

he should have undertaken many controversies, which required many quotations and turned upon minute points of detailed knowledge. That he should have been able to do this was owing to his accurate memory, of which he says that he 'always thought that tenure *in capite* was a nobler and more honourable tenure than to hold by copy' (*Extraneus Vapulans*, p. 132).

Heylyn's most important books were finished during the last years of his life, and were intended to furnish a complete survey of the ecclesiastical questions of his time. They are valuable as an exposition of the historical views of the Laudian school, and show both the basis of sound knowledge and the one-sided application of it to current questions which mark Laud's policy. In Heylyn's works we find the literary justification of Laud's conduct, especially in 'Ecclesia Restaurata,' 'Cyprianus Anglicus,' and 'Aerius Redivivus.' 'Ecclesia Restaurata, or the History of the Reformation,' was published in London in 1661, and went rapidly through two other editions, 1670, 1674; the last edition has emendations, apparently by the author; it was edited in 1849 by the Rev. J. C. Robertson for the Ecclesiastical History Society. The history extends from the accession of Edward to the completion of the Elizabethan settlement in 1566. Heylyn has not brought to light any new facts, but he is the first writer who has attempted to estimate the losses as well as the gains of the religious convulsion of the sixteenth century. He dwells upon the irregularities and disorders as a justification of Laud's attempt to restore ecclesiastical order. 'Cyprianus Anglicus, or the History of the Life and Death of William Laud, Archbishop of Canterbury' (1668, 1671, 1719), is a defence of Laud against Prynne's 'Canterburies Doom,' and is the chief authority for Laud's personal character and private life. 'Aerius Redivivus, or the History of Presbyterianism' (1670, 1672), traces the origin of the English troubles to the spirit of the puritans, by showing that their party, from the days of Calvin, had been the source of civil discord. Besides these was published in 1681 'Κειμήλια ἐκκλησιαστικά, or Historical and Miscellaneous Tracts,' containing (1) 'Ecclesia Vindicata, or the Church of England justified,' originally published in 1657, which incorporated several other works, such as 'The History of Episcopacy' (1642), 'The History of Liturgies,' 'Parliament's Power in Laws for Religion' (1645), and 'The Undeceiving of the People in the Point of Tithes' (1648); (2) 'The History of the Sabbath,' 1635; (3) 'Historia Quinquarticularis, or a Historical Declaration on the Five Controverted Points reproached in the name of Arminianism,' originally published in 1660; (4) 'The Stumbling-block of Disobedience and Rebellion,' originally published in 1658; (5) 'De Jure Paritatis Episcoporum.' There is a full catalogue of Heylyn's writings in Wood's 'Athenæ Oxon.' iii. 557–67.

[There are two Lives of Heylyn by contemporaries, and it would seem that Heylyn's controversial spirit affected even his biographers. When the tracts were preparing for publication in 1681 the publisher applied to Heylyn's son for a biographical introduction. The commission was given to George Vernon, rector of Bourton-on-the-Water, Gloucestershire, but when the manuscript was delivered the publisher was disappointed to find that it was not from the pen of Heylyn's son-in-law, John Barnard or Bernard [q. v.], rector of Waddington, Lincoln, who had been set aside owing to family differences. The publisher sent Vernon's manuscript to Barnard, who made great alterations, which were submitted by the publisher to Thomas Barlow, bishop of Lincoln, who corrected unsparingly the result of the previous revision (Wood, Athenæ Oxon. iv. 606). This is the origin of the Life prefixed to the Tracts. Its appearance in this mutilated form excited the wrath of Vernon and Barnard alike, and in 1682 Vernon published his Life of Dr. Peter Heylyn, with a preface that seemed to reflect on Barnard. This provoked Barnard to publish in 1683 Theologo-Historicus, or the True Life of the most reverend Divine and excellent Historian, Peter Heylyn, D.D., with a long preface directed against Vernon's plagiarisms and calumnies (see Disraeli, Curiosities of Literature, ed. 1849, iii. 238, The Rival Biographers of Heylyn). The statements contained in these competing biographies do not materially differ. Barnard's Life has been printed by Robertson in his edition of the Ecclesia Restaurata, incorporating from Vernon any additional information. See also Wood's Athenæ Oxon. iii. 552–569; Walker's Sufferings of the Clergy, ii. 90; Lloyd's Memoirs of the Lives of Excellent Personages who suffered for Protestantism, pp. 525–528.] M. C.

**HEYLYN** or **HEYLIN**, ROWLAND (1562 ?–1631), sheriff of London, was descended from an ancient family seated at Pentreheylin in the parish of Llandysilio, Montgomeryshire, whose members were hereditary cupbearers (as the name signifies) to the princes of Powys. The names of Heylyn's parents are not known. According to the records of the Ironmongers' Company of London he was born in 1562. On 26 April 1576 he was apprenticed to Thomas Wade, was admitted to the freedom of the Ironmongers' Company on 4 May 1584, was an assistant in 1612, and served as master in 1614 and 1625. Heylyn lived in the parish of St. Alban,

Wood Street, and on 20 April 1624 was elected alderman of Cripplegate ward (*City Records*, Repertory 38, fol. 109 *b*). On Midsummer-day following he was elected sheriff of London, the company presenting him 'with twentie pieces of xxij*s*. the piece, towards the trimming of his house, and the loan of such plate as he may want' (NICHOLL, *Hist. of the Ironmongers' Company*, 1866, pp. 197–8). Heylyn in 1630 published the Welsh Bible at his own charge in a portable volume. He also promoted the publication of a Welsh dictionary, and a Welsh translation of 'The Practice of Piety,' written by Lewis Bayly [q. v.], bishop of Bangor. He died childless in 1631. By his will, dated 5 Sept. 1629, and proved 15 Feb. 1631 [Audley, 23], he left the bulk of his estates at Laleham and Staines in Middlesex, and various manors in Staffordshire and other counties, to Thomas Nicholls, son of his sister Anne, and Thomas Hunt, son of his sister Eleanor, a life interest being reserved to his wife; 300*l*. was bequeathed to the corporation of Shrewsbury (with which place he was closely connected) in trust for the poor, 100*l*. to Bridewell and 50*l*. to Christ's Hospital, 300*l*. to poor ministers, besides 100*l*. for the benefit of poor prisoners in London detained for debts less than 4*l*. He also left 200*l*. to the Ironmongers' Company as stock to be lent, in portions of 50*l*., for four years, to four young men of the company, and 100*l*. to provide for a yearly sermon in thankful remembrance of the deliverance from the Gunpowder plot, and for a dinner afterwards (*ib*. p. 560). His wife Alice, who died in 1641, also bequeathed 100*l*. to the company (*ib*. p. 475). A portrait of Heylyn, painted by Henry Cocke in 1640, is preserved in the court room at Ironmongers' Hall (*ib*. p. 464). Portraits of Heylyn and his wife and of his daughter and her husband were, in 1804, in the possession of Major-general William Congreve, R.A., then residing at Charlton, Kent (*Gent. Mag.* 1804, pt. ii. p. 723). Dr. Peter Heylyn [q. v.], chaplain of Charles I, was the grandson of Rowland Heylyn's brother.

[Two identical but most inaccurate accounts of Rowland Heylyn are given by the biographers of Dr. Heylyn, John Barnard (Life of Dr. Heylyn, by Theologo-Historicus, London, 1683, 12mo) and G. Vernon (Life, &c., London, 1682, 12mo). Mr. E. Rowley Morris has obligingly supplied information.] C. W–H.

**HEYMAN**, SIR PETER (1580–1641), politician, born on 13 May 1580, was the eldest son of Henry Heyman of Somerfield Hall, Sellinge, Kent, by Rebecca, daughter and coheiress of Robert Horne [q. v.], bishop of Winchester. He commenced his career as a soldier. Passing over to Ireland with detachments sent by Queen Elizabeth to act against the insurgents, he did excellent service, for which he received a grant of lands, probably in co. Cork. On his return to England, he was knighted by James I. The dates of these events are not accessible. To the parliament of 1620–1 he was returned as member for Hythe (*Cal. State Papers*, Dom. 1619–23, p. 212), and soon became prominent as a debater. Early in 1622 Heyman spoke sturdily against the king's demand for a loan of money. As a punishment, he was ordered to attend Lord Chichester into Germany, and to make the journey at his own charge (*ib*. p. 366). He continued to represent Hythe in the first and second parliaments of Charles I (1625 and 1627). On account of his continued opposition to the government of Charles I, he was charged before the council with refractoriness and an unwillingness to serve the king, and on his refusal to pay a fine, was commanded to go to the Palatinate on the royal service at his own cost. When parliament met on 17 March 1627–8, Heyman bore a conspicuous part in the attack on the government, and on 3 April 1628 spoke at length in the discussion on the recent imprisonment of members of parliament or their designation for foreign employment for non-compliance with the king's demands for loans of money. When the speaker (Sir John Finch) refused to allow Eliot's 'Short Declaration' to be read, and tried to leave the chair on 2 March 1628–9, Heyman said he was sorry that the speaker was a Kentish-man, 'and that you are of that name which hath borne some good reputation in our own country,' and suggested that he should be called to the bar and a new speaker chosen. On the following day parliament was dissolved. Heyman and eight others were summoned by warrant to appear next morning before the council. He obeyed, and underwent a searching examination, but as he refused to answer out of parliament for what he had said in parliament, he was committed close prisoner to the Tower. On 7 May an information against him and the other members was filed in the court of Star-chamber by the attorney-general (*ib*. 1628–9, p. 540). Through the favour of Secretary Viscount Dorchester, Heyman was soon afterwards enlarged, but the king interfered, and under his sign-manual Heyman was consigned to closer confinement than before. In a letter to Lord Dorchester, dated 18 May 1629, he details his sufferings and the attempts to overawe the counsel retained for his defence (*State Paper Office*, Dom. Chas. I, vol. cxlii. art. 97). On 22 Mar

he put in his plea and demurrer (*Cal. State Papers*, Dom. 1628–9, p. 556). His counsel made a successful defence, and after some further imprisonment, Heyman obtained his freedom (*State Trials*, ed. Cobbett and Howell, iii. 235–336).

Heyman was elected to the Long parliament (November 1640) as a representative for Dover, his son Henry taking his place at Hythe. He died before 20 Feb. 1640–1, when a new member of parliament was elected to fill the vacancy caused by his death. On 4 March 1640–1 his estate was administered to by his son Henry (*Administration Act Book, P. C. C.*, 1641–2, f. 20). He married, first, Sarah (*d.* 1615), daughter and coheiress of Peter Collett, merchant, of London, by whom he had a son and a daughter; and secondly, Mary, daughter and coheiress of Ralph Woolley, also a London merchant, by whom he had five sons and five daughters. On 18 July 1646 the sum of 5,000*l.* was voted by parliament to Heyman's heirs for the losses and sufferings undergone by him and for his service done to the Commonwealth 'in the Parliament in tertio Caroli I.'

[Rev. Canon Hayman in Reliquary, xx. 86–90, 145–51; Gardiner's Hist. of Engl. vii. 75, 80; Official Lists of Members of Parliament, i. 497.]
G. G.

**HEYNES, SIMON** (*d.* 1552), dean of Exeter, was educated at Queens' College, Cambridge. He graduated B.A. in 1515–16, was elected fellow of his college in 1516, proceeded M.A. in 1519, and had a title for orders from Queens' College in February 1521. He took part in procuring the expulsion of Dr. John Jennins from the presidentship of Queens' in 1518, and in 1528 was himself elected president. Being empowered by the college to make bargains and covenants at his discretion, he alienated some of the estates belonging to the society. On 28 Nov. 1528 he was instituted to the rectory of Barrow, Suffolk. He was one of the delegates appointed by the senate to make a determination as to the king's divorce in 1529–30; commenced D.D. in 1531, and in 1532–3 and 1533–4 served the office of vice-chancellor. On 23 May 1533 he attested Cranmer's instrument of divorce at Dunstable, and in 1534 was admitted vicar of Stepney, Middlesex, in which year he and Dr. Skip were selected by the court to preach at Cambridge against the supremacy of the pope. In 1535 he was sent with Mount as ambassador to France. At the end of the same year he was instituted to the rectory of Fulham, Middlesex, and on 24 Dec. was installed canon of Windsor (Le Neve, *Fasti*, ed. Hardy, iii. 392). On 16 July 1537 he was elected dean of Exeter (*ib.* i. 387), in which capacity he attended the baptism of Prince Edward, afterwards Edward VI, and soon afterwards resigned the presidentship of Queens' College. A letter in condemnation of the bill of the six articles, addressed by him to a member of parliament, is printed in Strype's 'Ecclesiastical Memorials,' 8vo edit., vol. i. pt. ii. p. 408. In 1538 he and Edmund Bonner [q. v.], afterwards bishop of London, were sent to Spain, and joined in commission with Sir Thomas Wyatt (1503–1542) [q. v.], the ambassador there. Offended by Wyatt's contemptuous treatment of them, they afterwards charged him with holding traitorous correspondence with Reginald Pole and speaking disrespectfully of the king. Heynes signed the decree of 9 July 1540 invalidating the marriage of Henry VIII with Anne of Cleves, and on the following 17 Dec. the king made him one of the first prebendaries of Westminster (*ib.* iii. 350). He was also a visitor of the university of Oxford, the college of Windsor, and the church of Exeter, and one of the commissioners against the anabaptists. He also assisted in the compilation of the first English liturgy. He died in October 1552, leaving by his wife Joan (afterwards married to William May, archbishop-elect of York) two sons, Joseph, aged five years, and Simon (will in P. C. C. 29, Powell).

[Cooper's Athenæ Cantabr. i. 80, 542; Letters and Papers of Reign of Henry VIII (Brewer and Gairdner).]
G. G.

**HEYRICK, RICHARD** (1600–1667), warden of Manchester Collegiate Church, born in London on 9 Sept. (or according to Robinson, *Merchant Taylors' School Register*, on 25 May) 1600, was cousin to Robert Herrick [q. v.] the poet, and son of Sir William Hericke [q. v.], alderman and goldsmith of London, who purchased Beaumanor, Leicestershire. He was educated at Merchant Taylors' School, London, and at St. John's College, Oxford, where he entered as a commoner in 1617. He graduated B.A. on 19 Oct. 1619, and M.A. on 26 June 1622. He is also styled B.D. By special recommendation of the king he was elected fellow of All Souls' College on 14 Jan. 1624–5. About that time he took orders, and was instituted on 9 June 1626 to the rectory of North Repps, Norfolk. There had been many money transactions between James I and Heyrick's father, and by way of settlement of a loan Sir William received for his son the reversion of the wardenship of Manchester Collegiate Church, which was granted by Charles I by

letters patent of 14 Nov. 1626. Heyrick succeeded to the wardenship in 1635, but not without some preliminary difficulty, which Archbishop Laud claimed the credit of overcoming (*Troubles and Tryals of Laud*, p. 369).

In 1641 he published 'Three Sermons preached at the Collegiate Church in Manchester,' 8vo, in which he denounced with bitter prejudice and vindictive sarcasm Romanists and high episcopalians. He identified himself with the presbyterians, and eventually became the chief pillar of that party in Lancashire. In 1642 he drew up an address from the county of Lancaster to Charles I, containing what was in effect an offer to mediate between the king and parliament for peace and reconciliation (Ormerod, *Lanc. Civil War Tracts*, p. 8). On 23 April of the same year Heyrick, who had about that time taken the covenant, was appointed by parliament one of the divines for Lancashire to be consulted about church government, the other being Charles Herle [q. v.], rector of Winwick; and on 9 Oct. 1643 he was one of the ministers appointed by the House of Commons to decide upon the orthodoxy and maintenance of Lancashire ministers. He was the main instrument in establishing throughout Lancashire the presbyterian system in 1646, and wrote the 'Harmonious Consent of the Ministers within the County Palatine of Lancaster with their Reverend Brethren the Ministers of the Province of London,' &c., 1648, 4to. Along with Richard Hollinworth (1607–1656) [q.v.], he acted as moderator of the Lancashire synod, and in the affairs of the Manchester classis his influence was predominant, and his care in all matters, especially in providing useful and pious ministers, was conspicuous. As a member of the assembly of divines he preached before the House of Commons on 27 May 1646. In this sermon, afterwards printed with the title of 'Queen Esther's Resolves; or a Princely Pattern of Heaven-born Resolution,' he makes pathetic mention of the services of Manchester in the cause of God and the kingdom, and of the impoverished condition of the church's ministers in that town. He was a zealous co-operator in the work of the collegiate chapter, and a sturdy defender of its rights whenever assailed. By his remonstrance he procured the restoration of the church revenues which had been taken away by parliament in 1645. On the dissolution of the collegiate body in 1650, he was allowed to retain his position as one of the town's ministers, at a salary of 100*l.* In 1657–8 he took an active part in the proceedings described in a volume entitled 'The Censures of the Church Revived,' 4to, 1659, occasioned by the Rev. Isaac Allen, rector of Prestwich, with others, disputing the authority of the Manchester classis in matters of church discipline.

He was consistent in his loyalty to the king, strongly protesting on several occasions against the growing power and republican principles of the independents. In 1651 he was arrested for being implicated in Love's plot for the restoration of Charles II [see Love, Christopher]. He was imprisoned in London, but through the influence, it is supposed, of George Booth, first lord Delamere [q. v.], was pardoned and released. When Booth rose in Cheshire in 1659 Heyrick, although sympathetic, was irresolute in action, like many other ministers. He hailed the Restoration with enthusiasm in a sermon preached on 23 April 1661, and afterwards published without his authority (Hibbert-Ware, *Manchester Foundations*, i. 361). He complied with the Act of Uniformity by 'reading the service book' on 14 Sept. 1662, and maintained his position of warden until his death, having no doubt moderated his religious tenets. Before 1662 he had held, along with the Manchester wardenship, the rectory of Thornton-in-the-Moors, near Chester (Wood, *Athenæ Oxon.* iii. 781; Newcome, *Diary*, p. 118). He also held the rectory of Ashton-upon-Mersey, Cheshire, from 14 July 1640 to 1642 (Renshaw, *Ashton-upon-Mersey*, 1889, p. 16).

He was twice married: first, when he was at North Repps, to Helen, daughter of Thomas Corbet of Sprowston, Norfolk, by whom he had seven children; and secondly, in 1642, to Anna Maria Hall, a widow, daughter of Erasmus Breton of Hamburg. By his second wife he had six children.

He died on 6 Aug. 1667, aged 67, and was buried in the choir of the Manchester Collegiate Church, a long Latin epitaph, written by his old friend Thomas Case [q. v.], being inscribed on his monument. The eulogy is extravagant; but Heyrick was a fair scholar, an eloquent preacher, and a conscientious man, if somewhat impetuous in temper. Henry Newcome, in dedicating his book, the 'Sinner's Hope,' 1660, to Heyrick, speaks in high laudation of 'his much honoured brother and faithful fellow-labourer in the congregation' at Manchester.

[Nichols's Leicestershire, iii. 159; Wood's Athenæ Oxon. (Bliss), iii. 780; Wood's Fasti, i. 386, 406; Hibbert-Ware's Manchester Foundations; Raines's Wardens of Manchester (Cheth. Soc.), ii. 122; Newcome's Diary and Autobiography (Cheth. Soc.); Worthington's Diary (Cheth. Soc.), ii. 236; Martindale's Diary (Cheth. Soc.);

Dugdale's Visitation of Lanc. (Cheth. Soc.), ii. 138; Palatine Note-book, i. 19, 20, 81, 104, 155, 167, ii. 183, 233; Earwaker's Manchester Court Leet Records, iv. 283; Journals of House of Commons, iii. 270, iv. 127, v. 662, 663; bibliography in Trans. Lanc. and Cheshire Antiq. Soc. vii. 134.] C. W. S.

**HEYRICK, THOMAS** (*d.* 1694), poet and divine, son of Thomas Heyrick of Market Harborough, Leicestershire, and grandson of Thomas Heyrick (or Herrick), elder brother of Robert Herrick the poet [q. v.], was educated at Peterhouse, Cambridge, where he graduated B.A. in 1670 and M.A. in 1675. In 1671 he was among the contributors to the collection of Cambridge verses on the death of Anne, duchess of York. He became curate of Market Harborough, and in 1685 published 'The Character of a Rebel. A Sermon preached . . . on . . . the Day of Thanksgiving . . . for His Majesties Victory over the Rebels,' London, 4to, with a dedication to Edward Griffin, esq., treasurer of the Great Chamber. His 'Miscellany Poems' appeared in 1691, 4to, with a dedication to the Countess of Rutland, and commendatory verses by Joshua Barnes, William Tunstall, and others. The long rambling Pindaric (which begins on sig. Q, with a new title-page), 'The Submarine Voyage,' is tiresome reading; but some of the shorter poems—'On a Peacock,' 'On an Ape,' 'On the Crocodile,' 'On a Sunbeam,' &c.—are quaint and fanciful. Heyrick has commendatory verses before Joshua Barnes's 'History of Edward III,' 1691. He was buried at Market Harborough on 4 Aug. 1694.

[Nichols's Leicestershire, ii. 502.] A. H. B.

**HEYSHAM, JOHN,** M.D. (1753–1834), physician, born at Lancaster on 22 Nov. 1753, was the son of John Heysham, shipowner, by Anne Cumming, the daughter of a Westmoreland 'statesman.' He was educated at a school kept by quakers at Yealand, near Burton, Westmoreland, and then apprenticed for five years to a surgeon at Burton. In 1774 he joined the medical classes at Edinburgh, and graduated M.D. in 1777. His thesis was 'De rabie canina,' a disease of which no case in man or dog ever occurred in his own experience. In 1778 he settled in practice at Carlisle, and resided there until his death on 23 March 1834. He was buried in St. Mary's Church, and a memorial window has been placed at the east end of the south aisle of the cathedral. His practice at no time exceeded 400*l.* a year. In 1779 he began the statistical observations by which he is best known: a record of the annual births, marriages, diseases, and deaths in Carlisle for ten years (to 1788), including a census of the inhabitants in 1780, and again in 1788. These statistics, which were published with remarks on them at Carlisle in 1797, were used in 1816 by Joshua Milne, actuary of the Sun Life Assurance Office, as the basis of the well-known Carlisle Table. Heysham was also a naturalist, his observations on the flora and fauna of his district being recorded in Hutchinson's 'History of Cumberland.' He was intimate with the cathedral dignitaries, and is conjectured to have assisted Archdeacon Paley on questions of structural design in nature. He published also 'An Account of the Jail Fever at Carlisle in 1781,' London, 1782. In Nichols's 'Literary Illustrations' (viii. 267) there is a letter of Bishop Percy, in which he recommends Heysham; and a letter of Heysham's to Percy is in the same collection (viii. 357). With the help of the dean and chapter he established the first dispensary for the poor at Carlisle. Having been a strong tory and supporter of the Lonsdale family most of his life, he joined the reform movement in 1832. His informal conduct as a justice of the peace, together with other personal traits, are fully and amusingly described by his biographer.

[The Life of John Heysham, M.D., and his correspondence with Mr. Joshua Milne relative to the Carlisle Bills of Mortality, by H. Lonsdale, M.D., London, 1870.] C. C.

**HEYTESBURY, WILLIAM** (*fl.* 1340), logician, is mentioned as a fellow of Merton College, Oxford, in 1330, of which college he was bursar in 1338 (G. C. Brodrick, *Memorials of Merton College, Oxford*, 1885, p. 207). In a record of the scrutinies of the college in 1338–9, printed by J. E. Thorold Rogers (*History of Agriculture and Prices*, ii. 670–4, Oxford, 1866), his name appears variously as Hethelbury, Hegterbury, and Hegtelbury, and this last spelling suggests an identification with the William Heightilbury who was appointed one of the original fellows of Queen's College in 1340 (Wood, *Hist. and Antiq. of Oxford, Colleges and Halls*, ed. Gutch, p. 139), a presumption which gains a high degree of probability when it is considered that three others of the original fellows of Queen's College are named in the scrutinies of 1338–9 as fellows of Merton, and more were members of that college. Possibly the founder of Queen's College purposely withdrew from Merton College those fellows whom the scrutiny shows to have constituted a malcontent minority of their body. The only remaining notice of Heytesbury's life is that he (William Heighterbury or Hetisbury) was a doctor of divinity and chancellor of the university in 1371 (Wood, *Fasti Oxon.* ed. Gutch, p. 28), at which date

he was evidently advanced in years, so that the date (1380) given by Bale for his 'floruit' is too late. That he was 'philosophiæ magister Cantabrigiensis,' as Tanner asserts (*Bibl. Brit.* p. 400), on the authority of Bale and Pits, is a mistake not to be found in either of those writers, but due apparently to inadvertence on Tanner's own part.

Heytesbury's works are all printed under the name of Hentisberus or Tisberius (cf. Wood, *Survey of the Antiquities of the City of Oxford*, ed. A. Clark, vol. i. 1889, pp. 345 f.), and exist in the following editions: 1. 'Sophismata magistri Guliermi Entisberi,' printed at Pavia (not Paris, as Tanner states) in 1481, folio. 2. A series of treatises, 'De sensu composito et diviso,' 'de insolubilibus,' 'de scire et dubitare,' 'de relativis,' 'de incipit et desinit,' 'de maximo et minimo,' and 'de motu locali,' followed by the 'Sophismata xxxii' (as in the edition of 1481) and tracts 'de veritate et falsitate propositionis' and 'de probationibus conclusionum,' edited by Johannes Maria Mapellus, with commentaries by Gaetanus de Thienis and others (Venice, 1494, fol.) An edition, printed at Venice in 1483, and described by Hain (*Repert. Bibliogr.* No. 8441) as containing works by Hentisberi, contains, in fact, only the commentaries of Gaetanus on the treatises included in the edition of 1494, with the exception of the 'De sensu composito et diviso,' of the last two 'Sophismata' (which are given in a different order), and of the two tracts which conclude the 1494 volume. C. von Prantl names also an edition of the 'De sensu composito et diviso' printed at Bologna in 1504, 4to, with the commentary of B. Victorius (*Geschichte der Logik im Abendlande*, iv. 89 *n.* 347, Leipzig, 1870). 3. 'Consequentie subtiles Tisberii,' printed with the 'Consequentie Strodi' (signature o, 8) at Venice in 1517 (not, as Tanner, 1511) in folio.

Heytesbury's position as a logician, chiefly with respect to the doctrine of the 'Obligatoria' and 'Insolubilia,' is discussed by Prantl, l. c. pp. 89–93.

[Authorities cited above.] R. L. P.

**HEYTESBURY**, Baron, **WILLIAM A'COURT** (1779–1860), eldest son of Sir William Pierce Ashe A'Court, M.P. for Aylesbury, by his second wife, Letitia, daughter of Henry Wyndham of Salisbury, was born 11 July 1779, and educated at Eton. He entered the diplomatic service, and in 1801 he was appointed secretary of legation at Naples by Lord Hawkesbury (afterwards Lord Liverpool). In 1807 he became secretary to the special mission at Vienna. In 1812 he was made first commissioner for affairs at Malta, and on 5 Jan. 1813 was gazetted envoy extraordinary to the Barbary States. In 1814 he held the same appointment at Naples, and his conduct during the revolution was highly commended by Lord Castlereagh (Colchester, *Diary*, iii. 160). In 1822 he became envoy extraordinary to Spain, and in 1824 ambassador to Portugal. In 1828, during the Russo-Turkish war of that date, he was transferred as ambassador to Russia, where he remained till August 1832. His position was difficult; he had to journey to the seat of hostilities, and was reprimanded for an imprudent conversation with the czar, whom at that time he greatly admired. Lord Ellenborough records (*Political Diary*, i. 247) that he took the censure well. He succeeded his father as second baronet in 1817, and in the same year he was created a privy councillor, and in 1819 he became G.C.B. In 1828 A'Court was created Baron Heytesbury of Heytesbury, Wiltshire. In 1835 he was nominated by Sir Robert Peel's ministry governor-general of India, but the ministry resigned very soon afterwards, and Heytesbury did not assume office. From 26 July 1844 to 1846 he was viceroy of Ireland in Sir Robert Peel's administration, and was energetic in raising subscriptions in behalf of sufferers from the famine. He was governor of the Isle of Wight till 1857. Heytesbury died at Heytesbury on 31 May 1860. He married, in 1808, Maria Rebecca, second daughter of the Hon. William Henry Bouverie, son of the Earl of Radnor, and left by her a son, W. H. Ashe A'Court, who succeeded to the barony, and a daughter, Cecilia Maria, who married the Hon. Robert Daly.

[Authorities cited; Times, 1 June 1860; Burke's Peerage; Foster's Peerage; Haydn's Book of Dignities; Gent. Mag. 1860, ii. 90.]
W. A. J. A.

**HEYTHER, WILLIAM** (*d.* 1627), musician. [See Heather.]

**HEYWOOD**, Sir **BENJAMIN** (1793–1865), banker, son of Nathaniel Heywood, banker, was born at Manchester on 12 Dec. 1793, and educated at the Glasgow University. On coming of age he was admitted a partner in his father's bank, eventually becoming the head of the firm. He was greatly interested in the welfare, and especially the education, of the working classes. The Manchester Mechanics' Institution was founded chiefly by him, and he was its president from the commencement in 1825 until 1840. He delivered a series of admirable addresses at that institution. These were collected and published in 1843, two of them having been previously

published in 1825 and 1827. He was elected M.P. for Lancashire in 1831 as a whig, but parliamentary life did not suit his health, and he retired in the following year. He was created a baronet in 1838. In 1843 he became F.R.S. He married, in 1816, Sophia Ann, daughter of Thomas Robinson of the Woodlands, Manchester, and left several children. He died at Claremont, Manchester, on 11 Aug. 1865. There is a portrait of him by Bradley at the Manchester Technical School.

[Journal of Brit. Archæol. Association, 1866, xxii. 326; Proc. Royal Society, xv. p. xxiv; Grindon's Manchester Banks and Bankers, 1877; Baker's Memorials of a Dissenting Chapel, p. 116.] C. W. S.

**HEYWOOD, ELIZA** (1693?–1756), authoress. [See HAYWOOD.]

**HEYWOOD, ELLIS or ELIZÆUS** (1530–1578), jesuit, eldest son of John Heywood [q. v.] the epigrammatist, and brother of Jasper Heywood [q. v.], was born in London in 1530, and 'by the indulgence of his father was carefully educated in juvenile learning in that city.' Thence he was sent to Oxford, and in 1548 was elected a fellow of All Souls' College. He applied himself to the study of law, and was admitted to the degree of B.C.L. on 18 July 1552 (*Oxf. Univ. Reg.*, Oxf. Hist. Soc., i. 218). Being opposed to the doctrines of the reformers, he withdrew to the continent, travelled in France and Italy, where he was received into the family of Cardinal Pole, who appointed him one of his secretaries. He does not appear, however, to have accompanied the cardinal to England in Mary's reign, for in 1556 he was residing in Florence. He entered the Society of Jesus in 1566, probably at Dillengen in Bavaria, and afterwards became spiritual father and preacher in the professed house of the society at Antwerp. When the college was attacked by a mob of fanatics, and the community violently expelled, he took refuge at Louvain, where he died on 2 Oct. (O.S.) 1578.

His only known work is an extremely rare book, entitled 'Il Moro d'Heliseo Heiuodo Inglese,' Florence, 1556, 8vo, lib. ii. pp. 180, with dedication to Cardinal Pole. It is a fictitious dialogue, representing Sir Thomas More's conversations with the learned men of his time. Heywood is said to have written other works, printed abroad.

[MS. Addit. 24488, pp. 1, 501; De Backer's Bibl. des Écrivains de la Compagnie de Jésus, ii. 75; Dodd's Church Hist. i. 146; Foley's Records, i. 388 *n.*, vii. 349; Gillow's Bibl. Dict.; Lowndes's Bibl. Man. (Bohn), p. 1060; More's Hist. Missionis Anglicanæ Soc. Jesu, p. 23; Oliver's Jesuit Collections, p. 115; Sacchini's Historiæ Soc. Jesu, lib. vi. n. 119 seq. and n. 159; Tanner's Bibl. Brit. p. 401; Wood's Athenæ Oxon. (Bliss), i. 406.] T. C.

**HEYWOOD, JAMES** (1687–1776), author, son of John Heywood, born at Cheetham Hill, Manchester, baptised at Manchester on 21 Feb. 1687, was educated at the Manchester grammar school. For many years he carried on the business of a wholesale linendraper in Fish Street Hill, London. He was a governor of St. Bartholomew's, Christ's, Bridewell, and Bethlem hospitals, and was elected alderman of Aldgate ward, but paid the customary fine of 500*l.* rather than serve the office. In his earlier years he contributed to the 'Freethinker,' the 'Plain-dealer,' and other publications, and a letter of his is printed in No. 268 of the 'Spectator.' These pieces, with some verses, he collected in a small volume of 'Letters and Poems on Several Subjects,' 1722; 2nd edition, with additions, 1726. The poems had previously been published with the title of 'Original Poems on Several Occasions,' 1721. He is alluded to by Steele in the 'Guardian' as a politician and brisk little fellow, who had the habit of twisting off the buttons of persons he conversed with. He died at his house in Austin Friars on 23 July 1776, aged 89.

[N. Drake's Essays illustrative of the Tatler, &c. 1805, iii. 331; Heywood's Letters, pp. 7, 32; Manchester Cathedral Registers; Brit. Mus. Cat.] C. W. S.

**HEYWOOD, JASPER, D.D.** (1535–1598), jesuit and poet, younger son of John Heywood [q. v.] the epigrammatist, and brother of Ellis Heywood [q. v.], was born in London in 1535. When a boy he was one of the pages of honour to the Princess Elizabeth. In 1547 he was sent to Oxford. He was admitted B.A. 15 July 1553, and M.A. 11 July 1558. In 1554 he was elected a probationer fellow of Merton College, where, says Wood, 'he bare away the bell in disputations at home and in the public schools' (*Athenæ Oxon.* ed. Bliss, i. 663). He also distinguished himself by his verse and the translation of three of Seneca's tragedies. He acted as Christmas prince or lord of misrule in Merton College, and among Wood's manuscripts in the Ashmolean Museum is an oration written by David de la Hyde praising his performance of his duties. On receiving for the third time an admonition from the warden and senior fellows of his college with reference to several misdemeanors, he resigned his fellowship on 4 April 1558, thus anticipating expulsion. At the same time he was

recommended by Cardinal Pole, as a polite scholar, an able disputant, and a steady catholic, to the founder of Trinity College, to be nominated for a fellowship of that college, then just founded. The recommendation was without result (WARTON, *Hist. of English Poetry*, iii. 389). In November 1558 he was elected a fellow of All Souls' College (*Oxf. Univ. Reg.*, Oxf. Hist. Soc., i. 221). He was afterwards obliged to resign his fellowship, on account of his non-compliance with the changes in religion. Having been already ordained priest he went to Rome, and on 21 May 1562 was admitted to the Society of Jesus in the professed house there. After publicly teaching philosophy and theology for two years in the Roman college he was sent to the jesuit college at Dillingen in Bavaria. There for seventeen years he was professor of moral theology and controversy, took the degree of D.D., and became a professed father of the society in 1570.

In 1580, at the suggestion of Father Parsons, Pope Gregory XIII begged the elector of Bavaria, Duke William, in an autograph letter, to allow Heywood to go on the English mission. Heywood arrived in England in the summer of 1581, with Father William Holt, and was appointed vice-prefect or superior of the English jesuit mission, in succession to Parsons, who had withdrawn to the continent. Thomas Bell makes a statement, which is scarcely credible, to the effect that he kept many horses and coaches and that his port and bearing were more baron-like than priest-like (*Anatomy of Popish Tyranny*, 1603, i. 9, ii. 25). At this period a dispute was rife between the Marian priests and the seminarists regarding the ancient custom of fasting observed in England. These fasts were of extraordinary severity, and differed from the canonical fasts of the church as regulated by the Roman ritual. Heywood opposed the rigid party, interpreted the fasting rules very leniently, and was consequently recalled from the English mission (BARTOLI, *L'Inghilterra*, pp. 271–80). He sailed for Dieppe, but a violent gale drove the vessel back to the English coast, and on landing he was arrested upon suspicion of being a priest. He was carried to London in chains, and put into the Clink prison on 9 Dec. 1583. He was frequently examined by the privy council, who urged him to conform to the established church, and it is said that he was even offered a bishopric if he would yield (SANDERS, *Anglicana Schism*, ed. Lewis, p. 319). On 5 Feb. 1583–4 he was arraigned in Westminster Hall with five other priests, who were condemned and executed; but for some unexplained reason he was, early in the trial, withdrawn from his fellow-prisoners and conveyed to the Tower, where he endured seventeen months of strict imprisonment. On 21 Jan. 1584–5 he and twenty other priests and one layman were by command of the privy council placed on board a ship moored off the Tower stairs, and against their will put ashore on the coast of France, all being threatened with pain of death if they returned to England. Heywood made a public protest in the name of all that they ought not to be thus exiled without cause and without a legal trial (*ib.* pp. 328–30; HOLINSHED, *Chronicles*, iii. 1379, 1380). They were landed at Boulogne-sur-Mer, and sent to Abbeville under safe conduct. Heywood made his way to the jesuit college at Dôle in Burgundy, where, according to Wood, he was 'much troubled with witches.' In 1589 he was sent to Rome, and eventually settled at Naples, where he died on 9 Jan. 1597–8.

Kennett states that Heywood vaunted and bragged in England as if he were legate of the apostolic see, that he called a provincial council, abrogated the vigils and fasts of our Lady, and prohibited the acts of the English martyrs, written by Cardinal Allen. The secular priests made these charges; Father Parsons denied them; but they were again affirmed by Dr. Humphry Ely in his notes on Parsons's 'Apologie,' 1602, preface, p. 31 (*Lansdowne MS.* 982, *f.* 208).

His works are: 1. 'The sixt Tragedie of Lucius Anneus Seneca, entituled Troas, with divers addicions to the same, newly set forth in Englishe' (in verse), London, 1559 and 1563, 12mo, dedicated to Queen Elizabeth. 2. 'The seconde Tragedie of Seneca, intituled Thyestes, faithfully Englished' (in verse), London, 1560, 16mo, dedicated to Sir John Mason. 3. 'The first Tragedie of L. A. Seneca, intituled Hercules furens, translated into English Metre . . . verse for verse,' London, 1561, 8vo, dedicated to William Herbert, earl of Pembroke. The above translations are reprinted in Thomas Newton's edition of 'Seneca's Tragedies,' 1581 and 1591. 4. A compendium of Hebrew grammar, reduced into tables. 5. Poems printed in the 'Paradyse of Dayntye Devises,' London, 1576; reprinted in Brydges's 'British Bibliographer,' vol. iii., and in Collier's 'Seven English Poetical Miscellanies,' 1867. 6. He is also supposed to have been the author of some lines prefixed to Kyffin's 'Blessedness of Brytaine,' 1588, as well as of 'Greene's Epitaph discoursed dialogue-wise between Life and Death' (BRYDGES, *Bibl. Poetica*, p. 230). 7. Tanner (*Bibl. Brit.* p. 400) conjectures that he translated some part of Virgil, and founds his opinion on some commendatory lines prefixed to Stud-

ley's 'Agamemnon,' translated from Seneca, 1566.

[Addit. MS. 24488, pp. 1, 501; Foley's Records, i. 388, iv. 678, vii. 351; Gillow's Bibl. Dict.; Lowndes's Bibl. Man. ed. Bohn, pp. 2241, 2242; More's Hist. Missionis Anglicanæ Soc. Jesu, pp. 132–5; Oliver's Jesuit Collections, p. 115; Records of the English Catholics, ii. 352, 353; Tanner's Bibl. Brit. p. 401; Tanner's Societas Jesu Apostolorum Imitatrix, pp. 295–8; Warton's Hist. of English Poetry, ed. Hazlitt, iv. 452.]

T. C.

**HEYWOOD, JOHN** (1497 ?–1580 ?), epigrammatist, is described by Bale as *civis Londinensis*, and is said to have resided at one time at North Mimms, Hertfordshire. The inference that he was born at either place is hazardous (SHARMAN, xxxvii). According to an entry in the 'Book of Payments' of Henry VIII, 'John Haywood' was, 6 Jan. 1515, in receipt of 'wages, 8*d*. per day.' In 1519 he is set down as a singer, but not included among the persons forming the establishment of the Chapel Royal. It is possible that, after having been a choir-boy, he was separately retained as a singer. Collier (i. 73 *n*.) cites from the Cotton. MSS. his poem in praise of 'the meane,' beginning:

> Longe have I bene a singinge man,
> And sondrie partes ofte I have songe.

Choristers for whom there was no room in the chapel were often sent to college at the royal expense when their voices changed (see quotation from Harleian MSS. ap. SHARMAN, xl *n*.) An ancient tradition asserts Heywood to have been a member of Broadgates Hall, now Pembroke College, Oxford, where, however, there are no registers of members before 1570. In his portraits (v. infra) he wears a garment resembling an M.A. gown. His 'Epigram' 455, 'of verdingales,' suggests as the likeliest place where these fashionable enormities would get in 'Brodegates,' in Oxford. In February 1521 an annuity of ten marks was granted to Heywood as the king's servant, chargeable on the rentals of two manors in Northamptonshire (*State Papers*, Henry VIII, iii. 1186). In 1526 'John Heywood, player of the virginals,' is entered in a book of wages paid by the king for the sum of 6*l*. 13*s*. 4*d*. among those whose wages were paid quarterly (COLLIER, i. 94); and in the king's 'Books of Payments' for 1538–1542 he is mentioned only as a 'pleyer on the virginals,' but his quarterly allowance is given as 2*l*. 10*s*. (*ib*. i. 116). Collier suggests that the reduction may have been due to his appointment as master of a company of children who played before the court. In March 1538 he is actually stated to have received 40*s*. for 'pleying an interlude with his children bifore' the Princess Mary (MADDEN, p. 62). He is said to have been first introduced to her by Sir Thomas More, whose acquaintance he is stated to have made at Gobions, More's seat at North Mimms (THORNE, *Environs of London*, p. 433), where, according to Henry Peacham (*Thalia's Banquet*, 1620), More wrote his 'Utopia,' and Heywood produced his 'Epigrams' (see PARK ap. WARTON, iv. 80, *n*. 2). In January 1537 a payment is entered in the accounts of Mary's 'Privy Purse Expenses' to Heywood's servant for bringing of her 'regalles' from London to Greenwich (MADDEN, p. 12). The very pleasing lines entitled 'A Description of a most noble Ladye, advewed by John Heywoode,' profess to portray her at the age of eighteen, and, if so, must (to his credit) have been written when she was in disgrace (MADDEN, *Introductory Memoir*, p. cliii, quotes these stanzas from Harl. MS. 1703; they were printed anonymously in 'Tottel's Miscellany,' 1557, and are given entire in Park's edition of Walpole's 'Royal and Noble Authors,' i. 81. The opening and the prettiest passage of the poem are borrowed from Surrey). Under Edward VI Heywood is said, thanks to the 'honest motion' of a gentleman of the king's chamber, to have escaped hanging, and thus to have been saved from 'the jerke of the six-string'd whip' (HARINGTON, *Metamorphosis of Ajax*, 1596, cited, with Oldys's reference, ap. FAIRHOLT, vii.) Heywood's sincere catholicism proves that the Six Articles Act must be here confounded with the Supremacy Act. In 1544 he had been charged with having denied the royal supremacy, but was allowed to atone for his rashness by a public recantation on 6 July at St. Paul's Cross (given in SHARMAN, pp. xlii–iii, from Bonner Register, fol. 61, Lambeth MSS.; cf. FOXE, *Acts and Monuments*, ed. 1853, v. 528). George Puttenham (*Of Poets and Poesie*, bk. i. ch. xxxi.) states that Heywood came into reputation in Edward VI's time, and was 'well benefited by the king' for 'the myrth and quicknesse of his conceits.' His fortunes were at their highest, however, under Mary, who had a highly cultivated intelligence, and was fond of innocent fun (cf. MADDEN, p. xlvi). He was in complete sympathy with her policy in church and state. On her coronation he sat in St. Paul's churchyard 'in a pageant under a vine, and made to her an oration in Latine' (STOW, *Annals*, ed. 1617, p. 617, ap. MADDEN, p. 239). He celebrated her marriage in a ballad of which the allegory recalls that of Chaucer's 'Assembly of Fowls' (repr. in 'Harleian Miscellany,' ed. Park, x. 255–6).

Shortly before her death, 10 Nov. 1558, she granted to him a lease of the manor of Bolmer and other lands in Yorkshire at a rental of 30*l.* (*State Papers*, Dom. xiv. 8); and it is said that his pleasantries, often acceptable in her privy chamber (ANTHONY À WOOD ap. WARTON, iv. 81), helped to amuse her even on her deathbed. He had in former days enjoyed Elizabeth's favour (see the entry of a gratuity of 30*s.* to him in the *Household Book of the Princess Elizabeth*, ap. MADDEN, p. 239), but on her accession, or later, he retired to Malines, where he is supposed to have passed the remainder of his days. In 1570 he is mentioned as still alive; and he is probably the John Heywood who (18 April 1575) wrote to Burghley from Malines, 'where I have been despoiled by Spanish and German soldiers of the little I had,' thanking him for ordering the arrears from his land at Romney to be paid to him, and speaking of himself as an old man of seventy-eight (which would date his birth about 1497). His name is included in a return of catholic fugitives, dated 29 Jan. 1577, about which time he was found by the royal commissioners to be nominal tenant of lands in Kent and elsewhere. A small estate belonging to his wife Eliza had been made over by grant to their daughter Elizabeth (SHARMAN, p. xlv). In 1587 Thomas Newton, in his 'Epilogue, or Conclusion to Heywood's Works,' speaks of him as 'dead and gone.' His two sons, Ellis and Jasper, are separately noticed.

Heywood, though superior in social position to Henry VIII's jester, Will Summers, or the Princess Mary's fool, Jane, was professionally a lineal descendant of the minstrels, and, like these humbler colleagues, expected to amuse by his powers of repartee. The sayings recorded of him are not always deficient in point; and his humour is perhaps less coarse than might have been expected (see a small collection of his witticisms in CAMDEN, *Remains*, ed. 1674, pp. 378–9). In 1514 Henry VIII placed his theatrical establishment on an enlarged footing. Heywood seems not to have belonged to it, but to have trained a company of boy-players for performances, probably in the intervals of banquets at court. His interludes, in which personal types entirely supersede personified abstractions, were the earliest of their kind in England, though familiar on the continent (cf. COLLIER, i. 114); nothing so good of the same kind was afterwards produced. The bridge to English comedy was thus built, and Heywood, whose name to Ben Jonson meant uncouth antiquity (*A Tale of a Tub*, v. 2), deserves the chief credit for its building.

Of Heywood's three interludes, in the more restricted sense of the term, the 'Mery Play between the Pardoner and the Frere, the Curate and Neybour Pratte,' was probably the earliest, if the reference to Leo X (*d.* 1521) implies that he was the reigning pope. It is a contest of words between the friar and the pardoner, on whose behalf the author coolly borrows a considerable portion of the 'Prologe of the Pardoner' in the 'Canterbury Tales,' and of blows between them and the representatives of secular clergy and laity. In the same year (1533) as the above was printed the 'Mery Play between Johan the Husbande, Tyb the Wife, and Syr Jhan the Priest.' The most amusing situation in the piece is also to be found in the old French 'Farce de Pernet.' The most famous of the triad is the 'Four P's, a merry interlude of a Palmer, a Pardoner, a Potycary, and a Pedlar,' printed probably between 1543 and 1547, and very possibly written fifteen years or so earlier (COLLIER, ii. 303). Chaucer is here again laid under contribution (cf. C. H. HERFORD, pp. 247–8, 328). The satire upon quackery is fresh and original, and although Heywood's humour is bold and broad, it is wholesome and compatible (see the closing lines of the *Four P's*) with unaffected piety.

Besides these interludes, Heywood composed at least one dialogue, which served the purpose of quasi-dramatic entertainments. The dialogue 'Of Wit and Folly' (so named by Collier) is carried on, not in the ordinary mediæval fashion (cf. C. H. HERFORD, pp. 31–3), by abstractions, but by concrete human characters, 'in maner of an enterlude.' It discusses the superiority of the life of a fool (such as 'sot Somer'), or a wise man (such as 'sage Salaman'). The manuscript is an autograph of the writer, with whose 'Amen q^d John Heywod' it concludes. He probably did not write 'Of Gentylnes and Nobylyte,' printed without a date by Rastell, who was perhaps its author (cf. COLLIER, ii. 310; and see DYCE, *Skelton*, ii. 277). Two pieces of intermediate character by Heywood were formerly confounded with one another by bibliographers (cf. FAIRHOLT, pp. xii sqq.), viz. the 'Play of Love' and the 'Play of the Wether,' which has an ingenious plot as well as a wholesome moral.

Of Heywood's remaining writings the most celebrated are his 'Epigrams.' Later writers in the same style often refer to 'the old English epigrammatist' (see the quotations from Heath, Bastard, Fitzgeoffrey, Sir John Harington, and Sir John Davies ap. WARTON, iv. 87, 1 *n.*, 423, 3 *n.*) The earliest edition extant, that of 1562 (though a reference on the title-page to additions proves

that it was not the original), contains six hundred epigrams, of which three hundred are founded upon so many popular proverbs. It has been suggested that they are probably some of Heywood's and of other people's jokes versified; and Gabriel Harvey (ap. WARTON, iv. 81, 2 n.) is cited for attributing some to Sir Thomas More. They show genuine wit as well as humour, and indicate a certain vein of pathos. In his 'Dialogue conteyning the number of the effectual proverbes in the Englishe tounge...' (printed seemingly as early as 1546; see WARTON, iv. 83, 3 n.) Heywood draws upon a vast store of proverbs awkwardly inserted in a narrative dialogue. His 'Proverbs,' like the 'Epigrams,' were exceedingly popular, and were reproduced in many early editions (see the lines of Davies of Hereford and the good story of the Marquis of Winchester, and the proverb Heywood left out, *ib.* n. 4 and 2).

Heywood was not improbably prouder of his queer allegory of the 'Spider and the Flie,' printed in 1556. Critics both old and new (cited and approved by WARTON, iv. 85 sqq.) agree in describing this production, containing ninety-eight chapters in the seven-line stanza, as a failure. The flies are supposed to signify the catholics and the spiders the protestants, Queen Mary being introduced as a maid executing with her broom (the civil sword) the commands of her (heavenly) master and of her mistress (holy church). Heywood also wrote a few ballads; that upon Mary already mentioned; one in commemoration of 'the traytorous Takynge of Scarborow Castell,' by Thomas Stafford in 1557 (reprinted in *Harleian Miscellany*, ed. Park, x. 257–9), and the 'Willow Garland' ballad, the refrain of which was known to Desdemona (reprinted in the *Shakespeare Society's Papers*, 1844, i. 44–6, from Mr. B. H. Bright's manuscript; see *ib.* and WARTON, iv. 216 n. as to the difference between it and the ballad in Percy's 'Reliques').

John Heywood is mentioned, among other early Tudor writers notable for their 'pretty and learned workes,' in Webbe's 'Discourse of English Poesie,' 1586 (ap. HAZLEWOOD, *Ancient Critical Essays upon English Poets and Poesy*, 1815, ii. 34). Mr. Symonds rather too boldly suggests that he might be styled a prose Chaucer. He deserves respect for the freedom of spirit with which, though a devout catholic, he satirised the abuses of his church. An expression of melancholy has even been found in the woodcut portrait of Heywood accompanying the 1556 edition of 'The Spider and the Flie,' and the 1562 edition of his 'Epigrams upon Proverbs,' but this is solemn trifling, especially as in 'The Spider and the Flie' there are various smaller cuts representing the author.

His works are: 1. 'A mery Play between the Pardoner and the Frere, the Curate and Neybour Pratte.' Printed by Rastell, 1533 (unique copy in the library of the Duke of Devonshire). Facsimile reprint, 1820. Reprinted in four old plays, ed. Child, Cambridge, U.S.A., 1848, and in Hazlitt's 'Dodsley,' vol. i. 1874. 2. 'A Mery Play between Johan the Husbande, Tyb the Wife, and Syr Jhan the Priest,' by John Heywood. Printed by Rastell, 1533 (unique copy in the Ashmolean Museum at Oxford); and at the Chiswick Press, 1819. 3. 'The Four P.P.,' &c., by John Heywood. Printed, n.d., by William Middleton, 1569; and in Hazlitt's 'Dodsley,' vol. i. 1874, and elsewhere. 4. 'The Play of the Wether, a new and a very mery interlude of all maner of Wethers,' made by John Heywood. Printed 1533. A copy exists at St. John's College, Oxford. There is another edition printed by Robert Wyer. A full account of it by Dr. Bliss is reproduced by Fairholt. 5. 'The Play of Love, an interlude by John Heywood. Printed at London in Farster Lane by John Waley.' A copy is in the Bodleian Library, and an account is given by Fairholt. 6. 'A Dialogue on Wit and Folly,' by John Heywood. Printed from the original manuscript in the British Museum, with an account of the author and his dramatic works, and nearly complete reprints of Nos. 1 and 2, by F. W. Fairholt. Percy Society's Publications, vol. xx. 1846. 7. 'A dialogue conteyning the number of the effectuall prouerbes in the Englishe tounge, compact in a matter concernynge two maner of maryages. With one hundred of Epigrammes, and three hundred of Epigrammes vpon three hundred prouerbes; and a fifth hundred of Epigrams. Wherevnto are now newly added a syxt hundred of Epigrams, by the sayde John Heywood,' London, 1562, 1576, 1587, 1598. Reprinted for the Spenser Society, 1867. The 'Proverbs' have also been edited, with an Introduction, by Mr. Julian Sharman, London, 1874. 8. 'The Spider and the Flie,' London, 1556, with woodcuts.

Of Heywood's ballads many are stated by Collier to have been contained in a manuscript volume formerly belonging to Mr. B. Heywood Bright, but now no longer extant.

[Sharman's Introduction and Fairholt's Account, 1846, u.s.; Sir F. Madden's Privy Purse Expenses of the Princess Mary, with notes, 1831; J. P. Collier's History of English Dramatic Poetry, new ed., 3 vols. 1879; Warton's History of English Poetry, ed. W. C. Hazlitt, 4 vols. 1871; A. W. Ward's History of English Dramatic Literature, 1875, i. 133–8; J. A. Symonds's Shakspere's

Predecessors in the English Drama, 1884, pp. 184, 201; C. H. Herford's Studies in the Literary Relations of England and Germany in the Sixteenth Century, 1886. For works see besides the above Halliwell's Dict. of Old English Plays, 1860.] A. W. W.

**HEYWOOD, NATHANIEL** (1633–1677), ejected minister, fourth son of Richard Heywood of Little Lever, near Bolton, Lancashire, by his first wife, Alice Critchlaw, was born on 16 Sept. 1633 at Little Lever. From a school at Horwich he went to Trinity College, Cambridge, entering on 4 May 1648. His religious impressions while at the university he ascribed to the preaching of Samuel Hammond [q. v.] In 1650 he left Cambridge, after graduating B.A., and went to study for two years under Edward Gee (1613–1660) [q. v.], then rector of Eccleston. His first settlement was at Illingworth Chapel in the parish of Halifax, Yorkshire, where he was not popular, having (as he said) 'not sought the peace of the place, but the good of it.' On 7 Aug. 1656 he was presented by Charlotte, countess of Derby, to the small vicarage of Ormskirk, Lancashire; having the unanimous call of the parishioners, he was duly installed by the fifth presbyterian classis of Lancashire, and approved by the parliamentary commissioners. His ministry was active and successful. A royalist in politics, he welcomed the Restoration with a sermon on thanksgiving day (10 May 1660), taking an odd text (2 Sam. xix. 30). In 1662 he was ejected by the Uniformity Act. Ashworth, his successor, being non-resident, Heywood continued his pastoral work, and preached in private houses without interference. On the indulgence of 1672 he obtained licenses for Bickerstaffe and Scarisbrick, where was a private chapel belonging to Lady Stanley. To protect him on the annulling of the indulgence (1673) Lady Stanley had the service of common prayer read before his sermon. On 20 Dec. 1674 officers came to apprehend him while he was in the pulpit. Lady Stanley hastened from her gallery to interpose, stood beside him before the magistrates at Wigan, and secured him from penalty. But his preaching was stopped. Fruitless attempts were made to prosecute him under the Five Mile Act. He died at Ormskirk on 16 Dec. 1677, and was buried on 19 Dec. in the vault of the Stanleys of Bickerstaffe in the chancel of Ormskirk Church. His funeral sermon was preached in the church by John Starkey, an ejected nonconformist. Oliver Heywood [q. v.], his elder brother, calls him 'the flower of our family for learning, parts, piety.' He married Elizabeth Parr (*d.* 1677), a relative of Richard Parr, bishop of Sodor and Man, and Gee's predecessor at Eccleston, and left two sons and several daughters. Heywood published nothing, but after his death two of his sermons were printed with the title 'Christ Displayed,' &c., 1679, 8vo.

NATHANIEL HEYWOOD the younger (1659–1704), his eldest son, born 6 June 1659, entered the academy of Richard Frankland [q. v.] on 25 April 1677, was ordained 1 June 1687, and died nonconformist minister at Ormskirk on 26 Oct. 1704; he was the ancestor of the Heywoods of Liverpool.

[Ashurst's Life of N. Heywood, 1695; Calamy's Account, 1713, p. 304; Calamy's Continuation, 1727, i. 560; Palmer's Nonconf. Memorial, 1802, ii. 371; Hunter's Life of O. Heywood, 1842, pp. 40 sq.; Halley's Lancashire, 1869, ii. 126 sq., 187 sq., 248; Turner's Diaries of O. Heywood, 1881 ii. 48, 1882 i. 9, 38, 108; Turner's Nonconf. Register (Heywood's and Dickenson's), 1881, p. 235; Walter Wilson's manuscripts in Dr. Williams's Library.] A. G.

**HEYWOOD, OLIVER** (1630–1702), nonconformist divine, third son of Richard Heywood, yeoman, by his first wife, Alice Critchlaw, was born at Little Lever, near Bolton, Lancashire, in March 1630, and baptised (without the sign of the cross) at Bolton parish church on 15 March. His parents were strong puritans. After passing through the Bolton grammar school and other schools, he was admitted at Trinity College, Cambridge, on 9 July 1647, his tutor being Akehurst, who afterwards became a quaker. In religious matters he was much influenced by the preaching of Samuel Hammond, D.D. [q. v.], and joined with other students in a kind of religious club which met in the 'garret-chamber' of Thomas Jollie [q. v.] In 1650 he graduated B.A., and soon began to preach; his first sermon was delivered at a village in the neighbourhood of Preston, Lancashire. By his uncle, Francis Critchlaw, he was recommended as preacher at Coley Chapel, near the village of Northowram, in the parish of Halifax, West Riding. He accepted this post, with a stipend of 30*l.*, on 26 Nov. 1650, and refused an offer of Houghton Chapel, Lancashire. Though under the regular age, he was ordained on 4 Aug. 1652 at Bury, Lancashire, by the second presbyterian classis of that county. His younger brother, Nathaniel [q. v.], was minister at Illingworth Chapel, in the same parish of Halifax, and the two lived together in 1654 at Godley House. Heywood removed to Northowram on his marriage in 1655. For many years before his settlement there had been no administration of the communion at Coley; he restored a monthly celebration in 1655, connecting it

in 1657 with the [illegible]
cipline in the pre[illegible]
his parishioners [illegible]
ment to his ministry [illegible]
them, and 'sincere [illegible]
'greatest trouble;' his [illegible]
seventy-three names. [illegible]
opposition, declining ca[illegible]
churches of St. Martin [illegible]
vicarage of Preston.

Heywood was a royalist [illegible]
though he took no part in [illegible]
under George Booth, first [illegible]
he disobeyed the order re[illegible]
thanksgiving for its suppre[illegible]
cordingly apprehended and [illegible]
sequestration in August 1659. [illegible]
that Monck had declared for [illegible]
breaks out in his diary into a pra[illegible]
With the Restoration, however, [illegible]
troubles began. Richard Hoo[illegible]
vicar of Halifax, prohibited bap[illegible]
outlying chapelries. Heywood [illegible]
to baptise, making his peace by [illegible]
customary perquisites to the vicar. [illegible]
1661 his 'private fast' was stopped by [illegible]
rity. Among his parishioners [illegible]
tial party, headed by Stephen Ell[illegible]
perholme, the man of most substance [illegible]
chapelry, was in favour of the resump[illegible]
the prayer-book. A copy was acce[illegible]
laid on the pulpit cushion on 25 Aug. [illegible]
Heywood quietly set it aside. At the [illegible]
stigation of Ellis, Heywood was cited to York
on 13 Sept. After several hearings his [illegible]
pension from ministering in the diocese [illegible]
York was published on 29 June 1662 [illegible]
Halifax Church. For two or three Sunda[illegible]
he persisted in preaching; within a mon[illegible]
of the taking effect of the Uniformity Act
(24 Aug. 1662) he was excommunicated, [illegible]
sentence of excommunication being public[illegible]
read in Halifax Church on 2 Nov., in the [illegible]
parish church of Bolton, Lancashire, on 4 Jan. [illegible]
1663, and again at Halifax on 3 Dec. 1663. [illegible]
Hence attempts were made to exclude him [illegible]
from churches, even as a hearer; while, on the [illegible]
other hand, Ellis, as churchwarden, claimed [illegible]
fines for his non-attendance at Coley Chapel, [illegible]
under the statute of Elizabeth. John Angier [illegible]
(q. v.), his father-in-law, admitted him to the [illegible]
communion at Denton Chapel, Lancashire; [illegible]
on 5 June 1664 he preached, by the vicar's [illegible]
invitation, in the parish church of Mottram-
in-Longen Dale, Cheshire; and on 13 Aug. [illegible]
1665 he preached at Shadwell Chapel, near [illegible]
Leeds, Hardcastle, the minister, being then [illegible]
in prison for nonconformity. [illegible]

Though according to law a 'silenced' [illegible]
minister, Heywood persistently held con[illegible]
venticles at the houses of the presbyterian [illegible]

[illegible] in connexion with the case of Richard Dugdale (q. v.), known as the 'Saint Samuelson.' It is clear that he originally believed in the reality of Dugdale's possession, but in the subsequent failure of the imposture concerned he took no part.

The London agreement, 1691, between the presbyterians and congregationalists, known as the 'happy union,' was introduced into Yorkshire mainly through Heywood's influence. On 2 Sept. 1691 he presided at Mr. Ralph's house at Wakefield, a county ordained and four layman members of the two denominations, and the 'heads of agreement' were adopted. The meeting was the first of a series of assemblies of nonconformist divines of the West Riding, at which preaching licenses were granted and collections arranged.

The last ten years of Heywood's life were somewhat troubled by symptoms of declining orthodoxy in some of his employees. He maintained his own exemplary work with unimpaired vigour till the close of 1699. In 1702 his health broke, asthma confined him to Northowram. From 3 Dec. 1702 he was carried to his meeting-house in a chair. He died at Northowram on Monday, 4 May 1702, and was buried in a side chapel of Halifax Church, known as 'Hebdenroth's vault,' in his mother's grave. There is no monument there to his memory, but in Northgate End Chapel, Halifax, is a memorial slab erected by a descendant. A good engraving of his portrait is given in the second edition of Palmer's 'Nonconformist's Memorial.' He married, first, on 28 April 1653, at Denton, Elizabeth (d. 28 May 1661, aged 27), daughter of John Angier, by whom he had three sons:—John, born 18 April 1656, minister at Rotherham and Pontefract, died 6 Sept. 1704; Eliezer, born 18 April 1657, minister at Wallingwells, Nottinghamshire, and Bromfield, Derbyshire, died 20 May 1730; Nathaniel, born 7 Aug. and died 24 Aug. 1658. He married, secondly, on 27 June 1667, at Salford, Abigail, daughter of James Crompton of Breightmet in the parish of Bolton, Lancashire; she died without issue in 1707.

Heywood's 'Works' were collected by Richard Slate, Idle, 1826–7, 8vo, 3 vols.; the collection is complete with the exception of one or two prefaces from his pen. Among his best publications are: 1. 'Heart Treasure,' &c., 1667, 8vo; 2nd part, 1672, 8vo. 2. 'Closet Prayer,' &c., 1671, 8vo. 3. 'Life in God's Favour,' &c., 1679, 8vo. 4. 'Baptismal Bonds Renewed,' &c., 1687, 8vo. 5. 'The Best Entail,' &c., 1693, 8vo. 6. 'A Family Altar,' &c., 1693, 8vo. 7. 'A Treatise of Christ's Intercession,' &c., Leeds, 1701, 8vo. Most of his books are on topics of practical religion, and he sent them out in large quantities among his friends for free distribution. For his inner life the best authority is the series of his 'Diaries,' edited, with other papers, by J. Horsfall Turner, Brighouse, 1881–5, 8vo, 4 vols. His registers of baptisms, marriages, and deaths, edited, with those of his successor, Thomas Dickenson, by J. Horsfall Turner, under the title of 'The Nonconformist Register,' Brighouse, 1881, 8vo, are of great biographical value. Hunter thinks that Calamy's accounts of Lancashire and Yorkshire ministers are mainly based on Heywood's information; in 1695 and 1696 he drew up many biographical notices of nonconformist divines.

[Heywood's life has been written by John Fawcett, D.D., 1796, and Richard Slate, in Works, 1826; these biographies are superseded by Joseph Hunter's Rise of the Old Dissent, exemplified in the life of O. H., 1842, a work written with controversial aim, but based on original materials, and full of curious information. Earlier notices are in Calamy's Account, 1713, pp. 804 sq., and Calamy's Continuation, 1727, ii. 947; reproduced, with additions, in Palmer's Nonconformist's Memorial, 1803, iii. 423 sq. See also Miall's Congregationalism in Yorkshire, 1868, pp. 82 sq., 329 sq., and Turner's edition of the Diaries, &c., ut supra.] A. G.

**HEYWOOD, PETER** (1773–1831), captain in the navy, son of Peter John Heywood, deemster of the Isle of Man, was born at the Nunnery, near Douglas, 6 June 1773. He entered the navy in October 1786 on board the Bounty discovery ship, and sailed in her on the voyage to Tahiti [see BLIGH, WILLIAM; CHRISTIAN, FLETCHER; ADAMS, JOHN, 1767?–1829]. When the mutiny broke out on 28 April 1789, Heywood was confined by the mutineers, but was allowed to come on deck when the launch was ready to receive Bligh and his party. The boat, however, could not hold them all, and Heywood with some others was left behind, Bligh probably thinking that a boy of his tender years would only be an encumbrance. When the mutineers split into two parties at Tahiti, Heywood was one of those who remained there; and when, on 23 March 1791, the Pandora, under the command of Captain Edward Edwards, arrived in search of the mutineers, Heywood with Stewart, a fellow-midshipman, at once went off to her in a canoe. They were immediately put in irons; and the others at Tahiti having been apprehended, they were all, to the number of fourteen, thrust, handcuffed and heavily ironed, into a sort of cage eleven feet long, built on the after part of the quarter-deck, to which air and light were al-

tted throu
ae inches
itted Tahiti
a prolonged
ra, inattempting
traits, struck
ar name, and
ttempt was
ut a few minutes
he master-at-arms
he irons fall through
wood with some of
to get out; the
went down with the

Edwards had
serving of the seven
shipwrecked crew
tions; but the prisoners
naked, allowed no
food. Both at Batavia,
to the Cape of Good Hope
chant ship, they were
sive severity. At the Cape
removed into the Gorgon
allowed daily exercise
confined with only one leg
gon arrived at Spithead
when Heywood was sent on
tor of 74 guns, whose
Sir George Montagu, treated
manity. On 12 Sept. he,
soners, was brought before a
The trial lasted for six days
they were all sentenced to
wood was recommended
strongest terms; and the
then first lord of the admiralty
vinced of Heywood's innocence
tained for him an unconditional
Lord Hood, who had been
court, advised him to continue
and offered to take him with him
tory. His uncle, Commodore
Thomas) Pasley [q.v.], however,
that he should be, for a while,
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moved into the Queen Charlotte,
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of 28, 29 May and 1 June 1794
acted as captain's aide-de-camp,
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when the king came on board the
Charlotte. As it was disputed whether
wood could hold naval rank, Sir Roger
tis took the opinion of counsel, who
as the only punishment which the court

All history, all actions,
man, manners, State and

Odes and Lyricks,
and Panegyricks.

the Reader' prefixed to
he states himself to
hand, or at least a
plays; and the state-
before the end of his
years composed
in the city of
in 1640. His
him to have
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several years to-
the same autho-
composed in
of tavern-bills,
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As a dramatist Heywood essayed many styles, beginning apparently with plays resembling the old chronicle histories, and chiefly designed for city audiences. 'The Four Prentices of London' was so typical of its kind that Beaumont and Fletcher ridiculed it in 'The Knight of the Burning Pestle' (1611 *c.*) 'Edward IV,' written about the same time, likewise appeals to city sentiment, and shows Heywood's pathetic power in the episode of Jane Shore. The two early plays on the history of Queen Elizabeth's troubles are uniformly prosaic. In part ii. the foundation of the Royal Exchange and of Gresham College is put alongside of the destruction of the Spanish Armada. Not later than 1603, when Henslowe paid him 3*l.* for the play (*Diary*, p. 249), Heywood produced his masterpiece in the domestic drama, 'A Woman Killed with Kindness.' The scene of this play is laid in contemporary English middle-class life, which none of our dramatists has portrayed more naturally. But the simplicity and directness of his pathos are even more indicative of his dramatic genius. Of a rather different type is his best-known romantic play, written possibly at an even earlier date, 'The Royal King and the Loyal Subject,' the hero of which is a kind of Patient Grisel of chivalrous loyalty. To a later period

[q. v.] 'a pious reverend old gentleman, and an excellent poet.' His poetry was supposed to have perished until in 1868 a transcript turned up in a sale at Sotheby's, with the title of 'Observations and Instructions, Divine and Morall.' This was printed, under the editorship of James Crossley, by the Chetham Society in 1869. The verses, which are not without vigour or point, are arranged in five 'centuries.' Heywood died in 1645, aged 71.

[Crossley's Notes, op. cit.; James's Iter Lancastrense, in Chetham Soc. vol. vii.] C. W. S.

**HEYWOOD, SAMUEL** (1753–1828), serjeant-at-law and Welsh judge, son of Benjamin Heywood of Liverpool, afterwards banker at Manchester, was born at Liverpool in 1753. He was educated at the Warrington academy from 1768 to 1772, and at Trinity Hall, Cambridge. Being a unitarian he absented himself from chapel, and incurred the censure of the authorities, which he would have resisted but for his father. He was called to the bar at the Inner Temple on 2 July 1772, and was made serjeant-at-law in 1794. He had considerable practice on the northern circuit. On 8 March 1807 he received the appointment of chief justice of the Carmarthen circuit. He was a personal friend and warm defender of Charles James Fox. He was seized with paralysis while on circuit at Haverfordwest on 27 Aug. 1828, and died at Tenby on 11 Sept., and was buried at Bristol. He married Susan, daughter of John Cornwall, by whom he had several children. He wrote: 1. 'The Right of Protestant Dissenters to a Compleat Toleration asserted. . . . By a Layman,' 1787; 2nd edit. 1789; 3rd edit. 1790. This is said to have converted Dr. Parr, who termed it the only good book produced by the dissenters. 2. 'High Church Politics' (in answer to Bishop Horsley), 1790. 3. 'Digest of the Law concerning County Elections,' 1790. 4. 'Digest of the Law respecting Borough Elections,' 1797 (reprinted 1818). 5. 'Vindication of Mr. Fox's History of the Early Part of the Reign of James II,' 1811, 4to; favourably reviewed by Sydney Smith in the 'Edinburgh Review,' and by Roberts in the 'Monthly Review,' lxix. 364. 6. 'A Dissertation upon the Distinctions in Society and Ranks of the People, under the Anglo-Saxon Governments,' 1818, 8vo. Just before his death he was engaged on lives of the Duke of Monmouth and of William, Lord Russell.

[Woolrych's Eminent Serjeants-at-Law, 1869, ii. 701; Monthly Repository, 1814, p. 387; Foster's Lancashire Pedigrees; Lord Holland's Introd. to Fox's James II, p. xxxviii; Howell's State Trials, xii. 257, note; Allibone's Dict. of Authors, i. 839.] C. W. S

**HEYWOOD, THOMAS** (*d.* 1650?), dramatist, was, according to his own account, a native of Lincolnshire (see his verses prefixed to JAMES YORKE'S *Book of Heraldry*, and his funeral elegy on Sir George St. Poole of Lincolnshire, his 'countreyman,' in *Pleasant Dialogues and Dramas*); but Mr. Symonds has found no Heywood pedigree in the 'Visitations' of the county. In the dedication of the 'English Traveller' Heywood speaks of a Sir William Elvish as his 'countreyman.' From his reference (*ib.*) to 'that good old Gentleman, mine vnkle (Master Edmund Heywood), whom you' (Sir Henry Appleton, bt.) 'pleased to grace by the Title of Father,' he may be concluded to have been of good family. He can hardly have been born much later than 1575. In the 'Apology for Actors' (bk. i.) he incidentally mentions 'his residence at Cambridge;' and William Cartwright (*d.* 1687) [q. v.], in the dedication to the 'Actor's Vindication,' 1658, says that Heywood was a fellow of Peterhouse. There is, however, no record of him at Cambridge.

Heywood is first mentioned in 'Henslowe's Diary,' p. 78. Among a list of sums lent to Edward Alleyn and others since 14 Oct. 1596 occurs: 'Lent unto them for Hawode's booke xxx*s*.' In a memorandum (*ib.* p. 260) of 25 March 1598, attested by Anthony Munday, Gabriel Spencer, and others, 'Thomas Hawoode' is regularly engaged by Henslowe as a member of his, the lord admiral's, company. As no wages are mentioned he presumably had a share in the profits. In the preface to his 'Four Prentices of London' (printed 1601) he says that this was his first play, written 'some fifteen or sixteen years ago.' According to a statement in his elegy on the death of James I (cited in Introduction to *Apology*, p. v), Heywood was also for a time one of the theatrical retainers of Henry Wriothesley, third earl of Southampton. His 'Edward IV' was played several times by the servants of William Stanley, sixth earl of Derby. He was afterwards a member of the company belonging to Edward Somerset, fourth earl of Worcester, which, upon the accession of James I, became the queen's servants, and performed at the Red Bull in St. John Street, Smithfield, and at the Cockpit (see COLLIER, i. 336–7). Heywood had attended the queen's funeral in 1619 as 'one of her Majesty's players,' and afterwards seems to have re-entered the service of the Earl of Worcester (see the dedication to Worcester of the *Nine Books of Various History concerning Women*, 1624). His literary labours embraced every form of literature, and were not confined to the drama. Shakerley Marmion speaks of him as writing upon

All history, all actions,
Counsels, Decrees, man, manners, State and factions,
Playes, Epicediums, Odes and Lyricks,
Translations, Epitaphs and Panegyricks.

In the 'Address to the Reader' prefixed to the 'English Traveller' he states himself to have had either an entire hand, or at least a 'maine finger,' in 220 plays; and the statement was made in 1633, before the end of his career. He also for many years composed the lord mayor's pageants in the city of London till they were dropped in 1640. His bookseller, Kirkman, asserts him to have been 'very laborious; for he not only acted almost every day, but also obliged himself to write a sheet every day for several years together;' yet, according to the same authority, 'many of his plays were composed in the tavern, on the backside of tavern-bills, which may be the occasion that so many of them are lost' (cf. SYMONDS, pp. ix, xx). Though many of his plays succeeded, he only published a few, to guard against 'corrupt and mangled' editions, and never collected his works (see addresses prefixed to the *Rape of Lucrece* and the *English Traveller*). He must also have been an omnivorous reader. He translated Lucian and a variety of Latin writers, both ancient and modern, borrowed two of his plots from Plautus, and busied himself as translator or adaptor with both ancient and modern history. But he also, as Mr. Herford (pp. 170, 239–40) expresses it, loved the byways of literature, German anecdotical history, and in especial magical lore (see above all the *Hierarchy of the Blessed Angels*). Occasionally, as in his account of the big ship of the period, he was a mere bookmaker.

We know nothing of any special patronage; but he was probably rewarded at court for such a play as 'Love's Mistress' (1636), which was repeated three times within eight days, and called 'The Queen's Masque' in honour of Henrietta Maria, to whom he had dedicated his 'Hierarchy' a year earlier. The Earl of Dover, too, seems in Heywood's later days to have been a liberal patron, both in Broad Street and at Hunsdon House (see *Pleasant Dialogues and Dramas*). Loyal and patriotic, mindful of the great days 'of that good queene Elizabeth' (*A Marriage Triumph*), and an ardent protestant (*England's Elizabeth*, passim), Heywood was at the same time careful not to give offence to the state or great men (*Apology*, p. 61; cf. COLLIER, ii. 349 *n.*; and cf. 'To the Reader' before pt. ii. of the *Iron Age*; see, however, COLLIER, iii. 87, as to the personalities imputed to his company in 1601). He was always ready, however, to protest against the 'vilification' of actors by such a 'separisticall humorist' as the author of 'Histrio-Mastix' (dedications of the *English Traveller*, 1633. For a curious earlier attack upon puritanism see his *Britain's Troy*, canto iv. st. 50–4). The lines in the 'Hierarchy of the Blessed Angels' (bk. iv.), repeatedly quoted by modern writers, in which he dwells on the genial custom of calling the great dramatists of his day 'Will' and 'Ben,' and so forth, and ends by declaring 'I hold he loves me best that calls me Tom,' show also his generous admiration for his superiors. The keynote to his character seems to have been an unaffected modesty. After at least fourteen years' authorship he calls himself 'the youngest and weakest of the nest wherein he was hatched' (*Apology*, ad in.; cf. Introduction, p. iv). It is to be regretted that he never carried out his design of writing 'the lives of all the poets, foreign and modern, from the first before Homer to the novissimi and last, of what nation or language soever' (*Hierarchy of the Blessed Angels*, p. 245, cited in Introduction to *Apology*, p. xiv). He is noticed as still alive in 1648 (in the *Satire against Separatists*; cf. *ib.* p. vi). It is not known whether he left a family behind him; the conjecture in Introduction to 'A Marriage Triumph,' p. x, is worthless.

As a dramatist Heywood essayed many styles, beginning apparently with plays resembling the old chronicle histories, and chiefly designed for city audiences. 'The Four Prentices of London' was so typical of its kind that Beaumont and Fletcher ridiculed it in 'The Knight of the Burning Pestle' (1611 *c.*) 'Edward IV,' written about the same time, likewise appeals to city sentiment, and shows Heywood's pathetic power in the episode of Jane Shore. The two early plays on the history of Queen Elizabeth's troubles are uniformly prosaic. In part ii. the foundation of the Royal Exchange and of Gresham College is put alongside of the destruction of the Spanish Armada. Not later than 1603, when Henslowe paid him 3*l.* for the play (*Diary*, p. 249), Heywood produced his masterpiece in the domestic drama, 'A Woman Killed with Kindness.' The scene of this piece is laid in contemporary English middle-class life, which none of our dramatists has portrayed more naturally. But the simplicity and directness of his pathos are even more distinctive of his dramatic genius. Of a rather different type is his best-known romantic drama, written possibly at an even earlier date, 'The Royal King and the Loyal Subject,' the hero of which is a kind of Patient Grissel of chivalrous loyalty. To a later period

belong 'The English Traveller,' which in the development of its main plot is almost as pathetic as 'A Woman Killed with Kindness,' and three comedies of adventure, through which blows a salt breeze of the sea, 'The Fair Maid of the West,' the recently recovered 'Captives,' and 'Fortune by Land and Sea' (in which Heywood was assisted by William Rowley). 'The Wise Woman of Hogsdon,' probably a late piece, is a comedy of very low life, but by far the most skilfully constructed of Heywood's dramas. A distinct group is formed by the very successful 'Four Ages,' which reproduces in a dramatic form, not without an occasional touch of burlesque, the best-known stories of Greek mythology down to the siege of Troy, and the 'Rape of Lucrece,' likewise very popular, but largely so, it is to be feared, because of the comic songs of the 'merry Lord Valerius.' 'Love's Mistress,' through which Apuleius and Midas carry on a running critical comment in the Jonsonian manner, was aided by the inventions of Inigo Jones; the long series of city pageants was rendered remarkable by the ingenuity of Gerard Christmas [q. v.] (Heywood's love of pageants is also illustrated by passages in his 'England's Elizabeth.') Most of Heywood's works in print bore his favourite motto, 'Aut prodesse solent aut delectare.' In many of them the author makes use of chorus and dumb show; the earlier may usually be distinguished by the abundant use of rhyme (see the Epilogue to *The Royal King and Loyal Subject*). Some of them contain pleasing and musical songs (Symonds, pp. xvi, xxii); but as a rule the lyrics in Heywood's dramas are commonplace. Like all the Elizabethans he indulged himself in the construction of out-of-the-way phrases and vocables, but his genius did not lie in the direction of style. On the other hand, it is true that, as might be expected from a dramatist of his experience, 'his criticism is often quite as valuable as his dramatic poetry' (*ib.* p. x). Tieck, who translated one of the most pleasing, and not least characteristic, of his dramas, well describes him as 'a man of facile and felicitous endowment, who wrote many plays, and among them several that are excellent.' Few contemporary tributes to him remain; he is praised by Shakerley Marmion (*ante*); his friend Samuel King congratulates the author of 'The Wise Woman of Hogsdon' on a fame needing no 'apology,' and the 'Apology for Actors' itself evokes the sympathy of John Webster, of some of Heywood's fellow-actors, and of John Taylor the Water-poet. Dryden, in 'Mac Flecknoe,' thinking apparently of Heywood's translations as much as of his plays, refers to him slightingly. It was his power of creating powerful effects with everyday materials which excuses Charles Lamb's paradoxical description of him as 'a prose Shakspere.'

The following is a list of Heywood's published and unpublished productions, so far as ascertainable. The lists in the 'Biographia Dramatica' and in vol. vi. of 'Old Plays' need revision: A. Dramatic: 1. 'The Four Prentices of London, with the Conquest of Jerusalem,' 1615, but produced 'some fifteen or sixteen years' earlier; also 1632. 2 and 3. 'Edward IV.' Two parts, 1600, 1605; also two early editions without dates. Edited for the Shakespeare Society by Barron Field, 1842. 4 and 5. 'If you know not me, you know nobody; or, the Troubles of Queen Elizabeth.' First part 1605, 1606, 1608, 1613, 1632; second part 1606, 1609, 1623, 1633 (Prologue and Epilogue for the revival at the Cockpit are for part i. only). Edited for the Shakespeare Society by J. P. Collier, 1851. 6. 'The Royal King and the Loyal Subject,' 1637, but first acted at a much earlier date (see *Epilogue*). Edited for 'Old Plays,' vol. vi. 1816, and for the Shakespeare Society by J. P. Collier, 1850. 7. 'A Woman Killed with Kindness.' Acted 1603, printed 1607, 1617. Edited for the Shakespeare Society from the third (the earliest extant) edition by J. P. Collier, 1850. Acted by the Dramatic Students' Society in London, 1887 (see their acting edition). 8. 'The Fair Maid of the Exchange,' 1607, 1625, 1635, 1637. Edited for the Shakespeare Society by Barron Field, 1837. 9. 'The Rape of Lucrece,' 1608, 1630, 1638; acted at the Red Bull from the last named edition. 10. 'The Golden Age,' 1611. 11. 'The Silver Age.' Acted before the court at Greenwich early in 1612; 1613. This and the preceding were edited for the Shakespeare Society by J. P. Collier, 1851. 12. 'The Brazen Age,' 1613. 13 and 14. 'The Fair Maid of the West; or, A Girl with Gold,' two parts. Acted 1617, printed 1631. Edited for the Shakespeare Society by J. P. Collier, 1850. 15. 'The Captives; or, The Lost Recovered;' entered in Sir Henry Herbert's manuscript 'Office Book,' 1624, as a new play for the Cockpit company; edited from a manuscript in the British Museum by Mr. A. H. Bullen, and printed in his 'Old English Plays' (vol. iv.), 1885. 16 and 17. 'The Iron Age,' two parts; 1632. 18. 'The English Traveller.' Acted at the Fortune (see act iv.) and the Cockpit, printed 1633. Edited for vol. vi. of 'Old Plays,' 1816. 19. 'A Maidenhead well Lost,' 1634. 20. 'Love's Mistress; or, the Queen's Masque.' Acted at the Court and the Phœ-

nix; 1636. 21. 'A Challenge for Beauty.' Acted at the Blackfriars and the Globe; printed 1636. Edited for vol. vi. of 'Old Plays,' 1816. 22. 'The Wise Woman of Hogsdon,' 1638. 23. With William Rowley, 'Fortune by Land and Sea,' printed 1655, but probably written by 1603. 24. With Richard Brome [q.v.], 'The Late Lancashire Witches,' 1634; translated by L. Tieck in Shakespeare's 'Vorschule,' vol. i., Leipzig, 1823. (As to the subject cf. J. Crossley in *Chetham Society's Publications*, vol. vi. 1845.) All the above are extant, and with the exception of 'The Captives' are reprinted in J. Pearson's edition of 'The Dramatic Works of Thomas Heywood,' 1874.

The following plays are lost: 25. 'War without Blows and Love without Suit (or Strife).' Written by 1598 (Henslowe, *Diary*, pp. 140, 143). 26. 'Joan as Good as my Lady.' Written by 1599 (*ib.* pp. 144, 145). 27. 'The Blind eat many a Fly.' Written by 1602 (*ib.* pp. 244, 246). 28. 'How to Learn of a Woman to Woo.' Acted at court December 1605 (Halliwell). 29. 'Love's Masterpiece.' Entered on the Stationers' Registers 22 May 1640 (*ib.*) 30. With Wentworth Smith, 'Alberte Galles' (*sic*). Written by 1602 (Henslowe, *Diary*, p. 239). 31. With the same, 'Marshal Osrick.' Written by 1602 (*ib.* pp. 240, 243). 32. With Chettle, 'The London Florentine.' Written by 1602 (apparently a play in two parts; part i. by Heywood and part ii. by Chettle) (*ib.* pp. 229, 230, 231). 33. With the same, 'Like Quits Like.' Written by 1602 (*ib.* p. 230). 34. With Chettle, Dekker, and Webster, 'Christmas comes but Once a Year.' Written by 1602 (*ib.* pp. 243, 244, 245). 35. With the above and Wentworth Smith, 'Lady Jane [Grey?],' part i. (*ib.* p. 242); part ii., by Dekker (*ib.* p. 243).

Of the 'pageants' written by Heywood for lord mayor's day those for 1631, 1635, 1637, 1638, and 1639 are printed in vols. iv. and v. of Pearson's edition; those for 1632 and 1633 are described by F. W. Fairholt, 'Lord Mayor's Pageants,' part i., 'Percy Society's Publications,' vol. iii. 1843.

B. Miscellaneous: 1. 'Translation of Sallust,' 1608. 2. 'Troia Britannica, or Great Britain's Troy,' 1609 (a long heroic poem chiefly in *ottave rime*, with epistles and other passages in the heroic couplet; cf. as to the negligent printing and editing of this Heywood's postscript to his 'Apology,' addressed to the printer, N. Okes). 3. 'An Apology for Actors,' in three books, 1612; reprinted in 1658 by William Cartwright, with alterations, under the title of 'The Actors' Vindication.' Edited for the Shakespeare Society, 1841. (From this work, admirable in tone, though not very powerful in argument, Heywood is said to have been called by a contemporary poet 'the apologetic Atlas of the stage.' It was answered in 'A Refutation of the Apology for Actors,' by T. G., 1615, where it is noticeable that no personal attack is attempted against Heywood himself.) 4. 'A Funeral Elegy on the Death of Prince Henry,' 1613. 5. 'A Marriage Triumph on the Nuptials of the Prince Palatine and the Princess Elizabeth,' 1613. Edited for the Percy Society (vol. vi.), 1842 (heroic couplets with lyrics interspersed). 6. 'Γυναικεῖον; or, Nine Books of Various History concerning Women, inscribed by the Names of the Nine Muses,' 1624, and reprinted in 1657 with a new address 'To the Reader,' signed E. P., under the title, 'The General History of Women, containing the Lives of the most Holy and Profane, the most Famous and Infamous in all Ages, exactly described, not only from Poetical Fictions, but from the most Ancient, Modern, and Admired Historians to our Times. By T. H., Gent.' 7. 'England's Elizabeth: her Life and Troubles during her Minority from the Cradle to the Crown,' 1631; reprinted in 'Harleian Miscellany,' ed. Pitt, vol. x. (partly taken from the 'Herologia' of H. H.; see 'Dedication' to the Earl of Dover). 8. 'Eromena; or, Love and Revenge,' 1632. 9. 'The Hierarchy of the Blessed Angels,' 1635. (A didactic poem in nine books, mostly unreadable, but containing some curious passages and much varied learning in the lengthy prose excursuses added to each book. As to the subject, cf. Warton's 'History of English Poetry,' ed. W. C. Hazlitt, 1871, iii. 235 *n.* The cost of the allegorical engravings appears to have been defrayed by the author's friends, Christopher Beeston, the Christmases, and others.) 10. 'A True Description of His Majesty's Royal Ship [the Sovereign of the Seas], built this year [by Phineas Pett] at Woolwich in Kent,' 1637 (cf. the city pageant, *Porta Pietatis*, 1638, in Pearson's edition, v. 270). 11. 'Pleasant Dialogues and Dramas, selected out of Lucian [14], Erasmus, Textor, Ovid, &c., with Emblems from J. Catsius, and a variety of Prologues and Epilogues, Elegies, Epitaphs, Epithalamions, Epigrams, and sundry other Fancies' (this little book evidently represents a tolerably complete gleaning from the author's portfolio; to some of the translations he has added notes of his own), 1637; reprinted (not completely) in Pearson's edition, vi. 85 seq. 12. 'The Exemplary Lives and Memorable Acts of Nine the most Worthy Women of the World: three Jews, three

Gentiles, three Christians.' Written by the author of the 'History of Women,' 1640 (with portraits). 13. 'The Life of Ambrosius Merlin,' 1641.

Heywood was also a contributor to the 'Annalia Dubrensia; or, Celebration of Captain Robert Dover's "Cotswold Games,"' 1636; privately reprinted by Dr. Grosart (cf. Gosse, *Seventeenth-century Studies*, 1883, pp. 107–8, where Heywood's 'Panegerick' is said to come in at the end of the book as a kind of appendix). He has also (*Old Plays*, p. 105, and *Biographia Dramatica*) been credited with the authorship of 'Philocothonista, a Preparation to Study, or the Virtue of Sack,' 1641.

[For general information concerning Thomas Heywood and his writings see the Introductions to an Apology for Actors (Shakespeare Society's Publications, 1841); The English Traveller in Old Plays, a continuation of Dodsley's Collection, 6 vols. 1816, vi. 101–5; Pearson's reprint of Heywood's Dramatic Works, 6 vols. 1874, vol. i.; J. A. Symonds and A. W. Verity's (select plays of) Thomas Heywood in the Mermaid Series, 1888; A Marriage Triumph in Percy Society's Publications, vol. vi. 1842; Henslowe's Diary, edited by J. P. Collier (Shakespeare Society's Publications, 1845); Halliwell's Dictionary of Old English Plays, 1860; Biographia Dramatica, 1812, vol. i. pt. i.; Collier's History of English Dramatic Poetry, &c., new edition, 1879; A. W. Ward's History of English Dramatic Literature, 1875, ii. 105–31; C. H. Herford's Studies in the Literary Relations of England and Germany in the Sixteenth Century, 1886. For criticism on Heywood as a dramatic poet see Charles Lamb's Specimens of Early Dramatic Poetry, 1808; Retrospective Review, xi. 126–54, 1825; Edinburgh Review for April 1841, art. 'Beaumont and Fletcher and their Contemporaries;' Symonds's Shakespeare's Predecessors; Ward's Hist. English Drama.] A. W. W.

**HEYWOOD, THOMAS** (1797–1866), antiquary, son of Nathaniel Heywood, banker, and younger brother of Sir Benjamin Heywood [q. v.], was born at Manchester on 3 Sept. 1797, and educated at the Manchester grammar school. He was for some years a partner with his father, but retired in 1828, and purchased Hope End, Herefordshire, where he afterwards resided. Before leaving Manchester he collected a remarkable library of local books, which was dispersed in 1835. The sale catalogue is still of considerable value. He served the office of boroughreeve of Salford in 1826, and that of high sheriff of Herefordshire in 1840. In 1826 he printed an interesting pamphlet on 'The Earls of Derby and the Verse Writers of the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries,' Manchester, 4to; reprinted in 1853 by the Chetham Society. In 1829 he annotated and printed 'The most Pleasant Song of Lady Bessy, the eldest Daughter of King Edward the Fourth.' He was an early member of the council of the Chetham Society, and edited the following of its publications: 1. 'The Norris Papers,' 1846. 2. 'The Moore Rental,' 1847. 3. 'The Diary of the Rev. Henry Newcome,' 1849. 4. 'Cardinal Allen's Defence of Sir William Stanley's Surrender of Deventer,' 1851. 5. 'On the South Lancashire Dialect,' 1862. 6. 'Letter from Sir John Seton, dated 1643,' 1862. For the Historic Society of Lancashire and Cheshire he wrote a notice of the family of Percival of Allerton, Lancashire (*Trans.* vol. i.), and a description of an old Chester document (*ib.* vol. v.) He married in 1823 Mary Elizabeth, daughter of John Barton of Swinton, Lancashire, and died at Hope End on 20 Nov. 1866. His general library was sold at Manchester in 1868.

[J. F. Smith's Manchester School Reg. (Chetham Soc.), iii. 74; Foster's Lancashire Pedigrees; Baker's Memorials of a Dissenting Chapel, p. 116; Chetham Soc. Annual Report, 1867.] C. W. S.

**HIBBART or HIBBERT, WILLIAM** (*fl.* 1760–1800), etcher, practised chiefly at Bath towards the end of the eighteenth century. He etched several heads rather cleverly in the manner of T. Worlidge [q. v.] Among them were portraits of Laurent Delvaux and A. Watteau for Walpole's 'Anecdotes of Painting;' Elizabeth Gulston after Falconet; Walter Harte after Seeman; and various portraits prefixed to literary works or biographies, such as those of Richard Nash, the master of the ceremonies at Bath, John Ray the botanist, and others. He also etched the plates for 'The Amaranth,' a volume of religious poems, published in 1767. Bartolozzi engraved a trade-card for Hibbert, engraver, of 8 Bridge Street, Bath, probably the above.

[Dodd's manuscript History of English Engravers (Brit. Mus. Addit. MS. 33401); Redgrave's Dict. of Artists.] L. C.

**HIBBERD, SHIRLEY** (1825–1890), journalist and horticultural writer, the son of a retired sea-captain, was born in the parish of St. Dunstan, Stepney, in 1825. The early death of his father necessitated his following some trade instead of, as had been intended, entering the medical profession, and he was apprenticed to a Stepney bookseller. He soon, however, began to write, and engaged in journalistic work. In 1858 he became the first editor of the newly established 'Floral World,' managing that journal until 1875 with considerable success.

Meanwhile he had become connected in 1861 with the 'Gardener's Magazine,' of which he was editor at the time of his death. Hibberd was a man of many schemes. He was a temperance advocate and a vegetarian. But he is chiefly known as a practical writer on horticulture. He made various experiments on fruit-trees and vegetables, notably potatoes, and kept moving further into the suburbs in order to have better opportunities of pursuing his gardening operations. Hibberd died at the Hermitage, near Muswell Hill, on 16 Nov. 1890, and was buried in Abney Park cemetery at Stoke Newington. His portrait appears in the 'Gardener's Magazine' of 22 Nov. 1890. He was twice married, and left one daughter by his second wife. Among many other works, Hibberd published: 1. 'Brambles and Bay-leaves: Essays on the Homely and the Beautiful,' 1855, 8vo; 3rd edit. 1873. 2. 'Profitable Gardening . . . ,' 1863, 8vo. 3. 'Familiar Garden Flowers . . . ,' 1879–87, 8vo.

[Gardeners' Chronicle, 22 Nov. 1890; Times, 17 Nov. 1890; Brit. Mus. Cat.] W. A. J. A.

**HIBBERT, GEORGE** (1757–1837), collector and merchant, son of Robert Hibbert, a West India merchant, was born at Manchester in 1757. He was educated at a private school kept by a clergyman named Booth first at Liverpool and afterwards at Woolton. He settled in London as junior partner in a West India house, eventually becoming the head of the firm. He was alderman of London from 1798 to 1803, and from 1806 to 1812 was M.P. for Seaford, Sussex. He was a lucid and forcible speaker, and supported the whigs. At meetings in the city of London he moved the resolutions which led to the imposition of the property tax in 1798, and again those which forced its repeal in 1816. In conjunction with Robert Milligan, he was mainly instrumental in originating and maturing the schemes for establishing the West India Docks. He was also chairman of the West India merchants until 1831, and agent for Jamaica. In the foundation of the London Institution in 1805 he was most active, and was its president for many years.

He was elected F.R.S. in 1811, and F.S.A. in 1812. He was a patron of art and a collector of pictures and books, and formed a large collection of exotic plants at his house at Clapham. In 1829 he succeeded to the estate of R. Parker at Munden, near Watford, Hertfordshire, and removed there; but the size of his new residence necessitated the disposal of the greater part of his literary and art treasures. The sale of his library occupied forty-two days, and the catalogue fills 482 pages. He published in 1807 'The Substance of three Speeches on the Abolition of the Slave Trade.' As a member of the Roxburghe Club he edited for that body in 1819 Caxton's translation of Ovid's 'Metamorphoses,' with a preface by himself.

He died at Munden House on 8 Oct. 1837, and was buried at Aldenham. He married Elizabeth Margaret, daughter of Philip Fonnereau, esq. His portrait and that of his wife were engraved by Ward after Hoppner. Another portrait of Hibbert by Sir Thomas Lawrence hangs in the board-room of the East and West India Company.

[Gent. Mag. January 1838, pt. i. p. 96 (memoir), and July 1829, p. 64 (sale of his library); Evans's Cat. of Engraved Portraits, ii. 200; Baker's Memorials of a Dissenting Chapel, p. 90; Cussans's Hertfordshire, 'Dracorum,' p. 268, and 'Cashio,' p. 179.] C. W. S.

**HIBBERT, HENRY** (1600?–1678), divine, was born in Cheshire about 1600. In 1618 he entered Brasenose College, Oxford, and graduated B.A. on 27 June 1622 (Wood, *Fasti Oxon.* ed. Bliss, i. 405). He became rector of Settrington, Yorkshire, and in 1651 vicar of Holy Trinity, Kingston-upon-Hull, in the same county, but was ejected for nonconformity in 1660. Hibbert soon conformed, and on Restoration day, 29 May 1661, he preached at St. Paul's before the lord mayor a very loyal sermon, published as 'Regina Dierum, or the Joyful Day,' 4to, London, 1661. He was rewarded in 1662 by the rectory of All Hallows the Less, London, and on 22 Sept. of the same year was instituted to the vicarage of St. Olave Jewry (Newcourt, *Repertorium*, i. 515). As a member of St. John's College, Cambridge, he was made B.D. in 1664 by royal mandate, and D.D. in 1665 (*Cantabr. Graduati*, ed. 1787, p. 192). On 12 Jan. 1668–9 he was installed prebendary of St. Paul's (Le Neve, *Fasti*, ed. Hardy, ii. 376). Hibbert died in September 1678, leaving two daughters, Hannah and Mary.

He was author of: 1. 'Waters of Marah, drawn forth in two Funerall Sermons, October 1653 [on the two children of William Lyme, collector of the customs at Hull]. Since (upon desire) enlarged,' 8vo, London, 1654. 2. 'Syntagma Theologicum; or a Treatise wherein is concisely comprehended the Body of Divinity, and the Fundamentals of Religion orderly discussed. Whereunto are added certain Divine Discourses,' &c., 2 pts., fol., London, 1662, to which is prefixed his portrait engraved by D. Loggan. It bears a slavish dedication to James, duke of York.

[Frederick Ross's Celebrities of the Yorkshire Wolds, pp. 75–6; Wood's Athenæ Oxon. ed. Bliss, iii. 1178; authorities referred to.] G. G.

**HIBBERT, ROBERT** (1770 – 1849), founder of the Hibbert trust, third and posthumous son of John Hibbert (1732–1769), a Jamaica merchant, and Janet, daughter of Samuel Gordon, was born in Jamaica in 1770; hence he speaks of himself as a creole. His mother died early. Between 1784 and 1788 he was a pupil of Gilbert Wakefield at Nottingham. At a later period (1800–1), when Wakefield suffered imprisonment at Dorchester for writing a political pamphlet, Hibbert, though not wealthy then, sent him 1,000*l.* He entered Emmanuel College, Cambridge, in 1788, and graduated B.A. in 1791. At Cambridge he formed a lifelong friendship with William Frend [q. v.] In 1791 Hibbert went to Kingston, Jamaica, as partner in a mercantile house founded by his father's eldest brother, Thomas Hibbert. Returning to England about 1803, he bought the estate of East Hide (now called The Hyde), near Luton, Bedfordshire. In Jamaica he acquired considerable property, and he was not convinced by the arguments of Frend that his ownership of slaves was immoral. Besides plans for their material benefit, he sent out as a missionary to the negroes on his estates, in October 1817, Thomas Cooper (*d.* 25 Oct. 1880, aged 88), a unitarian minister, recommended by Frend, who remained in the island till 1821, endeavouring, with little success, to improve their moral and religious condition. A somewhat acrimonious controversy followed the publication of Cooper's report. After 1825 Hibbert's Jamaica property declined in value, and about 1836 he sold it at considerable loss. He had previously (1833) sold his Bedfordshire estate, and removed to London. He died at Welbeck Street, London, on 23 Sept. 1849, and was buried in Kensal Green cemetery. He married while in Jamaica Elizabeth Jane, daughter of Ballard Nembhard, M.D., who died on 15 Feb. 1853.

On 19 July 1847 Hibbert executed a deed conveying to trustees fifty thousand dollars in 6 per cent. Ohio stock, and 8,000*l.* in railway shares. The trustees, on the death of his widow, were to apply the income 'in such manner as they shall from time to time deem most conducive to the spread of Christianity in its most simple and intelligible form, and to the unfettered exercise of the right of private judgment in matters of religion.' The trustees were always to be laymen. Appended was a scheme for the administration of the trust, which the trustees were empowered to revise, and were directed to revise at least once in every twenty-five years. In the original scheme the trust was called 'the Antitrinitarian Fund,' and its object was, by a provision of divinity scholarships, to encourage learning and culture among unorthodox Christians. The breadth of the actual trust is largely due to the counsels of Hibbert's solicitor, Edwin Wilkins Field [q. v.], but, in opposition to Field, Hibbert 'determined on insisting that all recipients should be heterodox,' his intention being 'to elevate the position and the public influence of the unitarian ministry.' In addition to scholarships and fellowships, the number and conditions of which are settled by the trustees from year to year, the trust has, since the revision of 1878, maintained the annual 'Hibbert lecture,' the first series having been delivered by Professor Max Müller in that year.

Hibbert published: 1. 'Facts Verified upon Oath, in contradiction of the Report of the Rev. T. Cooper,' &c., 1824, 8vo. 2. A political paper, 'Why am I a Liberal?' (about 1831) signed 'John Smith,' reprinted in Murch's 'Memoir.' 3. A newspaper address 'To the Chartists of England,' 1840, advocating the abolition of the corn-laws and the adoption of the ballot.

[Monthly Repository, 1822, pp. 217 sq.; Christian Reformer, 1853, pp. 246 sq.; Murch's Memoir of Hibbert, with a Sketch of the history of the Trust, 1874.] A. G.

**HIBBERT-WARE, SAMUEL** (1782–1848), antiquary and geologist, eldest son of Samuel Hibbert, linen yarn merchant, of Manchester, and Sarah, daughter of Robert Ware of Dublin, was born in St. Ann's Square, Manchester, on 21 April 1782. He was educated at a private school and at the Manchester academy under Dr. Barnes. He had little taste for his father's business, and turned his attention to literary pursuits, writing verses in the 'European' and 'Monthly' magazines, prologues for the Manchester theatres, and election squibs for his friend Colonel Hanson. His first separate publication was an anonymous pamphlet entitled 'Remarks on the Facility of Obtaining Commercial Credit,' 1806, 8vo, pp. 54, followed by some doggerel verses on 'The Ancient Ballad of Tarquin,' 1808. From 1809 to 1813 he held a lieutenant's commission in the 1st royal Lancashire militia. After his father's death in 1815 he went to Edinburgh, and took the degree of M.D. at the university, but never practised. His dissertation entitled 'De Vita Humana' was dated 1817. He resided there many years, enjoying the friendship of Sir Walter Scott, Sir David Brewster, and others, and taking part in the work of the learned

societies there. He had already, in 1805, been elected a member of the Manchester Literary and Philosophical Society, and contributed papers to its meetings. His first paper was on the 'Early Importance and Influence of Music and Poetry.' In 1817 he made a voyage to Shetland, where he discovered chromate of iron in large masses. He made a second voyage there in the following year, chiefly at Professor Jameson's instigation, with a view to rendering his discovery of public benefit and of completing his geological survey of the country. For this discovery the Society of Arts awarded him in 1820 the Iris gold medal. In Shetland he also discovered the native hydrate of magnesia. In 1822 he published in 4to at Edinburgh his important volume 'A Description of the Shetland Islands, comprising an Account of their Geology, Scenery, Antiquities, and Superstitions.' To the same date belongs a curious memoir, 'Illustrations of the Customs of a Manor in the North of England [i.e. Ashton-under-Lyne] during the Fifteenth Century, with Occasional Remarks on their Resemblance to the Incidents of Ancient Scottish Tenures.' A 'Memoir on the Tings of Orkney and Shetland' was written in 1823. These and other papers were contributed to the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland, of which he was secretary from 1823 to 1827. A paper on 'Spectral Illusions,' read by him before the Royal Society of Edinburgh, gave rise to his 'Sketches of the Philosophy of Apparitions, or an Attempt to Trace such Illusions to their Physical Causes,' 1824; second edition 1825; the scope of the work is illustrated in the 'Noctes Ambrosianæ' for March 1825. An anonymous reply to Hibbert's theory of apparitions, under the title of 'Past Feelings Renovated,' was published in a thick 12mo vol. in 1828. In 1824, at the request of the Manchester Literary and Philosophical Society, he delivered at Manchester a course of lectures on geology, and in 1827 a further course under the auspices of the Manchester Royal Institution.

He spent two or three years with his family on the continent, chiefly in examining the volcanic districts of France and Italy and the northern parts of Germany. On his return to Edinburgh he embodied the result of a portion of his observations in his 'History of the Extinct Volcanoes of the Basin of Neuwied on the Lower Rhine,' 1832, 8vo. His scattered geological and antiquarian essays include papers on the 'Vitrified Forts of Scotland,' 'Fossil Elk in the Isle of Man and elsewhere,' and an important 'Memoir on the Fresh Water Limestone of Burdiehouse in the neighbourhood of Edinburgh,' 1835.

In 1830 was published his 'History of the Collegiate Church of Manchester,' forming the major part of the 'History of the Foundations in Manchester' (3 vols. 4to, 1833–4), and still the most important contribution to the annals of his native city.

He left Edinburgh in 1835, and after living for a time at York finally settled down at a small paternal estate at Hale Barns, near Altrincham, Cheshire. In 1837 he assumed by royal license the surname and arms of Ware, as representative of Sir James Ware, the historian of Ireland. He was a member of the first council of the Chetham Society, and edited one of its early volumes, 'Lancashire Memorials of the Rebellion in 1715,' 1845, 4to. His last work was 'The Ancient Parish Church of Manchester and Why it was Collegiated,' 1848, 4to. The manuscript of the concluding portion of this work was lost after his death.

Hibbert-Ware died at Hale Barns on 30 Dec. 1848 of bronchitis, from which he had suffered for several years. He was buried at Ardwick cemetery, Manchester.

He married three times. First, on 23 July 1803, Sarah, daughter of Thomas Crompton of Bridge Hall, Bury, Lancashire; she died in 1822. Secondly, on 8 Jan. 1825, Charlotte Wilhelmina, widow of William Scott, receiver of customs in the Isle of Man, and daughter of Lord Henry Murray. She accompanied him on many of his tours in Scotland and on the continent, and executed drawings for his papers. One series of drawings of Scottish sculptured stones and runic inscriptions remains unpublished. She died in 1835. His third wife was Elizabeth Lefroy, daughter of Captain Anthony Lefroy, whom he married in 1842.

He had three children by his first wife and three by his second. His eldest son, Titus Herbert (1810–1890), was called to the bar at the Middle Temple in 1844, and published 'Precedents of Conveyances,' 1846. His second son, Dr. William Hibbert, surgeon in the second queen's royals, met with a tragic death in Afghanistan in 1839.

[The Life and Correspondence of Dr. Samuel Hibbert-Ware, by Mrs. Hibbert-Ware (wife of his eldest son), 1882; Palatine Note-book, i. 37, 172, 217; Manchester Guardian, 3 Jan. 1849; Royal Society's Cat. of Scientific Papers, iii. 346; Baker's Memorials of a Dissenting Chapel, p. 103.] C. W. S.

**HIBBS, RICHARD** (1812?–1886), miscellaneous writer, born about 1812, studied at St. John's College, Cambridge (of which he was scholar), and proceeded B.A. in 1841 and M.A. in 1844. He took orders, and was

curate at Corton, near Lowestoft (1843–8); teacher and preacher at Lowestoft (1848–1852); curate of St. Paul's, Covent Garden (1852); and assistant minister of St. John's Chapel, Edinburgh (1852–4). His connection with this last terminated somewhat suddenly. A bitter controversy with the incumbent led him to establish the New Church of England Chapel, St. Vincent Street, where he laboured for some years. He subsequently fulfilled the duties of British chaplain at Lisbon, Rotterdam, and Utrecht. He died at 13 St. Lawrence Road, North Kensington, on 26 March 1886. Hibbs's chief work, founded on personal investigation, is 'Prussia and the Poor; or Observations upon the Systematised Relief of the Poor at Elberfeld in contrast with that of England,' 1876; 4th ed. 1883. He also published, besides separate sermons: 1. 'The Substance of a Series of Discourses on Baptism,' 1848. 2. 'God's Plea for the Poor,' 1851. 3. 'Scottish Episcopal Romanism; or Popery without a Pope, in reply to Bishop Wordsworth's "Theory and Practice of Christian Unity,"' Edinburgh, 1856, 12mo. 4. 'Truth Vindicated, or Some Account of the New Church of England Chapel in Edinburgh,' 1858; 4th ed. 1859.

[Academy, 10 April 1886, pp. 255–6; Hibbs's Works; Brit. Mus. Cat.] F. W–T.

**HIBERNICUS**, THOMAS (*fl.* 1310), Irish monk. [See THOMAS.]

**HICKERINGILL** or **HICKHORNGILL**, EDMUND (1631–1708), eccentric divine and pamphleteer, son of Edmund Hickhorngill, was born at Aberford, near Leeds, and baptised on 19 Sept. 1631. He became a pensioner at St. John's College, Cambridge, on 17 June 1647 (MAYOR, *Admissions*, p. 85). From Lady day 1651 to Midsummer 1652 he was junior fellow of Gonville and Caius College (cf. *Works*, ii. 467, iii. 29), where the views on baptism of the master, William Dell [q. v.], seem to have influenced him. In 1652 we find him at Hexham, Northumberland, where 'Edmund Hickhorngill' on 24 Aug., having received adult baptism, was admitted into the baptist church formed in that year by Thomas Tillam of Colchester. On 20 Dec. 'the church, with prayer, fasting, and imposition of hands of the minister, ordained brother Hickhorngill a minister, and their messenger into Scotland.' He reached Dalkeith on 30 Dec.; on 8 Jan. 1653 he began a series of letters to his Hexham friends, signing himself (if the transcript is correct) 'Edward Hickhorngill.' Monck, to whom he brought a letter from Colonel Charles Howard, handed him over to Lilburne, who made him chaplain in his own regiment of horse. In March he joined a baptist church at Leith; but his opinions rapidly changed; in May he was excommunicated, and became a quaker. On 12 July he returned to Dalkeith 'in a swaggering garb,' having renounced quakerism and become a deist, owning 'no other rule to himself but his reason.' His old friends regarded him as 'a desperate atheist.' In September he wrote to Hexham a penitent letter from St. Johnstons (i.e. Perth), where Lilburne had given him a place in the garrison as lieutenant to Captain Gascoigne in Colonel Daniell's regiment. The baptists do not appear to have received him again. By his own account he remained in Scotland 'above three years,' being stationed as 'governor and deputy governor' at Finlarig and Meikleour castles, Perthshire; he was 'one of the first and last justices of the peace that ever was in Scotland' (*ib.* iii. 29). His next move was to foreign service; he 'was a soldier and captain (by sea and land) under Carolus Gustavus, king of Swedes' (*ib.* p. 56). He visited Spain and Portugal, returned to England as Swedish envoy, and then became a captain in Fleetwood's regiment. Some appointment was found for him in the West Indies, and he made a stay in Jamaica. The Restoration brought him back to London towards the end of 1660; he drew up an account of Jamaica, dedicating it to Charles II. In this, his first publication, his name appears as Hickeringill. It is a clever description of the island, its products and people, interspersed with rude verses in coarse taste. Charles gave him a post of 1,000*l.* a year (*ib.* iii. 200) as secretary to Lord Windsor, 'then going governour to Jamaica.' But Hickeringill once more changed his mind, and was ordained (1661) by Robert Sanderson, bishop of Lincoln, who, he says, 'was nick-nam'd the presbyterian bishop' (*ib.* ii. 379). On 30 Jan. 1662 he preached a loyal sermon, comparing Charles I to Naboth. His first preferment seems to have been the vicarage of St. Peter's, Colchester, Essex; on 25 Aug. 1662 he signs the baptismal register as 'Edward Hickeringill, vicar.' This living he did not hold long; on 21 Oct. 1662 he was admitted to the rectory of All Saints, Colchester, a benefice which he retained till his death. From 22 Oct. 1662 till 1664 he was vicar of Boxted, Essex.

At All Saints Hickeringill succeeded an ejected nonconformist. He at first avoided ceremonies likely to be obnoxious to his congregation, and his extemporaneous vivacity as a preacher made him popular with the multitude. He came out as a pamphleteer in 1673, with a criticism of Marvell's 'Re-

ırsal Transpros'd;' his ideas of religion condensed (p. 262) in the rhymes:

By the liturgy learn to pray;
So pray and praise God every day.
The Apostles' Creed believe also;
Do as you would be done unto.
Sacraments take as well as you can;
This is the whole duty of man.

ith equal gusto he soon ridiculed the high arch party and his old friends the nonconmists. A violent quarrel with his bishop, nry Compton (1632–1713) [q. v.], folred. The tithes of St. Botolph's, Colches-, had (since 1544) been enjoyed by the tors of All Saints; Compton set aside this angement in favour of another clergyman. ckeringill made himself obnoxious by rerches into ecclesiastical law, enabling him teach his neighbours to resist the exactions the spiritual courts. On 9 May 1680 he ached before the lord mayor, Sir Robert ayton [q. v.], at the Guildhall Chapel, Lon-n, hurling the curse of Meroz on all who, e Compton, slighted the law by allowing itude to dissenters. In this pungent disırse Hickeringill asserts that civil auority is supreme in all matters, and shows ch knowledge of constitutional history. His subsequent life was a series of battles the courts and in the press. On 3 March 81 he was tried at Chelmsford assizes before dge Weston on an indictment of twenty-r counts for barratry; his former general, nck, now duke of Albemarle, sat on the ch. He conducted his own case, and ved a match for Sir George Jeffreys, the ding counsel against him. The prosecun broke down (*ib.* ii. 189 sq.), though it s reported in Nat. Thompson's weekly yal Protestant' that he had been conted of perjury (*ib.* i. 394). He was next ed to Doctors' Commons for performing rriages without banns or license, and for ceedings in connection with the tithes St. Botolph's and other parishes. He peared before Sir Robert Wiseman on June 1681, kept on his hat, and replied all remonstrances in Greek, till Wiseman lered an appearance in Greek to be retered as a non-appearance, when he threatd to prosecute Wiseman according to tute for citing him out of his proper diocese pp. 176 sq.) He appeared again on 21 Nov., put in pleas, which on 25 Nov. were rred (*ib.* pp. 34 sq., 115 sq.) An admirer, Shawe of Monmouth, addressed to him Feb. 1682) an enlogistic poem. On 8 Feb. 2 articles of good behaviour were exhied against him in the king's bench (cf. TTRELL, *Brief Relation*, i. 162), and on 8 March, at the Chelmsford assizes, Compton prosecuted him for slander, 'scandalum magnatum,' under the statute 2 Ric. II, c. 5. At the Easter election of parish officers for St. Botolph's (4 April 1681) he had publicly spoken of Compton as 'a bold, daring, impudent man,' as 'very ignorant,' and 'concerned in the damnable plot.' This was understood of the Popish plot, but Hickeringill meant a plot against himself (*ib.* p. 150). Jeffreys was again counsel against him, and got a verdict for the plaintiff, with 2,000*l.* damages, which Compton proposed to give towards the building of St. Paul's. Hickeringill wrote a long letter to Compton, which he proposed to send by the hands of Thomas Firmin [q. v.], whom he never saw, offering to pay the costs of the old suit, on condition that there should be a new trial (*Scand. Mag.* passim). For celebrating marriages irregularly he was suspended for three years. He was restored and excused the fine, on publicly recanting in the court of arches (27 June 1684) the 'scandalous, erroneous, and seditious principles' contained in his publications numbered 6, 7, 8, 11, 13, 14, 15, and 18 below (cf. LUTTRELL, i. 332). Meanwhile 'that unhappy verdict' had lost him a fortune of 20,000*l.*, his uncle, Dr. Troutbeck, having altered the disposal of his estate, 'lest any of the lawn-sleeves should lay their fingers on't' (*Works*, iii. 117).

Soon after the accession of James II Hickeringill (perhaps suspected of favouring Monmouth's enterprise) was peremptorily excluded from his living by royal mandate, and not recalled till 1688, 'about a month before the Dutch landed' (*ib.* ii. 380). In 1691 Tom Brown (1663–1704) [q. v.] assailed him in his 'Novus Reformator Vapulans,' where Hickeringill is introduced as taking part in a discussion with David Jones and the ghost of Prynne. In 1703 his 'Survey of the Earth'—Luttrell calls the book 'the Vileness of the Earth'—gave Compton a fresh occasion for bringing him into the spiritual court. In March 1706–7 he published a 'Letter concerning Barretry, Forgery, and the Danger and Malignity of partial Judges and Jurymen' (Bodleian Library). Later in the year he was charged with altering the rate-books brought to him as commissioner of taxes by the assessors for the parish of Wix, in which he was a landowner; was convicted of the 'forgery' in August, and was fined 400*l.* 'He carried himself,' writes Hearne, 'with that indecency to the court that he was thought to be mad' (*Collections*, ed. Doble, Oxf. Hist. Soc. ii. 33, 412). He was now an old man; in his last year he occupied himself in editing collections of his

writings. He died on 30 Nov. 1708, in his seventy-eighth year, and was buried in his church, where his gravestone in the chancel bears a long inscription in Latin, from which the title 'Reverendus admodum Dominus' and the following words were erased (according to Colchester tradition, by Compton's order): 'tam Marti quam Mercurio clarus, quippe qui terra mariq. Militavit non sine gloria, Ingeniiq. vires scriptis multiplice argumento insignitis demonstravit; sacris tandem ordinibus initiatus.' His portrait (1706), engraved by J. Nutting from a painting by J. Jull, is prefixed to his 'Miscellaneous Tracts.' After settling at Colchester he married, and had 'many children . . . all well provided for' (*ib.* iii. 47). Two sons, Thomas and Mathias, and four daughters survived him. His private character was never assailed.

Throughout his writings, highly spiced with a random jocularity which he excuses as being natural to him, Hickeringill is a tenacious advocate of Erastianism (cf. his 'Lay Clergy'). In his 'Priestcraft' is a strong infusion of rationalism; he denies infallibility to the Bible, and defends his position with some critical research. Of his pamphlets there are two disorderly collections (indicated by *M. T.* and *W.* in the list below), viz. 'Miscellaneous Tracts, Essays, Satyrs,' &c., 1707, 4to (seven parts, with separate titles and paging, the first printed 1705, the rest undated); and 'Works,' 1709, 8vo, 3 vols. (printed in 1708, see i. 353; in vol. ii. p. 353 immediately follows p. 208; so in vol. iii. p. 145 follows p. 135); reissued with new title-pages 1716 and 1721. His chief separate publications are: 1. 'Jamaica View'd,' &c., 1661, 12mo (map by Colonel Edward D'Oyley, commander of the forces in Jamaica, dedication to Charles II, commendatory verses 'To my Honoured Friend, Capt. Edm. Hickeringill,' signed 'G. E. Med. D.'); 2nd edit. 1661, 8vo; 3rd edit. 1705, 8vo (new map; this edition forms the first part of *M. T.*) 2. 'An Apology for Distressed Innocence . . . Sermon [1 K. xxi. 12, 13] . . . 30 Jan. 1662,' &c., 1662 (?); 1700, 4to; reprinted *W.* i. 270. 3. 'Gregory, Father Greybeard, with his Vizard off . . . a Letter to our old friend R. L. from E. H.,' &c., 1673, 8vo (to L'Estrange; on Marvell; see above). 4. 'Curse Ye Meroz: or, the Fatal Doom . . . Sermon [Jud. v. 23],' &c., 1680, 4to, four editions same year; reprinted *W.* i. 220, mispaged 120 (see above; answered in 'The Plotter's Doom,' 1680, 4to, and 'Observations on a late Famous Sermon,' 1680, 4to). 5. 'Reflections . . . By A. B.,' &c., 1680, 4to (answer to 'Observations,' &c.; probably by Hickeringill). 6. 'The Naked Truth. The Second Part,' &c., 1681, fol. (anon.); 2nd edit. same year (title suggested by 'The Naked Truth,' 1675, by Herbert Croft, D.D. (1603–1691) [q. v.], with which it has nothing in common, being an attack on the exactions of spiritual courts, with tables of just fees; Hickeringill avows the authorship in a letter, 20 Nov. 1680, printed in 2nd edit.; two other parts appeared, disclaimed by Hickeringill, *Works*, ii. 6). 7. 'A Vindication of The Naked Truth, the second part . . . By Phil. Hickeringill,' &c., 1681, fol. (against 'Leges Angliæ,' by Dr. Francis Fullwood. Cf. *Works*, ii. 6). 8. 'News from Doctor's Commons . . . Mr. Hickeringill's appearance there, June 8, 1681,' &c., 1681, fol., reprinted *W.* ii. 176 (has appended 'Essay concerning Sequestrations' and 'Impartial Narrative' of the trial for barratry). 9. 'The Horrid Sin of Man-Catching . . . Sermon upon Jer. 5, 25, 26 . . . at Colchester, 10 July 1681,' &c., 1681, 4to; 2nd edit. same year; 4th edit. 1682, fol.; reprinted *W.* i. 171 (preached without notes, written out and sent to press next day). 10. 'News from Colchester . . . Letter to . . . an honest Whig,' &c., 1681 (?) reprinted *W.* i. 394 (signed A. B., 17 Aug. 1681). 11. 'The Black Non-Conformist Discover'd in More Naked Truth,' &c., 1682, fol., reprinted *W.* ii. 1 (dedicated, 4 Dec. 1681, to Sancroft, archbishop of Canterbury; title insinuates that bishops are nonconformists, as practising illegal ceremonies, &c.) 12. 'Essays on Several Subjects, in Two Parts,' reprinted *M. T.* (seven papers on excommunications, sacrilege, probate, &c. of uncertain dates). 13. 'The Mushroom . . . in answer to . . . The Meddal,' &c., 1682, fol., reprinted *W.* ii. 353 (the poem, a scurrilous attack on Dryden, is dated London, 17 March 1681–2). 14. 'The Character of a Sham-plotter or Man-catcher,' &c. 1682 (?); reprinted *W.* i. 212. 15. 'Scandalum Magnatum: or, The Great Trial at Chelmnesford . . . betwixt Henry, bishop of London . . . and E. Hickeringill,' &c., 1682, fol. 16. 'The Test or Tryal . . . of Spiritual-Courts,' &c., 1683, fol.; reprinted *M. T.* (dated 11 Jan. 1682–3). 17. 'The Trimmer . . . Debate with the Observator,' &c., 1683 (?); reprinted *W.* i. 353 (dialogue; written early in 1683). 18. 'The History of Whiggism,' &c., 1683 (?); reprinted *W.* i. 1 (dialogue between Tory, Whig, and Tantivee; two parts). 19. 'The Most Humble Confession and Recantation,' &c., 1684, fol. 20. 'Modest Enquiries proposed to the Convention of Estates,' &c., 1689, 4to. 21. 'A Speech without Doors,' &c., 1689, 4to. 22. 'A Dialogue between Timothy and Titus about the Articles and Canons,' &c., 1689 (Davids; not seen). 23. 'The Ceremony-Monger,' &c., 1689,

4to; 2nd edit. same year; 3rd edit. [1696], 4to; reprinted *W.* ii. 377. 24. 'The Good Old Cause; or, The Divine Captain . . . Sermon preach'd in a Camp,' &c., 1692, 4to; 1704, 4to; reprinted *W.* ii. 512. 25. 'The Lay-Clergy; or, the Lay Elder,' &c., 1695, 4to; reprinted *W.* i. 318. 26. 'The Parliament Tacks . . . Account of the Tacking Affair,' &c., 1703 (?); reprinted *M. T.* 27. 'Priestcraft; its Character and Consequences,' 1705 (?); reprinted, 2nd edit. *M. T.* (new title, 'A General History of Priestcraft'). 28. 'Priestcraft . . . Second Part,' &c., 1705 (?); reprinted *M. T.* 29. 'The Vindication of Priestcraft,' &c., 1706 (?); reprinted, 2nd edit. *M. T.* (Nos. 27, 28, and 29 form *W.* iii.; reissued 1721, with title, 'The History of Priests and Priestcraft'). 30. 'The Survey of the Earth,' &c., 1705 (?); reprinted, 2nd edit. *M. T.* 31. 'A Burlesque Poem in Praise of Ignorance,' &c., 1708, 4to (dated, Pond-Hall in Essex, 15 Jan. 1707–8; chiefly written in 1650 at Cambridge; Hudibrastic metre).

[Works cited; Morant's Hist. of Colchester, 1748, app. p. 51; Chalmers's Dict.; Thoresby Correspondence, i. 447, ii. 8; Underhill's Records of the Churches . . . Hexham (Hanserd Knollys Society), 1854, pp. 290 sq.; Davids's Evang. Nonconf. Essex, 1863, pp. 304, 354, 373; information from the Rev. A. B. Lawrence, Aberford, R. F. Scott, esq., St. John's College, and Dr. J. S. Reid, Gonville and Caius College.]

A. G.

**HICKES, FRANCIS** (1566–1631), translator, son of Richard Hickes, an arras-weaver, of Barcheston or Barston, Warwickshire, was born in 1566 at Shipston, in the parish of Tredington, Worcestershire. He matriculated at St. Mary Hall, Oxford, at the age of thirteen. He proceeded B.A. 30 April 1583. He retired into the country and engaged himself in translating from the Greek. He spent most of his life at Barston and Shipston, died at Sutton in Gloucestershire, at the house of a kinsman, on 9 Jan. 1630–1, and was buried in the chancel of the adjacent church of Brayles, Worcestershire.

His only published translation was 'Certaine Select Dialogues of Lucian: together with his True Historie, translated from the Greeke into English,' Oxford, 1634, 4to, with a life of Lucian by his son Thomas. It was reprinted with Jasper Mayne's 'Part of Lucian made English,' Oxford, 1664, folio. Hickes left in manuscript: 1. 'The History of the Wars of Peloponnesus, in 8 Books, written by Thucydides the Athenian.' 2. 'The History of Herodian, beginning from the Reign of the Emperor Marcus.' These manuscripts were placed by Hickes's son in the library of Christ Church, Oxford.

His son, THOMAS HICKES (1599–1634), graduated B.A. at Balliol College, Oxford, in 1620, and M.A. 1623; and later became chaplain of Christ Church. According to Wood he was a distinguished Greek scholar, a good poet, and an excellent limner.

[Wood's Athenæ Oxon. ed. Bliss, ii. 490, 584, iii. 973; Wood's Fasti, i. 223; prefatory letter by Thomas Hickes before the translations from Lucian. As to Thomas Hickes see Oxf. Univ. Reg. (Oxf. Hist. Soc.), ii. ii. 356, iii. 384; Wood's Athenæ Oxon. ed. Bliss, ii. 584–5; Wood's Fasti Oxon. ed. Bliss, i. 392.]

R. B.

**HICKES, GASPAR** (1605–1677), puritan divine, son of a Berkshire clergyman, matriculated at Trinity College, Oxford, on 26 Oct. 1621, aged 16, graduating B.A. 1625, and M.A. 1628. His reputation in the west of England for preaching was great, and he was a good scholar. He held some benefice in 1628, possessed the incumbency of Launceston from 1630 to 1632, the vicarage of Lavnells from 1630 to 1636, and in 1632 was appointed to Landrake, all of these livings being in Cornwall, and the last being a parish in which Rous, the puritan provost of Eton, lived. When the royalists were dominant in Cornwall he withdrew to London, and on 20 April 1642 was, no doubt through the influence of Serjeant Maynard and Rous, named to parliament as one of the two Cornish divines whose advice should be sought on ecclesiastical matters. He was a member of the Westminster Assembly of Divines from July 1643, and as one of the 'plundered ministers' was placed in October 1644 in possession of the vicarage of Tottenham, then not above the yearly value of 50*l.*, and a grant of 100*l.* per annum was assigned to him in addition out of the revenues of St. Paul's chapter in the parish. Subsequently he retired to Landrake, and as the leading presbyterian divine in the county was appointed in 1654 assistant to the commissioners for Cornwall for ejecting scandalous ministers and schoolmasters. In 1662 he was dispossessed of his benefice, but remained in the neighbourhood ministering to a few faithful friends. Some time after 1670 Hickes was prosecuted under the Conventicle Act for unlawful preaching, and when the justices of his own district refused to convict he was taken further west before Dr. Polwhele and others on the charge of keeping a conventicle in his house, and of preaching. He was fined 40*l.*, whereupon he appealed, but without any result beyond increasing the excessive costs of the proceedings. In 1677 he died, and was buried in the porch of the parish church on 10 April, when many of the 'godly party' attended.

Hickes published three sermons: 1. 'Glory and Beauty of God's Portion before the House of Commons at the Publique Fast, 26 June 1644.' 2. 'The Life and Death of David, preached at the Funeral of William Strode, M.P., in Westminster Abbey, 22 Sept. 1645.' Dedicated to Sir Edward Barkham and his wife, with whom he 'found the first safe and quiet harbour after my long wanderings and tossings in the common storme.' 3. 'The Advantage of Afflictions; a Sermon before House of Peers 28 Jan. 1645, the day of publike humiliation,' in Westminster Abbey.

Gaspar Hickes, captain of the Yarmouth man-of-war, who died in 1714, was perhaps a son (*Memoirs relating to Lord Torrington*, ed. Laughton, Camd. Soc., pp. 141–2, 193).

[Wood's Athenæ Oxon. (Bliss), iii. 1107; Palmer's Nonconf. Memorial, 1802 ed., i. 352–353; Clark's Oxford Reg. (Oxford Hist. Soc.), vol. ii. pt. ii. pp. 394, 442; Journ. of House of Commons, ii. 535, iii. 662; True Narrative of Sufferings of Christians called Fanaticks, 1671, and in Somers Tracts, 1812 ed., vii. 609–11; Boase and Courtney's Bibl. Cornub. i. 237–8; Notes and Gleanings, iii. 158–60, by A. F. Robbins.] W. P. C.

**HICKES**, GEORGE (1642–1715), nonjuror, titular bishop of Thetford, was the second son of William Hickes of Ness in the parish of Stonegrave, Yorkshire, whose wife was a daughter of George Kay, M.A., rector of Topcliffe. His parents after their marriage settled on a large farm called Moorhouse at Newsham in the parish of Kirby Wiske, near Thirsk, where George was born 20 June 1642. When five years old he was sent to school at Thirsk, and when nearly ten to the grammar school at Northallerton, under Thomas Smelt, who throughout the Commonwealth instilled monarchical principles into his pupils. At the age of sixteen he was sent to his elder brother, John Hickes, B.A. [q. v.], of Trinity College, Dublin (1655), then minister at Saltash in Cornwall, who had offered to bind him apprentice to a merchant at Plymouth. He showed such promise, however, that, by the advice of George Hughes, then minister at Plymouth, he was sent to Oxford, where he was admitted a batler at St. John's College in the middle of April 1659. He was no favourite there with the intruded president, Thankful Owen, because, as we are told, 'he would not take sermon-notes, nor frequent the meetings of the young scholars for spiritual exercises,' while the reading of James Howell's 'Dodona's Grove' and Bishop Hall's 'Answer to Smectymnuus' confirmed him in his aversion to the dominant party. On the Restoration he removed to Magdalen College in the capacity of a servitor to Dr. Henry Yerbury, one of the restored fellows. There he took the degree of B.A. 24 Feb. 1662–3, and then removed to Magdalen Hall, whence he was elected to a Yorkshire fellowship at Lincoln College, 23 May 1664. On 8 Dec. 1665 he took the degree of M.A. He went round, according to custom, bareheaded, with his white lambskin bachelor's hood, to offer himself for examination at every college, and heard a French visitor conjecture that he must be doing penance for some great crime. He was ordained deacon 10 June and priest 23 Dec. 1666 at Oxford, and on 8 July 1668 was admitted M.A. at Cambridge. For seven years he acted as tutor at Lincoln College, and went, in 1673, on a tour in France with a former pupil, Sir George Wheeler (afterwards a prebendary of Durham), visiting also Geneva, and returning to Oxford in 1674 in order to take (as bound by college statutes) the degree of B.D. (14 May 1675). At Paris he became well acquainted with Henri Justel, and at Geneva with Francis Turretin. Justel entrusted to him his father's famous manuscripts of the 'Codex Canonum Ecclesiæ Universalis' of the ninth century for presentation to the university of Oxford. These manuscripts are now in the Bodleian Library, numbered *e Musæo* 100–2. In 1675 he was appointed to the rectory of St. Ebbe at Oxford, but held it probably only for a year; his signature is not found in the parish register.

Shortly afterwards Hickes was invited to become chaplain to the Duke of Lauderdale, but did not accept the office until assured by Bishop Fell that charges of gross immorality against the duke were fictions circulated by political adversaries. He was formally appointed 15 Sept. 1676, and in May of the following year he accompanied the duke when he went as high commissioner to Scotland. The duke being a learned Hebrew scholar, Hickes is reported, on the authority of Dr. Mill, to have studied Hebrew in order that he might be able to discuss rabbinical learning with his patron (HEARNE, *Collections*, 1886, i. 268). In Scotland he did all in his power to introduce the use of the liturgy and to hinder a scheme of toleration urged by one Murray, a presbyterian minister, said to be nearly related to the Duchess of Lauderdale. After the execution of James Mitchel in January 1678, Hickes was employed by the duke to write a narrative of the trial, which was published anonymously in the same year, under the title of 'Ravillac Redivivus;' a second and enlarged edition appeared in 1682. In April 1678 he was sent up to

London, in company with Archbishop Alexander Burnet [q. v.] of Glasgow, to represent to the king and the English bishops the state of ecclesiastical affairs in Scotland; and on his return shortly afterwards was created D.D. at St. Andrews by the instrumentality of Archbishop Sharp. Having now returned to England, promotions came to him in quick succession. After taking the degree of D.D. at Oxford on 17 Dec. 1679, he was made prebendary of Worcester in June 1680, vicar of All Hallows Barking in August 1680, chaplain to the king in December 1681, and in August 1683, upon the recommendation of the ecclesiastical commissioners to the king, dean of Worcester. Shortly after his going to All Hallows he was indicted on a ridiculous charge of idolatry in bowing to a wooden image of St. Michael over the communion-table. The indictment was quashed on the ground that the charge was not one to be brought before a civil court. The image was then broken in pieces by one of the churchwardens and burned in the vestry. Of this case Hickes printed a narrative, 'Of an Apparition of an Archangel at the Old Baily,' in a single sheet. After his promotion to the deanery of Worcester, lord-keeper North desired him, by the king's command, to study the patent rolls, with a view to further promotion, the king saying that, through ignorance of these, the bishops since the Reformation had been the worst members of parliament in the House of Lords, and of the least influence. The dean had reached, in consequence, a third volume of transcripts lent him by the lord keeper when the king died, and he then gave up the task. He had previously, in 1684, declined the bishopric of Bristol, with which he might have held his deanery *in commendam*. He resigned the vicarage of All Hallows in May 1686, being appointed instead to the rectory of Alvechurch, not very far from Worcester. At Worcester he began his study of the northern languages, and after one year's indefatigable work, compiled his 'Anglo-Saxon and Mœso-Gothic Grammar,' which was printed at Oxford in 1689. When in 1687 Bishop Thomas of Worcester was ill, it was feared that James II might try to fill a vacancy with some adherent to his projects, but Hickes assured the prebendaries that he would first pray the king to recall any *congé d'élire* issued for such a person, and then, if necessary, endure any penalty rather than summon the chapter to elect. He was strongly opposed to the king's declaration of indulgence, and in a letter of 5 Nov. 1687 to Edmund Bohun [q. v.] (signed 'Gregory Hopt.') expresses a hope that Bohun will preserve for future ages a register of the names of those confessors, a cloud of witnesses, who 'were removed from honourable and beneficial places merely upon the score of religion when their loyalty was acknowledged' (original manuscript letters in the possession of Mr. C. H. Firth of Balliol College, Oxford). A letter on the same subject to Dean Comber, dated 9 June 1688, after the order for publication of the declaration in the churches, is printed in the 'Orthodox Churchman's Magazine,' 1802, ii. 321–2. But during Monmouth's rebellion his loyalty was unshaken. His brother John [q. v.] engaged in it, and was executed on 6 Oct. 1685. The dean exerted himself in vain for his deliverance, offering 100*l.* to Lord Shannon to procure a pardon for him by the king's personal favour.

The Sunday after the landing of the Prince of Orange the dean preached in his cathedral a sermon upon the example of primitive Christians in submission to persecuting princes, and suffered, in consequence, some trouble at the hands of a considerable force which had secured the city of Worcester for the prince. Refusing the oath of allegiance, he was suspended on 1 Aug. 1689; and, after six months' interval, was deprived on 1 Feb. following. He remained, however, unmolested until the beginning of May, and then, upon hearing of the appointment of his successor in the deanery, he affixed to the entrance-gate of the choir of the cathedral a claim of right against all intruders. This was set up before morning prayer on 2 May, and in the middle of evening service was removed by an officer. In the drawing up of this document, which is printed in the appendix to Lee's 'Life of Kettlewell,' p. v, he was assisted by the advice of Mr. North [query Roger North?], whose modifications are given in a draft which is preserved in the Bodleian Library (*Engl. Hist. MS. b* 2, fol. 110). Messengers were then sent by the Earl of Nottingham, secretary of state, for his arrest, but Hickes had meanwhile secretly withdrawn to London, where, and in the neighbourhood, he remained more or less in concealment, until, in 1699, Lord-chancellor Somers caused a *nolle prosequi* to be entered to all proceedings against him. During some earlier part of this period he was harboured by White Kennett, then rector of Ambrosden, Oxfordshire, and disguised himself in lay attire, sometimes assuming that of a military officer. He lived also for a time at Westwood in Worcestershire, under the roof of Lady Pakington, to whom he assigns, in his preface to his 'Thesaurus,' the authorship of the 'Whole Duty of Man.'

When, in 1693, it was determined, after consultation with King James, to continue the episcopal succession among the nonjurors by the appointment of suffragans, as provided for in the act 26 Henry VIII, cap 4, Hickes was sent over in May to St. Germains, by way of Holland, with a list of names. He was received at once by the king on his arrival, although late at night; and on the following day James informed Hickes that he had consulted the pope (Innocent XII), the archbishop of Paris (De Harlai), and the bishop of Meaux (Bossuet), who all agreed that he was justified in doing what in him lay to maintain the episcopate of the church of England. From the list submitted to him, two names were consequently selected, Archbishop Sancroft nominating Hickes as his suffragan, and Bishop Lloyd of Norwich nominating Wagstaffe. Hickes's return to England was delayed by his falling ill at Rotterdam with ague; but at length he reached London on 4 Feb. 1694, escaping detection at Harwich by appearing to be in company of a foreign minister. On the 24th of that month he and Wagstaffe were consecrated in a private chapel of Bishop Turner of Ely at Enfield by Bishops Turner, Lloyd, and White of Peterborough, Hickes being titled as bishop of Thetford and Wagstaffe as bishop of Ipswich. Henry Hyde [q. v.], earl of Clarendon, who presented to the consecrators King James's letters of commission, was the only witness present, together with Robert Duglas, a notary who drew up the record, which is dated in the tenth year of James II. In February 1696 Hickes was living in a small cottage on Bagshot Heath, and was preparing a reply to Burnet's vindication of his funeral sermon on Tillotson. But in consequence of the discovery of the plot for assassinating William III, and the issue of a proclamation offering 1,000*l.* for the discovery of certain persons, Hickes's house was beset by a mob, and searched, upon warrants from a justice of the peace, especially in the hope of finding the Duke of Berwick. He in consequence left the neighbourhood without finishing his reply to Burnet, and, falling into a long sickness, remained unsettled for some months, but in the same year (1696) was living in Gloucester Green in Oxford, where he drew up a declaration of his principles and wrote much in defence of the nonjuror's position.

In 1703–5 his best-known work appeared, in one large folio volume, from the university press at Oxford, the 'Linguarum veterum septentrionalium thesaurus grammatico-criticus et archæologicus.' It is a stupendous monument of learning and industry, and that it should be the product of an [illegible] years of suffering and perpetual turmoil affords wonderful testimony to the author's mental power and energy. The work is said to have been originally suggested to him by White Kennett. It comprises a second edition of the 'Grammatica Anglo-Saxon. et Mœso-Gothica,' 'Grammatica Franco-Theotisca,' and R. Jonas's 'Grammatica Islandica' with additions by Hickes. H. Wanley's catalogue of Anglo-Saxon manuscripts concludes the book. A long dedication to Prince George of Denmark is prefixed, for which Hickes received one hundred guineas from the prince (Hearne, *Collections*, 1889, iii. 148). The book was published at the price of three guineas for small-paper copies and five guineas for large paper, and a printed certificate was issued by Edward Thwaites that the actual cost of each copy was 2*l.* 8*s.*

In 1713 Hickes procured the two Scottish bishops James Gadderar [q. v.] and A. Campbell [q. v.] to take part with him in the consecration, at his own private chapel (*in oratorio*) in St. Andrew's, Holborn, on Ascension day, 14 May, of Samuel Hawes, Nathaniel Spinckes, and Jeremy Collier. The official Latin record, dated 3 June, states that the king's consent had been obtained, and that the object was to maintain the due succession, all the catholic bishops of the English church having died except the bishop of Thetford. The witnesses were Heneage, [earl of] Winchilsea, T. L., and H. G. [Henry Gandy]. He had been for some years subject to attacks from the stone, and these at last proved fatal on 15 Dec. 1715. He was buried on 18 Dec. in the churchyard of St. Margaret, Westminster, by his friend Spinckes. On 13 Sept. 1679 he married Frances, widow of a London citizen named John Marshall, and daughter of Charles Mallory of Raynham, Essex, who had been a great sufferer for his loyalty. His wife died on 3 Dec. 1714. He left no children. His will was printed by E. Curll in 1716. He bequeathed all his manuscripts and letters to Hilkiah Bedford [q. v.], together with his copies of his own published books. By his direction his library, which contained many French and Italian books, was sold by auction in March 1716. Some of his manuscripts (including a volume of transcripts of sermons) are now among the Rawlinson MSS. in the Bodleian Library. Portions of his wide correspondence may be found in many collections; in the British Museum, among the Lansdowne, Harleian, and Additional MSS.; and in the Bodleian, among the Ballard, Tanner, and Rawlinson MSS. Letters of his are printed in Sir Henry Ellis's

'Letters,' 2 ser. iv. 40–56, and in his 'Letters of Eminent Literary Men,' 1843, pp. 267, 283; and in the correspondence appended to Pepys's 'Diary.' Letters to Dr. A. Charlett are in the 'European Magazine' for 1797, p. 329, and in the 'Orthodox Churchman's Magazine' for 1804, vi. 13–15; letters to Charlett, Hearne, and T. Smith, in vols. i. ii. of 'Letters from the Bodleian,' 1813; two in Nicolson's 'Letters,' 1809, i. 118–21; part of a letter to Wanley in 1696 in 'Oxoniana,' iii. 143; abstracts of letters to Hearne in Doble's Hearne's 'Collections,' 1886, ii. 1–190. In Nelson's 'Life of Bull,' 1713, two letters are printed at pp. 513–35 (one of which, dated 5 Aug. 1712, was written from Hampstead). Nelson introduces them with a very just encomium of his friend's profound erudition both in secular and sacred studies.

There is a portrait of Hickes in the gallery attached to the Bodleian Library, which was given in 1746 by Euseby Isham, D.D., rector of Lincoln College; another is in the hall of Lincoln College, and a third in Cheshunt Great House, Hertfordshire. G. Ballard had a drawing of him sketched by Elizabeth Elstob, and an engraved portrait forms the frontispiece to his 'Thesaurus.'

A staff which had belonged to him was, in 1886, in the possession of the late Very Rev. A. Ranken, dean of Aberdeen, having been given by Bishop Robert Gordoun in 1764 to Robert Forbes, bishop of Ross and Argyll, by him to Bishop Jolly, thence to the Rev. C. Pressley, Bishop Suther of Aberdeen, and Mr. Ranken (Bishop R. Forbes, *Journals*, 12mo, London, 1886, p. 33).

One of his brothers, Ralph Hickes, took the degree of M.A. at Jesus College, Cambridge, in 1681, and was admitted licentiate of the College of Physicians in London, 30 Sept. 1692. He was dead before the date of Hickes's will in 1715. Hearne tells us that he was brought over to the church of England by George (*Collections*, i. 260).

The following list of his works, which omits those mentioned above, is chiefly based upon an account appended to the sketch of Hickes's life in the Bodleian MS. referred to below. Use has also been made of the lists sent by Hickes himself in 1708–9 to Ralph Thoresby, who was then projecting a biography of Yorkshire authors. Hickes's own lists are printed in Thoresby's 'Letters' (1832, ii. 115, 208). The titles are here abbreviated. 1. 'A Letter sent from beyond the Seas to one of the Chief Ministers of the Non-conforming Party,' 4to (anon.), n. p., 1674; reprinted in 1684 as 'The Judgment of an Anonymous Writer,' &c. This was written from Saumur in reply to a letter from his brother John, and was at first attributed to Edward Hyde, earl of Clarendon. 2. 'A Discourse to prove that the Strongest Temptations are Conquerable by Christians,' 4to, London, 1677; 2nd edit. 1683, 3rd 1713. 3. 'The Spirit of Enthusiasm Exorcised,' a sermon, 4to, London, 1680; 2nd edit. 1681; 3rd edit. 1683; 4th, 1709. For this sermon Hickes received special thanks from Drs. Cudworth, More, and Whichcote. 4. 'The Spirit of Popery speaking out of the mouths of Phanatical Protestants' (John Kid and John King, two presbyterian ministers) (anon.), fol., London, 1680. 5. 'Peculium Dei; a Discourse about the Jews,' 4to, London, 1681. This sermon gained special praise from Dr. Allestry and Kettlewell. 6. 'The True Notion of Persecution: a Sermon at a time of Contribution for the French Protestants,' 4to, London, 1681; 2nd edit. 1682, and again in 1713. 7. 'A Sermon on the 30th of Jan.,' London, 1682; 3rd and 4th edit. 1683. This excited great opposition at the time of its delivery and subsequently, with threats of violence from some of the hearers. 8. 'The Moral Shechinah: a Discourse of God's Glory,' 4to, London, 1682. 9. 'A Discourse of the Sovereign Power,' 4to, London, 1682. 10. 'The Case of Infant Baptism in Five Questions' (anon.), 4to, London, 1683. This was one of the series of tracts entitled 'Cases written by London Clergy with a view to the Reconciling of Dissenters.' 11. 'Jovian; an Answer to [Samuel Johnson's] Julian the Apostate' (anon.), 1st and 2nd edit. 8vo, London, 1683. Written at the desire of Archbishop Sancroft. 12. 'A [Spital] Sermon on Easter Tuesday,' 4to, London, 1684. 13. 'A Sermon on the 29th of May,' 4to, London, 1684. 14. 'The Harmony of Divinity and Law in a Discourse about not resisting of Sovereign Princes' (anon.), 4to, London, 1684. 15. 'Speculum Beatæ Virginis: a Discourse of the due praise and honour of the B.V.' (anon.), 4to, London, 1686; 2nd edit. in the same year. 16. 'An Apologetical Vindication of the Church of England' (anon.), 4to, London, 1687; 2nd edit. 8vo, London, 1706; reprinted in Gibson's 'Preservative against Popery.' In consequence of the delivery of this sermon Hickes was summoned before King James, who had supposed that it impugned the authenticity of the papers written by Charles II on his conversion to Romanism, which papers he then showed to Hickes, who acknowledged them to be written by Charles. 17. 'Reflections upon a Letter out of the Country to a Member of Parliament, concerning the Bishops . . . now under Suspen-

[illegible] Birth-right of a certain Person.' [illegible] n Several Subjects,' 2 vols. 8vo, [illegible] with a preface by Nathaniel [illegible] The Celebrated Story of the [illegible] 8vo. London, 1714. [illegible] of the Catholick Church [illegible] Consequences of Schism,' [illegible] abridged, 1719. Pub- [illegible] Thomas Deacon. 34. 'Records of [illegible] Narrative by Hickes [illegible] beforehand, with the official [illegible] in 1694 and 1713, [illegible] and seals, in eight [illegible] printed after Hickes's [illegible] Guide to the Holy Sacra- [illegible] 1719 (British Museum [illegible] A volume of posthumous [illegible] with a preface by [illegible] 8vo. London, 1726. [illegible] Treatises never before [illegible] Hickes, the third by Kettle- [illegible] 'Thirteen Sermons,' [illegible] Spinckes, 8vo, Lon- [illegible] A Declaration made by [illegible] Faith and Religion [illegible] intended to die,' 8vo, [illegible] twenty volumes he [illegible] prefaces, amongst [illegible] Susannah Hop- [illegible] of John Austin [illegible] 'Wyn of Offices,' a book which [illegible] tions, and 'The [illegible] F. Lee's 'Life of [illegible] papers derived [illegible] His editions of [illegible] Fénelon's 'Instruc- [illegible] of a Daughter' are [illegible]

[illegible] 1689, followed by [illegible] works, in Bodl. MS. Engl. [illegible] Athenæ Oxonienses; Life in [illegible] founded on [illegible] 1758, vi. 153–62; [illegible] memoirs are abridged, [illegible] prefixed to it appear to [illegible] clergy clove. There [illegible] White Kennett's bio- [illegible] MS., Brit. [illegible] Notes and Queries, 2nd ser. [illegible] 1855, xi. 401–3; English [illegible] October 1887, pp. 752–4.]

W. D. M.

**HICKES or HICKS, JOHN** (1633– [illegible] elder brother [illegible] was born in 1633 [illegible] parish of Kirby Wiske, [illegible] He was edu- [illegible] Dublin, and be- [illegible] For a short time he [illegible] Dameral, Devon- [illegible] *Sufferings of the Clergy,*

ii. 417). At the Restoration Hickes obtained the perpetual curacy of Saltash, Cornwall, from which he was ejected by the Uniformity Act of 1662. He removed to Kingsbridge, Devonshire, where he got into trouble with the spiritual courts for keeping a conventicle. He boldly protested against alleged illegalities in proceedings taken at the time against nonconformists, gaining audience of the king in London on the introduction of Thomas Blood [q. v.] On the issue of the indulgence of 1672, he came up again with an address to the king from nonconformists in the west of England, and obtained from Charles the restitution of a third part of the fines already paid by the western dissenters under the conventicle acts.

Some time prior to May 1675 he became minister of a congregation at Portsmouth, where he remained till 1681. He then seems to have removed to Keynsham, Somerset, his residence at the time of the Monmouth rebellion. He joined Monmouth in 1685 at Shepton Mallet, believing him to be the legitimate heir to the throne. He denies, however, that he recruited for Monmouth in the west, and states that when Monmouth landed he was in the east country. His connection with Blood led to charges being brought against him of complicity in the murderous rescue of Colonel Mason and in the seizure of the crown jewels—allegations which were palpably false. After the defeat of Monmouth, Hickes and Richard Nelthorp were sheltered by Alice Lisle [q. v.]; but their hiding-place was betrayed by one Barter. Hickes was tried at Taunton, and executed for treason on 6 Oct. 1685. He wrote very pathetic letters from prison to his wife and nephew, and made an affecting speech before execution. He married, first, Abigail (*d.* 13 May 1675), daughter of John How and sister of John Howe (1630–1705) [q. v.], the presbyterian divine; secondly, about 1676, a person of property at Portsmouth. His letter to her (3 Oct. 1685) mentions his children James and Betty.

He published: 1. 'A Narrative of the Illegal Sufferings . . . of many Christians . . . in the County of Devon,' &c., 1671, 4to. 2. 'A Discourse of the Excellency of the Heavenly Substance,' &c., 1673, 12mo. Posthumous was: 3. 'The Last Speech of . . . J. Hicks,' &c. [1685], 4to. His letters and last speech (abridged) are in the 'Western Martyrology,' of which the fifth edition is dated 1705, 8vo.

[Western Martyrology, 1705, pp. 190 sq.; Calamy's Account, 1713, p. 248; Calamy's Continuation, 1727, i. 336 sq.; Palmer's Nonconformist's Memorial, 1802, i. 368 sq. (portrait, from a contemporary drawing); extracts from Portsmouth records, per Mr. W. Tarring.] A. G.

**HICKEY, ANTONY** (*d.* 1641), theologian, belonged to the Irish family of h-Icidhe, of co. Clare, many members of which practised medicine during some generations. Hickey entered the order of St. Francis, and studied at Louvain under Hugh MacCathmhaoil, or MacCawell, who was subsequently Roman catholic primate of Ireland. He became professor of philosophy and theology at Louvain, and subsequently at Cologne, where his learning secured for him a high reputation. In 1619, by order of the administrators of the Franciscans, he removed from Cologne to Rome, with the object of collaborating with his countryman, Luke Wadding, in the publication of the works of Duns Scotus and the 'Annales Minorum.' In 1639 the general assembly of the Franciscans at Rome appointed Hickey to the important post of diffinitor or sub-head of the order. Hickey projected publications on the history and hagiography of Ireland, for which his acquirements and knowledge of the Irish language rendered him specially qualified. He died, before this work was commenced, on 26 June 1641, at St. Isidore's, Rome, where he was buried. Hickey's epitaph was written by Wadding, who entertained great affection for him, and testified to his erudition, humility, and piety. Some unpublished writings by Hickey, of a theological character, remained in the possession of Wadding. A portrait of Hickey is preserved in the college of St. Isidore.

Hickey's published works are: 1. 'Nitela Franciscanæ religionis, a Dermitio Thadæo,' Lyons, 1627, a treatise in vindication of the principles of the Franciscan order, in reply to strictures by Abraham Bzovius or Bzowski, a Polish Dominican author. Hickey's pseudonym, 'Dermitius Thadeus,' was the name of one of his early instructors. 2. 'R. P. F. Joannis Duns Scoti, doctoris subtilis, ordinis minorum, quæstiones in lib. iv. sententiarum. Nunc denuo recognitæ, annotationibus marginalibus, doctorumque celebriorum antequamlibet quæstionem citationibus exornatæ et scholiis per textum insertis illustratæ; cum commentario R. P. F. Antonii Hiquæi, Hiberni, ejusdem ordinis S. Theologiæ lectoris emeriti,' Lyons, 1639, 3 vols. folio; this annotated edition of parts of the works of Scotus was for the series which Wadding and his Irish associates undertook with the patronage of the king of Spain. Hickey did his work by order of Giovanni Campanea, minister-general of the Franciscans, and at the request of members of that order. By direction of the cardinals of the congregation of

rites, Hickey compiled materials for the revised offices of the church for the festival of St. Catherine of Siena.

[Archives of Irish Franciscans; MSS. Royal Irish Academy, Dublin; Scriptores Ordinis Minorum, Rome, 1650; Epitome Annalium Ordinis Minorum, Rome, 1662; H. Sbaraleæ Supplementum ad Scriptores Trium Ordinum, Rome, 1806; Rome, Ancient and Modern, by J. J. Donovan, D.D., 1843.] J. T. G.

**HICKEY, THOMAS** (*fl.* 1760–1790), painter, was born in Dublin, and studied in the Academy there. He visited Italy and studied at Rome, and on his return practised as a portrait-painter in London. In the Mansion House at Dublin there are portraits by him of George, first marquis Townshend (1769), and of John, fourth duke of Bedford. In London there is at the Garrick Club a portrait of Mrs. Abington, and at the Magdalen Hospital a full-length portrait of Mr. Justice Park. Hickey's portrait of Daniel Race, chief cashier to the Bank of England (1772), was engraved in mezzotint by J. Watson. Hickey also practised at Bath, and appears to have visited India, being probably the author of 'The History of Painting and Sculpture from the Earliest Accounts,' published (vol. i. only) at Calcutta in 1788. He accompanied Lord Macartney's embassy to China in 1792. A drawing of a Chinese scene is now in the print room at the British Museum.

Hickey, John (1756–1795), sculptor, elder brother of the above, born in Dublin in 1756, was pupil of Mr. Cranfield, a wood-carver, and after practising some time in Dublin with success, came to London. He was patronised by Edmund Burke, and became a student in the Royal Academy, where in 1778 he obtained the gold medal for a bas-relief of 'The Slaughter of the Innocents.' He showed great promise, but intemperate habits caused his early death in London, 12 Jan. 1795.

[Pasquin's Artists of Ireland; Redgrave's Dict. of Artists.] L. C.

**HICKEY, WILLIAM** (1787?–1875), philanthropist, born in 1787 or 1788, was the eldest son of Ambrose Hickey, D.D., rector of Murragh, co. Cork. After spending five terms at Trinity College, Dublin (1804–5), he was admitted a pensioner of St. John's College, Cambridge (7 March 1806). His father was admitted fellow-commoner at the same college three days later. William proceeded B.A. at Cambridge in 1809, and was admitted to the same degree in that year at Dublin, where also he graduated M.A. in 1832. In 1811 he was ordained for the curacy of Dunleckny in the diocese of Leighlin, from which he removed in 1820 to the incumbency of Bannow, diocese of Ferns. While there he built a glebe house, restored the fabric of the church, and in conjunction with Thomas Boyce of Bannow House founded an agricultural school on a farm of forty acres. With Boyce, too, he established the South Wexford Agricultural Society, the first of its kind in Ireland. From Bannow he was promoted in 1826 to the rectory of Kilcormick, where he built a new church and a school-house, besides originating many much needed improvements in the shape of roads and bridges. The following year, in a time of fever and famine, he proved, at a great pecuniary sacrifice, an active and untiring friend of his people. In 1831 he was advanced to the rectory of Wexford, and finally, in 1834, to the union of Mulrankin. He was also rural dean of Tacumshane. Hickey was much impressed by the poor condition of the Irish farmer, and studied such improved modes of husbandry as might be communicable, in a cheap and simple form, to the occupants of a few acres. As early as 1817 he distinguished himself by an ably written pamphlet on the 'State of the Poor in Ireland.' His first work on farming was dated from Ballyorley, Kilcormick, and was written, like his subsequent publications, under the pseudonym of Martin Doyle; it was originally issued in the 'Wexford Herald' in the form of letters to the editor as 'Hints to Small Farmers,' and when published in a collected form in 1830, passed through numerous editions, of which the last appeared in 1867. These letters were followed in succession by 'Hints on Road-work,' 1830; 'Hints to Small Holders on Planting and on Cattle,' 1830; 'Irish Cottagers,' 1830; 'Hints on Emigration to Upper Canada,' 1831 (3rd edit. 1834); 'Practical Gardening, 1833 (2nd edit. 1836); 'The Flower Garden,' 1834 (3rd edit. 1839); 'A Cyclopædia of Practical Husbandry,' 1839 (new edit., enlarged by the Rev. W. Rham, 1844 and 1851); 'Rural Economy for Cottage Farmers and Gardeners, by Martin Doyle and others' [1851] (6th edit. 1857); 'Small Farms: a Practical Treatise intended for Persons inexperienced in Husbandry,' 1855; 'Farm and Garden Produce,' 1857; 'The Farmer's Manual' [1868]; 'Practical Gardening: Vegetables and Common Fruits,' new edit. 1868; 'Cottage Farming,' 1870; and 'Field and Garden Plants,' 1870. Hickey also regularly contributed to several periodicals, among which were the 'Highland Society's Quarterly Journal of Agriculture,' 'Blackwood's Agricultural Magazine,' the 'Gardener's Chronicle,' and 'Chambers's Journal.' With Edmund Murphy he conducted the 'Irish Farmer's and Gar-

dener's Magazine,' 9 vols. 8vo, Dublin, 1834-1842. He also edited, in great part, 'The Illustrated Book of Domestic Poultry,' 8vo, London, 1854 (new edit. [1870]). In all his writings Hickey took the broadest philanthropic views, studiously avoiding religious and political controversy. He was a member of the Royal Dublin Society, and was awarded their gold medal in recognition of his services to Ireland. He also enjoyed a pension from the Royal Literary Fund. He died comparatively poor on 24 Oct. 1875, aged 87. His portrait, drawn by Charles Grey, A.R.H.A., and etched by J. Kirkwood, accompanied a biographical sketch in the 'Dublin University Magazine' for April 1840 (xv. 374–6).

Hickey's other works are: 1. 'An Address to the Landlords of Ireland on subjects connected with the Melioration of the Lower Classes,' 1831. 2. 'Common Sense for Common People; or Illustrations of Popular Proverbs, designed for the use of the Peasantry of Ireland,' 1835. 3. 'The Labouring Classes in Ireland: an Inquiry as to what beneficial changes may be effected in their condition,' 1846. 4. 'The Village Lesson Book,' 1855. 5. 'The Agricultural Labourer viewed in his Moral, Intellectual, and Physical Conditions,' 1855. 6. 'Common Things of Everyday Life,' 1857. 7. 'The Village Lesson Book for Girls,' 1859. 8. 'Notes and Gleanings relating to the County of Wexford in its past and present conditions,' 1868. He edited 'Extracts from the Letters and Journals of George Fletcher Moore at the Swan River Settlement,' 1834; translated from the French a selection of the 'Sermons' of Adolphe Monod, 1849; and was among the contributors to 'Tales for all Ages' by W. H. G. Kingston, S. E. De Morgan, and others, 1863. In April 1840 he was reported to have nearly completed a work to be called 'Practical Illustrations of the Parables.'

[Wexford Constitution, 30 Oct. 1875; Wexford Independent, 27 and 30 Oct. 1875; The People (Wexford), 30 Oct. 1875; Webb's Compendium of Irish Biog. p. 585; Charles's Irish Church Directory, 1875, pp. 85, 89; Cambridge Graduates; Dublin Graduates; Register of St. John's College, Cambridge.] G. G.

**HICKMAN, CHARLES**, D.D. (1648–1713), bishop of Derry, son of William Hickman of Barnack, county of Northampton, gent., born in 1648, became a king's scholar of Westminster School in 1665, and was elected to Christ Church, Oxford, in 1667, proceeding B.A. 1671, M.A. 1674, B.D. 1684, and D.D. 1685. Having taken holy orders he became chaplain to Laurence Hyde [q. v.], earl of Rochester (lord-lieutenant of Ireland 1701–3), to William III and Queen Mary, and to Queen Anne. Hickman was lecturer at St. James's, Westminster, and rector of Burnham, Buckinghamshire, from 1698 to 1702. He was promoted to the see of Derry at Rochester's request, 11 June 1703, but lived chiefly in England, dying at Fulham on 28 Nov. 1713. He was buried in the south aisle, Westminster Abbey. His portrait by Dahl is in the hall at Christ Church. Archbishop William King [q. v.] of Dublin, who preceded Hickman as bishop of Derry, mentions him with some acrimony as one 'who rooted up and destroyed a large flourishing wood, which I with care and cost had planted whilst at Londonderry.' Hickman printed at least nine single sermons, a 'Volume of Fourteen Sermons preacht on Seueral Occasions' (with portrait), London, 1706, which reached a second edition (1724), and another volume of 'Twelve Sermons preacht at St. James's, Westminster,' London, 1713. He married, in April 1703, Anne, daughter of Sir Roger Burgoyne, second baronet, who predeceased him, leaving an only child, Anne.

[Ware's Bishops; Cotton's Fasti; Westminster Abbey Register; Welch's Alumni Westmon. pp. 161, 163; Wood's Athenæ (Bliss), iv. 655–6; Fasti, pp. 327, 344, 393–4.] W. R–L.

**HICKMAN, FRANCIS** (*fl.* 1690), scholar, born about 1663, was fourth son of Sir William Hickman, bart., of Gainsborough, Lincolnshire, by Elizabeth, daughter of John Nevile of Mattersey, Nottingham. He became a king's scholar at Westminster School in 1676, and proceeded in 1681 to Christ Church, Oxford. In 1685 he graduated B.A., and M.A. in 1688 (Wood, *Fasti Oxon.* ii. 395, 403). He became a nonjuror in 1688, but did not lose his student's place at Christ Church, because his name happened, Wood says, not to be mentioned in the act of deprivation. In 1693 Hickman delivered the Bodleian oration. The date of his death is unknown. His only known literary remains are two Latin poems in the 'Musæ Anglicanæ,' ii. 108–13, upon an exploit of Ormonde in Ireland and upon the death of Charles II. He also co-operated in Atterbury's Latin translation of Dryden's 'Absolom and Achitophel' (1682).

[Wood's Athenæ, ed. Bliss, iv. 666; Wood's Fasti, ii. 395, 403; Atterbury's Corresp. i. 28, iii. 235–6; Musæ Anglicanæ; Welch's Alumni Westmon. pp. 190–1; Burke's Extinct and Dormant Baronetcies.] T. E. J.

**HICKMAN, HENRY** (*d.* 1692), controversialist, a native of Worcestershire, was educated at St. Catharine Hall, Cambridge, where he proceeded B.A. At the end of 1647 he entered Magdalen Hall, Oxford, and the next year obtained by favour of the parlia-

mentary visitors a demyship, and subsequently a fellowship of Magdalen College. After graduating M.A. on 14 March 1649 (Wood, *Fasti Oxon.* ed. Bliss, ii. 122) he was licensed as a preacher, and officiated at St. Aldate's Church in Oxford, and afterwards at Brackley in Northamptonshire. On 29 May 1658 he was admitted B.D. (*ib.* ii. 215). Upon being ejected from his fellowship at the Restoration he retired to Holland. He afterwards returned to England, and for some time taught logic and philosophy to a few pupils near Stourbridge in Worcestershire, but went again to Holland and preached for several years in the English church at Leyden. On 18 April 1675 he entered himself as a medical student at Leyden University (*Leyden Students*, Index Soc. p. 49). He died at Leyden in 1692. He wrote much in defence of nonconformity, and had a fierce controversy with Thomas Pierce, dean of Salisbury, John Durel [q. v.], Peter Heylyn, Matthew Scrivener, Laurence Womack [q. v.], and other churchmen. His writings are: 1. '*Πατρο-σχολαστικο-δικαίωσις*, or a Justification of the Fathers and Schoolmen: shewing that they are not selfe-condemned for denying the positivity of sin. . . . Being an Answer to so much of . . . T. Pierce's Book called *Αὐτοκατάκρισις* as doth relate to the foresaid opinion,' 8vo, Oxford, 1658; 2nd edit. 1659. John Durel, in his 'Sanctæ Ecclesiæ Anglicanæ Vindiciæ,' 1669 (ch. ii. pp. 100–1), asserts that this book was plagiarised from various authors of repute. 2. '*Πόθεν ζιζαγια* [*ζιζάνια*], sive Concio [on Matt. xiii. 27, the reference is wrongly given as iii. 27] de Hæresium Origine, Latine habita ad Academicos Oxonienses, 12 Aprilis pro inchoando Termino. Adjicitur brevis refutatio Tileni,' 8vo, Oxford, 1659. Tilenus found a defender in L. Womack. 3. 'A Review of the Certamen Epistolare betwixt P. Heylin and H. Hickman. Wherein the exceptions of the Dr. against Mr. H.'s arguments are all taken off. . . . Also a Reply to Mr. Pierce his late virulent Letter to the aforesaid Dr. By Theophilus Churchman,' 12mo, London, 1659. 4. 'Laudensium Apostasia: or a Dialogue in which is shewn that some Divines risen up in our church since the greatness of the late Archbishop are in sundry points of great moment quite fallen off from the Doctrine received in the Church of England,' 4to, London, 1660. 5. '*Χειροθεσία τοῦ πρεσβυτερίου*, or a Letter to a Friend tending to prove, i. That valid Ordination ought not to be repeated, ii. That valid Ordination by Presbyters is valid; with an appendix containing some animadversions on J. Humfrey's discourse concerning re-ordination, by R. A.,' 4to, London, 1661. In spite of the initials R. A., 'Hickman was supposed by many learned men to be the author' (Wood, *Athenæ Oxon.* iv. 371; Hearne, *Coll.* Oxf. Hist. Soc. i. 73). 6. 'Apologia pro ministris in Anglia, vulgo Non-Conformistis, Anno 1662, Aug. 24 . . . ejectis,' 8vo, 'Eleutheropolis,' 1664; 2nd edition (1665), written under the pseudonym of 'Irenæus Eleutherius.' Durel replied in his 'Vindiciæ,' mentioned above. 7. 'The Believer's Duty towards the Spirit, and the Spirit's Office towards Believers' (anon.), 8vo, London, 1665; another edition 1700. 8. 'Bonasus Vapulans' (anon.), 8vo, London, 1672, against J. Durel. 9. 'Historia Quinq-Articularis Exarticulata; or Animadversions on Doctor Heylin's Quinquarticular History,' 8vo, 2nd ed. London, 1674. In 1660 'M. O., Bachelour of Arts,' published 'Fratres in Malo, or the Matchless Couple, represented in the Writings of Mr. E. Bagshaw and Mr. H. Hickman.'

[Wood's Athenæ Oxon. (Bliss), iv. 368–73; Brit. Mus. Cat.] G. G.

**HICKS** or **HICKES, BAPTIST**, first Viscount Campden (1551–1629), 'borne of a worthy family in the citie of London' in 1551, was the third son of Robert Hicks or Hickes, a rich citizen in Cheapside, who was the only son of John Hicks or Hickes of Tortworth, Gloucestershire. He was brought up in his father's business of a mercer. The influence of his brother, Sir Michael Hicks [q. v.], led to his supplying the court with silk and mercery, and establishing a flourishing business at the White Bear in Cheapside. Stow says that he lent money to the Scottish nobles in the reign of James I. Soon after the king's accession Hicks was knighted. He was one of the first citizens of London who kept a shop after receiving such an honour, and in 1607, and again a few years later, he had in consequence a dispute for precedency with the court of aldermen. In 1609 he held the appointment of a contractor for crown lands (*Cal. State Papers*, Dom.) On 1 July 1620 he was created a baronet; he was elected M.P. for Tavistock 6 Dec. 1620, and for Tewkesbury in the parliaments of 1624, 1625, 1626, and 1628 (*Return of Members of Parliament*); in 1625 he was appointed a deputy-lieutenant for Middlesex; and on 5 May 1628 he was raised by Charles I to the peerage as Baron Hicks of Ilmington, Warwickshire, and Viscount Campden of Campden, Gloucestershire, with special remainder to his son-in-law, Edward Noel, lord Noel of Ridlington, Rutlandshire. In 1584 he had married Elizabeth, daughter of Richard May of London, and by her left two daughters, his coheirs.

The elder, Juliana, married Lord Noel; the younger, Mary, married Sir Charles Morrison, bart. Stow records that, according to report, each of them had a fortune of 100,000*l.* Campden died at 'the age of 78 yeares,' 18 Oct. 1629, and was buried in the parish church of Campden; and in the centre of the south chapel stands 'a most magnificent monument of black and white marble,' with the effigies of Lord and Lady Campden lying upon it, and a long inscription to their memory. A descendant of Campden's was created Earl of Gainsborough in 1682, and from him the present Earl of Gainsborough is descended in the female line.

Soon after 1608 Hicks purchased the manor of Campden, where he erected a noble mansion near the church; the façade, as Rudder has stated, cost him 29,000*l.*, and in the lantern on the top he ordered lights to be set up in dark nights for the benefit of travellers. This house was burned down by the royalists in the civil war; some ruins only remain. Hicks built at his own cost a sessions-house for the Middlesex magistrates in St. John's Street, Clerkenwell, on a site granted to the magistrates by James I in 1610. The house, which was known as Hicks's Hall, was opened 13 Jan. 1611–2, and was in occupation till 1778 (PINK, *Clerkenwell*, ed. Wood, p. 301). His epitaph states that he gave 10,000*l.* to charitable uses in his lifetime, and there is in print 'A briefe Remembrance' of his 'noble and charitable deeds' (STOW, *Survey of London*, ed. 1633, pp. 760–1).

Among the Lansdowne MSS. in the British Museum there are several original letters from Hicks, chiefly addressed to his brother, Sir Michael, about the repayment of loans due from the king and the courtiers. He observes that the Scots are 'fayre speakers and slow performers,' to whom he will give no more credit.

[Sir Robert Atkyns's State of Gloucestershire, 2nd ed. pp. 162–3; Rudder's Hist. of Gloucestershire, pp. 319–24, 811, 837; Bigland's Gloucestershire Collections, i. 278–83; Gloucestershire Notes and Queries, i. 33, iii. 57; Blunt's Dursley and its Neighbourhood, p. 136; Burke's Extinct and Dormant Baronetcies, 1844, p. 263; Burke's Peerage and Baronetage, 1880, pp. 515, 635; Foster's Baronetage, 1883, p. 314; Doyle's Official Baronage, i. 307; Cal. State Papers, Dom. 1597–1631.] B. H. B.

**HICKS, SIR MICHAEL** (1543–1612), secretary to Lord Burghley, born 21 Oct. 1543, was eldest son of Robert Hicks of Bristol, Gloucestershire, at one time a London merchant. His mother was Juliana, daughter and heiress of William Arthur, esq., of Clapham, Surrey. Baptist Hicks or Hickes [q.v.], afterwards first Viscount Campden, was a younger brother. Michael spent some time at Trinity College, Cambridge, and entered Lincoln's Inn on 20 March 1563–4 (*Lincoln's Inn Reg.*) At an early age he seems to have been received into the household of Sir William Cecil, afterwards Lord Burghley, and ultimately became one of Cecil's two chief secretaries. The position gave him much influence at Elizabeth's court, and being 'very witty and jocose' he was popular in society. After Burghley's death Sir Robert Cecil, his successor as lord treasurer, retained Hicks's services. Hicks appeared to have possessed much financial ability, and his personal friends sought his aid and counsel in their pecuniary difficulties. He lent Bacon money in 1593, and between that year and 1608 Bacon sent him several appeals for further loans. Hicks proved a very friendly creditor. Bacon invariably wrote to him in amicable terms, and urged him to preserve good relations between himself and Sir Robert Cecil. To Fulke Greville [q. v.], another friend, Hicks also rendered like services.

Hicks was wealthy enough to purchase two estates, Beverstone, Gloucestershire, and Ruckholt, Essex. The latter, which he acquired of a stepson about 1598, he made his chief home. He entertained James I there on 16 June 1604, and on 6 Aug. the king knighted him at Theobalds. On 17 May 1603 he became receiver-general for the county of Middlesex, but seems to have surrendered the post on 12 July 1604. In June 1604 he was granted the site and demesne of the priory of Lenton, Nottinghamshire. He died at Ruckholt 15 Aug. 1612, and was buried in the chancel of the neighbouring church of Leyton, where an elaborate monument in alabaster, with recumbent figures of himself (in full armour) and of his widow, was erected to his memory. Hicks's house at Ruckholt was demolished in 1757. According to Wotton, Hicks 'was well skilled in philological learning, and had read over the polite Roman historians and moralists; out of which authors he made large collections, especially of the moral and wise sentences out of which he filled divers paper-books, still remaining in the family.' An interesting letter from Hicks to the Earl of Shrewsbury about Raleigh's trial in 1603 appears in Lodge's 'Illustrations,' iii. 214.

Hicks married in 1597 Elizabeth Colston of Forest House, Waltham, widow of Henry Pervis or Parvish (said to be an Italian merchant) of Ruckholt. His eldest son, William, to whom Burghley stood godfather, was educated at Trinity College, Cambridge; was elected M.P. for Great Marlow in 1625

and 1640; was a sturdy royalist, and suffered six weeks' imprisonment for his action at the siege of Colchester in 1648. He died at Ruckholt on 9 Oct. 1680, aged 84, having married Margaret, daughter of William, lord Paget. From his second son, Michael, descends the ninth and present baronet, Sir Michael Edward Hicks-Beach, the well-known statesman.

[Wotton's Baronetage, ed. Kimber and Johnstone, i. 158; Spedding's Life of Bacon, vols. i. ii. iii.; Cal. State Papers, Dom. 1603–10, 17 May 1603, and 28 June 1604; Nichols's Progresses of James I.] S. L. L.

**HICKS, WILLIAM** (1621–1660), puritan, son of Nicholas Hicks, was born at Kerris in the parish of Paul, Cornwall, and baptised at Paul on 2 Jan. 1620–1. He was educated in the high school at Exeter and at Liskeard, and on 9 Feb. 1637–8 matriculated as a commoner at Wadham College, Oxford, where he 'ran through the classes of logic and philosophy.' Recalled to his native county at the beginning of the civil war, before he had taken a degree, he was, by his relatives, put in arms against the king, and, according to Wood, 'became so fanatical in his opinion that he was esteemed by some to be little better than an anabaptist.' He was appointed a captain in the trained bands, and was noted for his zeal against the royalists. He died at Kerris in February, and was buried in the parish church of Paul on 3 March 1659–60.

He published: '*Ἀποκάλυψις Ἀποκαλύψεως*, or the Revelation Revealed, being a practical exposition of the Revelation of St. John. Whereunto is annexed a small Essay, entituled Quinto-Monarchiæ, cum quarto '*Ὁμολογία*, or A Friendly Complyance between Christ's Monarchy and the magistrates,' Lond. 1659 and 1661, fol., dedicated to Sir Richard Chyverton, late lord mayor of London. Copies of the latter date have a portrait, engraved by David Loggan, of the author in a cloak. Wood states that the real author of the 'Quinto-Monarchiæ' was Hicks's kinsman, Alexander Harrie, a minister's son in Cornwall, B.D., and sometime fellow of Exeter College, Oxford.

[Wood's Athenæ Oxon. ed. Bliss, iii. 489; Gairdner's Register of Wadham College, p. 136; Granger's Biog. Hist. of England, 5th edit. iv. 47; Boase and Courtney's Bibl. Cornubiensis, p. 238.] T. C.

**HICKS, WILLIAM**, called CAPTAIN HICKS (*fl.* 1671), editor of drolleries, was born in St. Thomas's parish, Oxford, of poor and dissolute parents. He began life as a tapster 'he Star Inn, Oxford; at the outbreak of civil war he became a retainer to the family of Lucas in Colchester; and afterwards was a clerk to a woodmonger in Deptford, where, 'training the young men and putting them in a posture of defence, upon the restoration of King Charles II, he obtained the name of Captain Hicks, and was there living in 1669 when his book of jests was published' (WOOD). In 1671 he published 'Oxford Drollery; Being new Poems and Songs. The first Part, composed by W. H. The Second and third Parts being, upon several occasions, made by the most Eminent and Ingenious Wits of the said University,' Oxford, 8vo. Prefixed is a rhyming address to the reader, dated from Shipton-upon-Cherwell, 25 July 1670. Among the poets whom Hicks laid under contribution were Cartwright, Lovelace, Suckling, &c. The pieces included are often somewhat licentious; and the captain's own verses are particularly indelicate. The success of the 'Oxford Drollery' led Hicks to issue 'Grammatical Drollery, consisting of Poems and Songs. Wherein the Rules of the Nouns and Verbs in the Accedence are pleasantly made easie,' London, 1682, 8vo. Pages 1–30 are taken up with the 'Grammatical Drollery,' and the rest of the book (pp. 31–117) consists of loose and humorous poems by various writers. Hicks's 'Oxford Jests,' first printed in 1669 (as we gather from Wood), were 'refined and enlarged' in 1684, 1720, &c. Another popular jest-book compiled by Hicks was 'Coffee House Jests,' of which a third edition appeared in 1684. Wood, who seems to have had personal knowledge of him, says: 'This Hicks . . . was a sharking and indigent fellow while he lived in Oxon and a great pretender to the art of dancing (which he, forsooth, would sometimes teach).' In addition to the works already mentioned, he issued 'other little trivial matters merely to get bread and make the pot walk.' The Drolleries are of some rarity.

[Wood's Athenæ, ed. Bliss, iii. 490.] A. H. B.

**HICKS, WILLIAM**, commonly known as HICKS PASHA (1830–1883), general, was born in 1830, and entered the Bombay army as ensign in 1849. He served as lieutenant (1856) with the first Belûchi battalion in the campaign of 1857–9, and as staff officer in the Panjâb movable column, also with General Penny in the Rohilkand campaign, and subsequently under Lord Clyde. In 1861 he obtained his company, and in the Abyssinian campaign of 1867–8 he acted as brigade-major in the first division, attaining the rank of lieutenant-colonel in 1875, and honorary colonel in 1880. It was after the conclusion of his services in the British army that Hicks

became a prominent figure in contemporary military history. At the recommendation of Valentine Baker Pasha, then in command of the Egyptian gendarmerie, Hicks was despatched in February 1883 to command the Egyptian army in the Sûdân, destined for the suppression of the Mahdi's revolt. When he left Cairo on 7 Feb. with a capable staff of European officers, the British government and its representatives in Egypt were generally censured for allowing him to depart on so hazardous an enterprise with no better support than ten to twelve thousand native troops, many of whom had taken part in the recent rebellion under Arâbi Pasha. Hicks, however, set out, reached Berber by way of Suâkin, and thence proceeded up the Nile to Khartûm, where he joined his army. A reconnaissance under Colonel the Hon. J. Colborne to Kawa disclosed the proximity of the enemy, and on Hicks's arrival there an advance into Sennâr was resolved on. On 24 April they marched, five thousand strong, with four Nordenfeldt guns, upon Jebel 'Ayn, and on the way fell in, 29 April, with a body of the enemy, four or five thousand in number. The Egyptians behaved with remarkable steadiness and courage, and, in spite of the customary dash of the Sûdânis, gained a victory so decisive for the moment that, on arriving at Jebel 'Ayn in June, no enemy was to be found. The province of Sennâr was deserted by the Mahdi's troops; the chiefs were assembled and addressed by Hicks with much tact in a spirit of conciliation; and all being tranquil in this direction, the army returned to Khartûm. Later in the year the Mahdi's influence was rapidly spreading in the direction of El-'Obeyd, and Hicks determined to advance to the attack—a forward movement which has been adversely criticised. On 9 Sept., with over ten thousand men, he left Omdurman and ascended the White Nile to Duem, thence striking across the desert to El-'Obeyd. Against his will, he was accompanied on his desert march by large bodies of Arabs or Sûdânis, who evidently had the countenance of the Egyptian governor-general of the Sûdân. These men were undoubtedly in league with the Mahdi, while Hicks's chief guide, as afterwards appeared, was in constant communication with the enemy. On 1 Nov. Hicks found himself with the main body of his army betrayed into an ambuscade, where the enemy, commanded by the Mahdi in person, enjoyed every facility for firing upon the Egyptians from a sufficiently dense cover to render the return fire ineffectual. In spite of this disadvantage and the sufferings of extreme thirst, the Egyptians fought bravely, and for three entire days stood at bay to the no small loss of the enemy. On the fourth day their ammunition gave out, and the Sûdânis, with the customary tumultuous onslaught, bore down upon the Egyptians and speared the wounded as they lay. Hicks himself, revolver in one hand and sword in the other, led his mounted staff to a last desperate charge, in which they fell fighting, the general last of all. The reserve corps of the army, which was stationed at some distance in the rear, and appears to have been ignorant of what was going on, alone escaped destruction. The massacre is dignified by the name of 'the Battle of Kashgil.'

[Hon. J. Colborne's With Hicks Pasha in the Soudan, 1884; Times, 17 Jan., 7 Feb., 8 March 1884; Army List.] S. L.-P.

**HICKS, WILLIAM ROBERT** (1808–1868), humorist, son of William Hicks, a schoolmaster, of Bodmin, Cornwall, who died 16 March 1833, by Sarah, daughter of William and Margaret Hicks, was born at Bodmin on 1 April 1808, and educated under his father until 1824, and then under a Mr. Harvey at Plymouth. From 1832 to 1840 he kept a boys' boarding-school in Honey Street and on the Castle Hill, Bodmin, and was noted for his extensive knowledge of mathematics. In 1834 he became clerk of the Bodmin board of guardians and superintendent-registrar. In 1840 he was appointed domestic superintendent of the Cornwall county lunatic asylum, clerk of the asylum, and clerk to the committee of visitors at Bodmin, and soon after was also named clerk to the highway board. The Earl of Devon afterwards procured for him the additional situation of auditor of the metropolitan district asylums. When Hicks became connected with the Bodmin asylum he found the old system of management prevailing, and in conjunction with the medical superintendent introduced more humane modern methods. One patient who was chained in a dark cell as a dangerous lunatic turned out to be a wit and a philosopher. He was found to be harmless, and employed to take care of the pigs and do other useful work. In 1865-6 Hicks was mayor of Bodmin, when he revived the custom of beating the bounds of the town (MACLEAN, *Trigg Minor*, i. 229). He was a very good man of business. He printed 'Statistics respecting the Food supplied to Paupers in the Western Unions of Cornwall.'

Hicks was a witty speaker, and especially famous for telling a story. He was popular in the two western counties, and had an established reputation in London, being known as the 'Yorick of the West.' His memory was excellent, and he was an admirable mimic.

Hicks's wit, musical talent, and good taste in art made him a favourite in society, especially in company with his old friend George Wightwick, architect. They were frequent visitors of Sir William Molesworth at Pencarrow, near Bodmin. Many of his narratives were in the Cornish dialect, but he was equally good in the Devonshire, as well as in the peculiar talk of the miners. Among his best-known stories were the 'Coach Wheel,' the 'Rheumatic Old Woman,' 'William Rabley,' the 'Two Deacons,' the 'Bed of Saltram,' the 'Blind Man, his Wife, and his dog Lion,' the 'Gallant Volunteer,' and the 'Dead March in Saul.' His most famous story, the 'Jury,' referred to the trial at Launceston in 1817 of Robert Sawle Donnall for poisoning his mother-in-law, when the prisoner was acquitted. Each of the jurors gave a different and ludicrous reason for his verdict. On 31 Dec. 1860 Hicks resigned his connection with the lunatic asylum, retiring on a full pension. He died at Westheath (a residence which he himself had built), Bodmin, on 5 Sept. 1868, and was buried at Bodmin cemetery on 9 Sept. His wife, whom he married in 1834, was Elizabeth, daughter of George Squire of Stoke Damerel, Devonshire; she remarried in 1876 J. Massey. A caricature portrait of Hicks, by Sandercock of Bodmin, was lithographed and published; it was reproduced in 1888 in lithographic chalk by the Rev. W. Iago.

[Collier's W. R. Hicks, a Memoir, 1888, with a portrait; Notes and Queries, 1881, 6th ser. iv. 367; J. C. Young's Memoirs of C. M. Young, 1871, ii. 301–8; Morning Post, 8 Sept. 1868, p. 5, by Abraham Hayward, Q.C.; Boase and Courtney's Bibl. Cornub. p. 238; Boase's Collectanea Cornubiensia, p. 363.] G. C. B.

**HICKSON, WILLIAM EDWARD** (1803–1870), educational writer, born on 7 Jan. 1803, son of William Hickson, boot and shoe manufacturer, of Smithfield, London, by Matilda Underhill, his wife, was brought up to his father's business, in which he early became a partner. He retired in 1840 in order to devote himself to philanthropic and literary pursuits. He was one of the pioneers of national education, and in particular of popular musical culture. A composer of some merit, he published 'The Singing Master: containing Instructions for Teaching Singing in Schools and Families,' &c., London, 1836, 8vo, and 'The Use of Singing as a part of the Moral Discipline of Schools. A Lecture delivered on 29 May 1838 before Members of the Sunday School Union,' London, 1838, 8vo. Associated with Nassau Senior, the economist, on the royal commission appointed on 14 Sept. 1837 to inquire into the condition of the unemployed handloom weavers in Great Britain and Ireland, he threw himself with great zeal into the work, visiting all the principal seats of the industry in the three kingdoms. In 1840 he returned a separate report (ordered to be printed 11 Aug.), in which he advocated the repeal of the corn laws and the improvement of elementary education. He also signed the joint report of the commissioners (returned 19 Feb. 1841), which was much to the same effect.

In the autumn of 1839 Hickson made a tour in Holland, Belgium, and North Germany, in order to study the national school systems of those countries. The results of his observations appeared in June 1840 in the 'Westminster Review,' which he had just purchased, and which he edited until 1852. The article was also published in pamphlet form with a supplement containing the outlines of a scheme of national education based on Dutch and German methods, under the title 'Dutch and German Schools,' London, 1840, 8vo. Hickson also published 'Part Singing; or Vocal Harmony for Choral Societies and Home Circles,' London, 1842, 4 pts. 8vo, and 'Time and Faith. An Inquiry into the Data of Ecclesiastical History,' London, 1857, 2 vols. 8vo. He married, on 15 Sept. 1830, Jane Brown, and died at Fairseat, Sevenoaks, Kent, on 22 March 1870.

[Reports from commissioners; private information; Parl. Papers, 1840–1; Brit. Mus. Cat.] J. M. R.

**HIEOVER, HARRY** (1795–1859), sporting writer. [See BINDLEY, CHARLES.]

**HIERON, SAMUEL** (1576?–1617), puritan divine, was the son of Roger Hieron, originally a schoolmaster, who became vicar of Epping in Essex in 1578 (NEWCOURT, *Repertorium*, ii. 248). Samuel Hieron is said to have been born in 1576, but Wood states he was about forty-five at the time of his death. He was taught by his father and admitted to the foundation at Eton in 1590. He passed to King's College, Cambridge, and after the death of his father he was assisted at the university by Sir Francis Barrington of Barrington Hall, Essex. He probably took orders about 1600, and, according to Hill, became at once eminent as a preacher. Harwood (*Alumni Eton.* p. 197) says that 'Sir Henry Savile, the provost of Eton, conferred on him a pastoral charge, which he soon vacated for the living of Modbury in Devonshire' (in the gift of Eton College), which he held till his death in 1617. His previous preferment appears to have been in London, where he immediately became so

popular that many congregations, as well as the Inns of Court, desired to have him 'settled' as their minister. From the dedication to one of his sermons he appears at one time to have been employed by the Earl of Pembroke. His ministry at Modbury was most successful, and he was one of the preachers at a weekly lecture established by Sir Ferdinando Gorges [q. v.] at Plympton, and was a voluminous author in spite of chronic illness. Fuller says that he was 'a powerful preacher in his printed works.' He died at Modbury in 1617, and was buried in the church. His funeral sermon, preached by 'T. B.,' was published in 1618. He was inclined to puritanism, though he strictly conformed to the church of England. Samuel Hieron (*d.* 1687), one of the ejected ministers of 1662, was his grandson. Another Samuel Hieron (*d.* 1616), fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge, became vicar of Trumpington in 1588, of Kendal in 1591, and of Enfield in 1598, and rector of Tokenham, Wiltshire, from 1610 till his death in July 1616. He was incorporated D.D. of Oxford July 1598 (Wood, *Fasti*, ed. Bliss, i. 279).

Besides many sermons Hieron published: 1. 'The Preacher's Plea' (a dialogue between a minister and a layman), 1604. 2. 'An Answere to a Popish Ryme, lately scattered abroad in the West Parts, and much relyed upon by some simply-seduced,' 1604, 4to; 2nd edit. 1608. 3. 'The Dignitie of the Scripture together with the Indignity which the unthankfull World offereth thereunto,' &c., 1607, 4to. 4. 'A Helpe unto Devotion; containing certain Moulds or Formes of Prayer, fitted to severall occasions,' 8th edit. 1616, 12mo. His works were published in folio in 1614, and were reprinted with additions in two volumes in 1624–5, together with a 'Life of the Author by Robert Hill, D.D., Rector of St. Bartholomew, Exchange, London.' A third edition appeared in 1635, in 2 vols. The following anonymous works are also attributed to Hieron: (1) 'A short Dialogue proving that the Ceremonies and some other Corruptions now in question are defended by no other Arguments than such as the Papists have hitherto used and our Protestant writers have long since answered,' &c., 1605. (2) 'A Defence of the Minister's Reasons for Refusal of Subscription to the Booke of Common Prayer, and of Conformity in answer to Mr. T. Hutton, Dr. W. Covel, and Dr. T. Sparke,' 1607. This work was printed in Holland and sent over packed with other goods; the booksellers refused to sell it on account of its pronounced opinions, and the edition was therefore given away, copies being sent to the writer's adversaries, the bishops, and the universities. The author, however, was never discovered. Second and third parts of this work were published in 1608, but the authorship of all seems very uncertain (see Brook, ii. 272).

[Hill's Life prefixed to Hieron's Works, 1624; Fuller's Hist. Cambridge, ed. Nicholls, p. 113; Harwood's Alumni Eton, p. 197; Wilkins on Preaching, p. 73; Brook's Lives of the Puritans, ii. 270–3; Wood's Fasti Oxon. ed. Bliss, ii. 279; Baker's MS. Collection, xiv. 50; Watt's Bibl. Brit.; Bullen's Early Printed Books.] A. C. B.

**HIFFERNAN, PAUL** (1719–1777), miscellaneous writer, was born in or near Dublin in 1719. His parents, intending him for the priesthood of the Roman catholic church, sent him to a classical school in Dublin. When very young he went with other Irish students to the university of Montpellier, where he claims to have made the acquaintance of Rousseau and Marmontel. At Montpellier, apparently forsaking theology, he graduated M.B. He removed to Paris, studying, or more probably idling there for several years, and acquiring a knowledge of Italian. The statement that he remained in France for seventeen years is a manifest exaggeration. He returned to Dublin by 1748, with a view to practising medicine, but gave way to indolence and dissipation. The character he bore is indicated in a coarse lampoon which professes to give an account of his death on 17 Oct. 1748. In 1750 he published in Dublin a political serial entitled 'The Tickler,' in opposition to Dr. Charles Lucas [q. v.]; he also wrote plays and fugitive pieces.

Hiffernan came to London towards the end of 1753. In 1754 he issued a few numbers of 'The Tuner,' intended as a vehicle for dramatic and literary criticism, and better written than most of his productions. On 24 April 1756 a farce by him called 'Maiden Whim' was first acted at Drury Lane Theatre (Genest, *Hist. Stage*, iv. 457). It was again performed, under the new title of 'The Lady's Choice,' for Hiffernan's benefit, with Henry Jones's 'Earl of Essex,' at Covent Garden on 20 April 1759 (*ib.* p. 566). On 1 April 1761 Hiffernan's farce, 'The New Hippocrates,' was put on the stage of Drury Lane after a performance of 'Every Man in his Humour,' with Garrick as Kitely and a song by Mrs. Clive (*ib.* p. 611). The farce was a failure, and was never published. On 6 April 1768 was performed at Drury Lane Hiffernan's 'National Prejudice,' a farce said to be an adaptation of Favart's 'Englishman in Bordeaux' (*ib.* v. 168). In 1774 Hiffernan, at the request of the actor Reddish, added a first and fifth act to an unfinished tragedy by Henry Jones (1720?–1770) called 'The Cave of Idra.' Hiffernan

renamed the piece 'The Heroine of the Cave,' and it was acted at Reddish's benefit at Drury Lane on 19 March 1774, and again at Covent Garden 22 March 1784 (*ib.* p. 405).

Hiffernan soon sank into a mere hackney writer. His 'Miscellanies in Prose and Verse,' 4to, dedicated to Lord Tyrawley, appeared in 1760. They include some readable pieces, the best being 'a genealogical account of humbugging.' Among the translations he executed was that of a work on the 'Origin and Progress of Despotism,' 1764, 8vo, professedly printed at Amsterdam, and soon suppressed. In 1770 he dedicated to Garrick his 'Dramatic Genius,' the first book of which details a scheme for a permanent temple, in the classic taste, to the memory of Shakespeare. On the strength of this production, Garrick raised a subscription for him amounting to over 120*l.* His 'Philosophic Whim; or, Astronomy a Farce,' 1774, 4to, full of grotesque expressions, he hawked about among his friends at the rate of half-a-crown or half-a-guinea as opportunity served. According to Professor Masson, he has the merit of inventing the word 'impecuniosity.' Among his expedients for raising money was a pretence of coaching candidates for the stage, on the terms of a guinea as entrance fee, another for instruction, and two guineas on engagement. He got his friends to subscribe their guineas for a course of three lectures on anatomy, to be delivered at the Percy Coffee-house. At the time appointed for the first lecture four persons were present, one being Dr. Kennedy, physician to the Prince of Wales. After waiting an hour, Hiffernan began his lecture, and was proceeding to describe 'the bread-basketry of the human frame,' when his audience declared themselves sufficiently amused; he 'ordered up some coffee, which he left them to pay for,' and promised to dine with them later on. Though he discarded every conventionality, and reviled his best friends if he were unsuccessful in sponging upon them, he had social qualities which made them kind to his faults. He kept his lodging a secret, which, even in his last illness, no stratagem could penetrate; he was to be heard of 'at the Bedford Coffee-house.' He died of jaundice, in a small court off St. Martin's Lane, about the beginning of June 1777. In person he was short, thick-set, and ruddy.

His published plays are: 1. 'The Self-enamoured; or the Ladies' Doctor,' &c., Dublin, 1750, 12mo. 2. 'The Lady's Choice,' &c., 1759, 8vo. 3. 'The Earl of Warwick, the King and Subject, a tragedy,' &c., 1764, 1767, 8vo (adapted from J. F. La Harpe's 'Comte de Warwick'). Thomas Francklin [q. v.] produced another translation of the same play in 1766, and Hiffernan and his friends charged Francklin with plagiarism (cf. *Letter from Rope-Dancing Monkey*, Lond., 1767). 4. 'The Heroine of the Cave,' &c., 1775, 8vo. Besides other publications mentioned above, Hiffernan wrote: 5. 'Remarks on an Ode [by W. Dunkin] on the Death of . . . Frederick, Prince of Wales,' &c., Dublin, 1752, 8vo. 6. 'The Wishes of a Free People,' 1761, 8vo (in verse). His 'Dramatic Genius. In Five Books,' 1770, 4to, came to a second edition in 1772, 12mo.

[A Faithful Narrative of the . . . Murder of P—l H—ff—n, M.D., committed by himself, &c., by R—d D—ck—n, Dublin, 1748; European Mag. 1794, pp. 110, 179; Baker's Biog. Dramatica (Jones), 1812, p. 333; Chalmers's Gen. Biog. Dict. 1814, xvii. 462; Masson's Memoir of Goldsmith, prefixed to Works, 1871, p. xxii; Hiffernan's publications.] A. G.

**HIGBERT** or **HYGEBRYHT** (*fl.* 787), archbishop of Lichfield, was made bishop of that see in 779, and was doubtless consecrated by Jaenbert [q. v.], archbishop of Canterbury. At the request of Offa, the Mercian king, Pope Hadrian consented to the establishment of a Mercian archbishopric, and in 787 the legates George and Theophylact held a synod at Chelsea, at which after some dispute Jaenbert was forced to resign his rights over part of his province, and Higbert was appointed by Offa to the new archbishopric. The new province is said to have been composed of the sees of Lichfield, Leicester, Worcester, Sidnacester, Hereford, Elmham, and Dunwich. Higbert attested the acts of the synod as bishop; but the next year, after having received the pall, attests as archbishop, and it is evident that he regarded himself as of equal dignity with the Archbishop of Canterbury. Though as Jaenbert's junior his name is placed after Jaenbert's in attestations, it is generally placed before that of Jaenbert's successor, Ethelhard [q. v.] In 798 Cenwulf, king of Mercia, and Ethelhard obtained from Leo III a declaration of the primacy of the see of Canterbury. Alcuin wrote to Ethelhard, requesting that Higbert, whom he calls 'pater pius,' might not be deprived of the pall; but if, as seems fairly certain, the Higbert who appears as an abbot of Lichfield in the attestation of an act of the council of Clovesho held in 803 is the former archbishop of Lichfield, he must by that date have lost or resigned both his pall and his see. Aldulf was then bishop of Lichfield, but he was not archbishop, as stated by William of Malmesbury (*Gesta Pontificum*, pp. 16, 308; see also *Anglia Sacra*, i. 430), nor was Humbert or Hunberht, who is incorrectly represented as Aldulf's immediate successor in the see (*Vitæ*

*Offarum*), archbishop; indeed, Higbert was the only archbishop of Lichfield.

[Anglo-Saxon Chron. sub an. 785; Henry of Huntingdon, p. 731, Mon. Hist. Brit.; William of Malmesbury's Gesta Pontiff. pp. 16, 308 (Rolls Series); Wharton's Anglia Sacra, i. 430; Matt. Paris, Vitæ Offarum, pp. 978, 979, Wats; Kemble's Codex Dipl. i. cxxxvii, cxli–iii, cliiclvii, clxiv–vii; Haddan and Stubbs's Councils and Eccl. Does. iii. 444–7, 460, 520, 546; Dict. Chr. Biog. art. 'Higbert,' by Bishop Stubbs.] W. H.

**HIGDEN, HENRY** (*fl.* 1693), poet and dramatist, a Yorkshireman, was a member of the Middle Temple. He is represented as a man of wit and the companion of all the choice spirits of the town. In 1686 he published 'A Modern Essay on the Thirteenth Satyr of Juvenal,' and in 1687 'A Modern Essay on the Tenth Satyr of Juvenal.' To the latter are prefixed complimentary verses by Dryden, Mrs. Behn, and E. Settle. He also wrote a comedy entitled 'The Wary Widdow, or Sir Noisy Parrat,' to which Sir Charles Sedley contributed a prologue. It was brought out in 1693 at Drury Lane, and was condemned the first night. Higden had introduced so much punch-drinking into it that the actors got intoxicated before the end of the third act, and the house separated in confusion. In his preface to the printed edition of the play (1693) he makes a splenetic attack on Congreve's 'Old Bachelor,' which had appeared during the same year.

[Baker's Biog. Dramatica, ed. 1812, i. 333–4, iii. 391; Brit. Mus. Cat.] G. G.

**HIGDEN, RANULF** (*d.* 1364), chronicler, was a Benedictine monk at St. Werburg's, Chester. Beyond this nothing is known of his personal history, except that he was born in the west of England and took monastic vows at Chester in 1299. He appears to have visited various parts of England, and especially Shropshire, Derbyshire, and Lancashire. He died 12 March 1363–4, and was buried at St. Werburg's (*Laud. MS.* 619). His name is variously given as Higden, Hydon, Hygden, Hikeden, &c., and his christian name as Ranulphus or Radulphus, Ranulf, Ralph, or Randle; the first is his own spelling. Higden has been identified with the Randle Higgenet who has been alleged to be the author of the well-known Chester plays, but there is no trustworthy evidence as to the name of their author, and his identification with Higden is out of the question (Warton, *Hist. Engl. Poetry*, ii. 224, ed. Hazlitt).

Higden's fame rests on his 'Polychronicon.' This is a universal history down to his own times, and is so called 'quia præsens chronica multorum temporum continet gesta.' Only a part of the last of the seven books into which it is divided is strictly contemporary, and even then the work is of no great value as an original authority. The 'Polychronicon' owes its interest to the light which it throws on the historical, geographical, and scientific knowledge of the age. It was the most exhaustive history that had yet appeared, and it enjoyed great popularity for nearly two centuries. There are said to be over a hundred manuscripts extant (many of them are described in the prefaces in the edition in the Rolls Series). There are also two English versions, one made in 1387 by John Trevisa [q. v.] and the other early in the following century. The former was printed by Caxton in 1482, by Wynkyn de Worde in 1495, and Peter Treveris in 1527. The latter is printed for the first time in the Rolls Series. Knighton and the author of the 'Eulogium Historiarum' borrowed largely from Higden. Many manuscripts of the 'Polychronicon' end at 1327, and it seems probable that there was a first edition terminating with that year (cf. Knighton, 2311, 2550); the later portion down to 1342 is Higden's own work, but the continuations from that date are by other hands. Roger of Chester [q. v.] and his 'Polycratica' are almost beyond question identical with Higden and the 'Polychronicon.' An epitome of the 'Polychronicon' was printed by Caxton in 1480, and that part of it which relates to British history was printed in Gale's 'Scriptores Quindecim,' i. 179–287; the whole work has recently appeared in the Rolls Series in nine volumes, together with the 'Continuation' of John Malverne and the two English translations.

Higden's other works are: 1. 'Speculum Curatorum,' Ball. Coll. Oxon. MS. 69, and Cambridge Univ. Lib. Mm. i. 20; this work was composed in 1340. 2. 'Ars componendi Sermones,' MS. Bodley 316 in the Bodleian Library. 3. 'Prædagogicon Grammatices,' manuscript said to be at Sion College. 4. 'Distinctiones Theologicæ,' MS. Lambeth 23. 5. 'Abbreviationes Chronicorum;' this is probably the 'Cronica bona et compendiosa de Regibus Angliæ tantum, a Noe usque in hunc diem' (A.D. 1300), which is ascribed to Higden in Cott. MS. Tib. E. viii. f. 210, and of which two other copies are preserved at Corpus Christi College, Cambridge (MS. No. 21), coming down to 1367, and at Winchester College reaching to 1377. Another possible theory is that this is the work of John Rochefort, who wrote a compendium of the 'Polychronicon' about 1400. Bale also, somewhat improbably, attributes

to Higden: 6. 'Expositio super Job.' 7. 'In Cantica Canticorum.' 8. 'Sermones per annum.' 9. 'Determinationes sub compendio.' 10. 'In litteram calendarii.' The 'Mappa Mundi' assigned to him by Bale is only the first book of the 'Polychronicon,' which is chiefly geographical in character; the treatises 'Ex Gulielmo Stephanide' (BALE) and 'Ex Stephano Langton' (TANNER) are also merely extracts from the larger work.

[Bale, vi. 12; Leland's Collect. ii. 368; Tanner's Bibl. Brit.-Hib. p. 403; Macray's Cat. Brit. Hist.; Hardy's Descriptive Cat. Brit. Hist. vol. iii.; prefaces by Drs. Babington and Lumby in Rolls Series edition of the Polychronicon; Gairdner's Early Chroniclers of England, pp. 274–279.] C. L. K.

**HIGDEN, WILLIAM** (*d.* 1715), divine, was matriculated sizar of King's College, Cambridge, on 5 April 1682 (*University Matriculation Register*), and graduated B.A. in 1684, M.A. in 1688. After the revolution he refused to take the oaths, but eventually conformed, and published in defence of his conduct 'A View of the English Constitution, with respect to the sovereign authority of the Prince and the allegiance of the Subject. In vindication of the lawfulness of taking the oaths to her Majesty by law required,' 8vo, London, 1709, which he supplemented in the following year by 'A Defence of the View of the English Constitution . . . by way of Reply to the several Answers that have been made to it,' 8vo, London, 1710 (reissued together in 1710 as a third edition and in 1716 as a fifth edition). Hearne said that Higden 'was always reckoned a man of Parts and Honesty,' but he considered that Higden's 'View' was completely confuted. 'Nor,' Hearne adds, 'is the government like to thank him for his Performance, since he resolves all into Possession, and makes all Usurpers have a title to Allegiance, not excepting even Oliver himself.' Higden took the degree of D.D. in 1710, and became prebendary of Canterbury in May 1713. He died on 28 Aug. 1715, and was buried on 5 Sept. in the new chapel, Westminster (*Hist. Reg.* Chron. Diary, 1715, p. 66; LE NEVE, *Fasti*, ed. Hardy, i. 49–50). He wrote also: 1. 'The Case of Sureties in Baptism' [anon.], 4to, London, 1701. 2. 'Occasional Conformity a most unjustifiable Practice' [anon.], 4to, London, 1704. 3. 'The Case of the Admission of Dissenters to the Holy Communion before they renounce their Schism. The Second Edition,' 4to, London, 1715. He had likewise a share in the translation of 'Tacitus,' 3 vols. 8vo, London, 1698.

[Brit. Mus. Cat.; Hearne's Collections, ed. Doble (Oxf. Hist. Soc.), ii. 284, &c.; Lathbury's Hist. of the Nonjurors, p. 230.] G. G.

**HIGFORD, WILLIAM** (1581?–1657), puritan, was born of a good family in the neighbourhood of Alderton in Gloucestershire about 1581. On 14 Jan. 1596–7 he matriculated at Oriel College, Oxford (*Reg. Univ. Oxf.* II. ii. 218, Oxf. Hist. Soc.) Wood says that he entered in 1595 as a fellow-commoner. He subsequently migrated to Corpus Christi College, where he says he had for his tutor Sebastian Benefield [q. v.] He graduated B.A. 16 Feb. 1598–9 (*ib.* II. iii. 215, where he is called Hichford). Wood states that 'by the benefit of good discipline and natural parts he became a well qualified gentleman,' and that after taking his degree in arts he retired to his father's seat at Dixton, near Alderton, was appointed a justice of the peace, and was highly respected by the neighbouring nobility and gentry, particularly Grey Brydges, lord Chandos [q. v.]

He married Mary, daughter of John Meulx of the Isle of Wight, by whom he had a son John, born in 1607. Higford, who is stated to have been 'a zealous puritan,' died at his residence at Dixton on 6 April 1657, in the seventy-seventh year of his age, leaving behind him, 'beside other matter fit for the press,' a large manuscript, entitled 'Institutions, or Advice to his Grandson, in three Parts,' which was revised by Clement Barksdale [q. v.], and published in London in 1658, 16mo. A second edition appeared in 1660, 8vo, under the title of 'The Institution of a Gentleman, in Three Parts,' dedicated to Lord Scudamore, and containing 'An Address to the Generous Reader' by Barksdale, together with an 'Epitaphium Gulielmi Higford,' and his praise in English verse, headed 'Fama loquitur.' It was also printed in the 'Harleian Miscellany,' vol. ix.

[Wood's Athenæ (Bliss), iii. 429; Rudder's Hist. of Gloucestershire, p. 220.] W. C. S.

**HIGGINS, BRYAN, M.D.** (1737?–1820), physician and chemist, was born in co. Sligo about 1737. On 5 Oct. 1765 he entered Leyden University and proceeded M.D. (*Leyden Students*, Index Society, p. 49). He then commenced practice in London. In July 1774 he opened a school of practical chemistry in Greek Street, Soho, and published a syllabus of his first course of lectures in 1775. During that year he had a dispute with Priestley, whom he accused of having plagiarised some of his experiments on air. Priestley replied in a lengthy pamphlet entitled 'Philosophical Empiricism,' 8vo, 1775. In 1776 Higgins published a part of his

course of lectures under the title of 'A Philosophical Essay concerning Light. Vol. I.,' 8vo, London. On 8 Jan. 1779 he obtained letters patent for a cheap and durable cement, which he advertised in a treatise called 'Experiments and Observations made with the view of improving the art of composing and applying calcareous Cements and of preparing Quick-lime; and Specification of the Author's . . . Cement,' 8vo, London, 1780. An Italian version appeared in C. Amoretti and F. Soave's 'Opuscoli scelti sulle scienze,' 4to, 1778, &c. In 1786 he published his best-known work, which appears also to have formed the subject of some of his lectures, with the title of 'Experiments and Observations relating to Acetous Acid, Fixable Air, . . . Oils, and Fuel,' &c., 8vo, London. Some time between 1780 and 1790 Higgins visited Russia, apparently by invitation of the Empress Catherine. He resumed his lectures in Greek Street in January 1794, and in 1795 issued an extended syllabus of his course, describing the experiments made as 'Minutes of the Society for Philosophical Experiments and Conversations,' 8vo, London. When, on 14 Dec. 1796, committees were appointed by the House of Assembly, Jamaica, for the improvement of the manufacture of Muscovado sugar and rum, Higgins was engaged to assist them, and he resided at Spanish Town during 1797, 1798, and 1799. Part of the result of his labours was published as 'Observations and Advices,' 2 pts., 8vo, St. Jago de la Vega, 1797–1800. A third part was announced for immediate publication, and a fragment of the fourth part appeared at Jamaica in 1803. Higgins died in 1820. He married Jane, daughter and heiress of J. Welland. His other writings are: 1. 'Observations on the Floating Ice . . . in high Northern and Southern latitudes. To which are added Experiments on the Freezing of Sea Water,' appended to the Hon. Daines Barrington's 'The Probability of reaching the North Pole,' 4to, London, 1775–6. 2. 'Synopsis of the Medicinal Contents of the most noted Mineral Waters, analysed by Dr. Higgins at the instance of I. Ellison' [edited by the latter], 8vo [London], 1788. Higgins was more successful as a speculator than an experimentalist, and many of his views are, for their time, 'remarkable for their acuteness and generalising character.'

[W. K. Sullivan in Dublin Quarterly Journal of Medical Science, new ser. viii. 483–7; Higgins's Works.] G. G.

**HIGGINS, CHARLES LONGUET** (1806–1885), benefactor of Turvey, eldest son of John Higgins of the Abbey-house, Turvey, Bedfordshire, and Theresa, eldest daughter of Benjamin Longuet of Louth and Bath, a gentleman of Huguenot descent, was born in his father's house on 30 Nov. 1806. He received his early education at home, and matriculated at Cambridge as a pensioner of Trinity College on 14 Nov. 1825. At Cambridge he was under the influence of the Rev. Charles Simeon. He was not a scholar, but had a taste for natural history and music. He graduated B.A. in 1830, and M.A. in 1834. Although he desired to take orders, he relinquished the idea in deference to his father's wish, and was admitted a student of Lincoln's Inn on 16 Nov. 1830, but was not called to the bar, and from 1836 to 1838 studied medicine at St. Bartholomew's Hospital. Having qualified he carried on a general medical practice at Turvey. On the death of his father in 1846 he succeeded to the family property; restored the church; built schools, a village museum, and comfortable cottages; and delivered lectures on natural history and other subjects. On 26 June 1853 he married Helen Eliza, daughter of Thomas Burgon of the British Museum. He projected the compilation of a hymn-book which should be used universally in the church of England, and read a paper on hymnology before the Church Congress at Nottingham in 1871, which was published. He was a J.P. and D.L. of Bedfordshire. He died without issue on 23 Jan. 1885.

[Burgon's Lives of Twelve Good Men, ii. 343–422; Luard's Graduati Cantabr.] W. H.

**HIGGINS, FRANCIS** (1669–1728), archdeacon of Cashel, who has been styled 'the Irish Sacheverell,' born in 1669, was son of an apothecary of the city of Limerick. He entered Trinity College, Dublin, as a sizar, 4 May 1685; obtained a scholarship in 1688, and graduated B.A. 1691, and M.A. 1693. He was 'reader' in Christ Church Cathedral in 1690; rector of Gowran in 1694; and became prebendary of Christ Church Cathedral, Dublin, 14 July 1705. In 1706 Higgins made himself notorious in London by violently asserting in sermons that the church was in danger, and by expounding extreme high-church views. On Ash Wednesday (February 1706–7) he preached at Whitehall Chapel, and denounced the favour shown in high places to champions of heterodoxy like Asgill, Toland, and Emlyn, and to puritans and presbyterians. On 28 Feb. Higgins was arrested on the secretary of state's warrant, and in April the grand jury of Middlesex found a true bill against him for preaching sedition, but in May the attorney-general entered a 'nolle prosequi' (LUTTRELL, *Brief Relation*, vi. 164, 177). Archbishop Tenison seems to have

summoned Higgins to Lambeth before his arrest and urged him to alter his tone (cf. *Hist. MSS. Comm.* 2nd Rep. p. 244). Higgins was obdurate, and published not only his sermon, but a separately issued 'Postscript' (for a penny), giving a very partial report of the interview with the archbishop. A rhyming version of the 'Postscript' also appeared as 'a new song.' On 29 July 1707 the Irish parliament directed the common hangman of Dublin to burn Higgins's 'Postscript.' Higgins was again prosecuted in 1712 as 'a disloyal subject and disturber of the public peace.' He was collated to the archdeaconry of Cashel in 1725, and dying in August 1728, was interred in his prebendal church. Both as a member of the lower house of convocation in Ireland and as a magistrate for the county of Dublin Higgins showed great activity and stormy temperament. He was of coarse tastes, and is described in a satirical poem as 'the son of pudding and eternal beef.' A contemporary pamphlet speaks of him as 'a plump red-faced man, zealous, talkative, very fond of quoting law (not always accurately), who thinks too little and who talks too much.'

[Matriculation Book, Trin. Coll. Dublin; Cotton's Fasti Eccles. Hib. vol. v.; Webb's Irish Biography; Hearne's Collections, Oxf. Hist. Soc. i. 337, 39*b*, ii. 25, 37, 57, 412.] W. R–L.

**HIGGINS, FRANCIS** (1746–1802), adventurer, was the son of humble parents, who migrated from Downpatrick in Ulster to Dublin. Higgins passed his early years in menial employments, became an attorney's clerk, was converted to protestantism, and, by practising gross deception, married a respectable lady, whose relatives in 1766 prosecuted him for fraud. Higgins was convicted, and was for some time imprisoned. To this incident was attributed Higgins's sobriquet of the 'Sham Squire.' After his release he formed lucrative connections with lottery-offices and gambling-houses. He was admitted an attorney at Dublin in 1780, and secured the posts of deputy-coroner and under-sheriff. Higgins became owner of the newspaper styled 'The Freeman's Journal,' which, with his own services, he placed at the disposal of the administrators of the government at Dublin. Thenceforth Higgins continuously assailed in his paper the opponents of the government, and Grattan denounced in parliament the mendacities and unscrupulous conduct of the journal. In 1788 Higgins was appointed a magistrate by Lord-chancellor Lifford [see HEWITT, JAMES]. John Magee, in his paper, the 'Dublin Evening Post,' published numerous satires in prose and verse on Higgins and his associate, Richard Daly [q. v.] Magee exposed Higgins's antecedents, and denounced him as a venal journalist, a corrupt magistrate, and a proprietor of houses of ill-repute. In 1790 Higgins prosecuted Magee for libel in the court of king's bench. Through Higgins's alleged influence with John Scott [q. v.], earl of Clonmel, lord chief justice, he obtained, by authority of that court, writs styled 'fiats,' under which the defendants were liable to imprisonment till they found surety for the entire amount claimed as damages. These proceedings formed the subject of discussion in the House of Commons of Ireland. Lord-chancellor FitzGibbon removed Higgins from the magistracy in 1791, and in 1794 he was struck off the roll of attorneys. In 1795 he warned the government of a projected attack on the new lord-lieutenant, Lord Camden. Through the under-secretary, Edward Cooke, with whom he had had previous relations, Higgins secretly communicated to the Irish government in 1798 particulars as to persons connected with the revolutionary movements in Ireland. The governmental account of secret service money, under date of 20 June 1798, contains an entry of a payment of 1,000*l.* to 'F. H.' for the discovery of Lord Edward Fitzgerald. The initials are those of Higgins. Cooke recommended Lord Castlereagh to appropriate a pension of 300*l.* per annum to Higgins, on the ground that he had given him much information and all the intelligence which had enabled him to effect the arrest of Lord Edward Fitzgerald. Higgins died in affluence at Dublin on 19 Jan. 1802, and was buried in the cemetery of Kilbarrack.

[Trial of John Magee, 1790; Irish Parliamentary Debates; Commons' Journals, Ireland; Account of Secret Service Money (manuscript), 1798; Sketches of Irish Political Characters, 1799; Plowden's Hist. Review, 1803; Barrington's Personal Sketches, 1827; Cornwallis Correspondence, 1859; Hist. of Dublin; Madden's United Irishmen, 1860; The Sham Squire, London, 1799; Fitzpatrick's Sham Squire, 1866; and Ireland before the Union, 1867; Lecky's Hist. of Ireland, vii. 99, 210 sq., 439, viii. 14, 36, 147.] J. T. G.

**HIGGINS, GODFREY** (1773–1833), archæologist, only son of Godfrey Higgins of Skellow Grange, near Doncaster, West Riding of Yorkshire, by his wife Christiana (Matterson), was born on (or shortly before) 1 May 1773. He kept terms as a pensioner at Trinity Hall, Cambridge, and afterwards studied law in London, but took no degree, and was not called to the bar. On his father's death he succeeded to a considerable estate, and married (1800). In 1802, during the scare of an anticipated invasion by Napoleon, he be-

came a major in the 3rd West York militia, and while in this service he was seized with a bad fever at Harwich, from the effects of which he never recovered. Resigning his commission about 1813, he devoted himself entirely to an unbiassed investigation into the history of religious beliefs. He acquired a knowledge of Hebrew, and sometimes pursued his studies in foreign libraries. At the date of his death he had projected a journey to Egypt, 'and perhaps Samarcand,' in search of further clues to religious problems.

Higgins acted with energy as a justice of the peace, and was keenly interested in practical questions of political economy. He took part in measures for the better treatment of the insane, and was the means of erecting a house for pauper lunatics near Wakefield. He favoured the abolition of corn-laws and game-laws, and as early as 1832 advocated the disestablishment of the Irish church. In 1831 several of the radical political unions of Yorkshire were anxious to elect him to parliament; he pledged himself to serve if elected, but declined to come forward as a candidate.

Higgins attended the meeting of the British Association at Cambridge in June 1833, returned home out of health, and died at his Yorkshire residence at Skellow Grange on 9 Aug. 1833. His London house was 20 Keppel Street, Russell Square. He married in 1800 Jane (*d.* 18 May 1822 at Bath), heiress of Richard Thorpe, and left a son, Godfrey, and a daughter, Jane (married to Lieutenant-general Matthew Sharpe of Haddam Castle, Northumberland). Another daughter, Catherine, died before him unmarried. Higgins was a freemason, a fellow of the Society of Arts, the Royal Asiatic Society, and other learned bodies.

Among his social and political publications are the following: 1. 'Letter to . . . Earl Fitzwilliam,' &c. [York, 1814], 8vo (on lunatic asylums). 2. 'The Evidence . . . respecting the Asylum at York,' &c., Doncaster, 1816, 8vo. 3. 'Address to the Electors of the West Riding,' &c., Hackney [1817], 8vo; 2nd edit., Doncaster, 1833, 8vo. 4. 'A Letter to the House of Commons on the . . . discontent of the British Empire,' &c., 1819, 8vo (written from Geneva on the passing of the Metallic Currency Bill). 5. 'Observations on . . . the Corn Laws,' &c., 1826, 8vo (reprinted in 'The Pamphleteer,' vol. xxvii.) 6. 'A Letter to the Political Unions,' &c., Hackney [1833], 8vo. 7. 'A Second Letter,' &c., Hackney [1833], 8vo.

His contributions to the archæology of religion are the following: 1. 'Horæ Sabbaticæ, or an Attempt to correct . . . errors respecting the Sabbath,' &c., 1826, 8vo (two parts in one); 2nd edit., with appendix, 1833, 8vo; 3rd edit., with autobiography, 1851, 8vo. His positions were attacked by Henry Standish and by T. S. Hughes, B.D. 2. 'An Apology for . . . Mohammed,' &c., 1829, 8vo. This was criticised by Edward Upham, author of the 'History of Buddhism.' 3. 'The Celtic Druids,' &c., 1829, 4to; his most important work, containing 'a most valuable collection of prints' (HUNTER). 4. 'Anacalypsis, an Attempt to draw aside the veil of the Saitic Isis; or, an Inquiry into the Origin of Languages, Nations, and Religions,' &c., 1836, 4to, 2 vols.; another edition, Glasgow, 1878, 8vo. The first volume, though not published till 1836, was printed off in June 1833; four sheets of the second volume were revised by the author, at whose son's expense the remainder was edited by George Smallfield. The 'Celtic Druids' was designed as an introduction to this work, which is coloured by Higgins's researches into phallic worship. He had intended 'to exhibit in a future book the Christianity of Jesus Christ from his own mouth.' He claimed to be a Christian, regarding our Lord as a Nazarite, of the monastic order of Pythagorean Essenes, probably a Samaritan by birth, and leading the life of a hermit.

[Autobiography in Horæ Sabbaticæ, 1851; prefaces to Anacalypsis, and autobiographical references in other works; Gent. Mag. October 1833, p. 371.] A. G.

**HIGGINS, JOHN** (*fl.* 1570–1602), poet and compiler, born, according to his own account, about 1545, is said by Hearne to have been a student of Christ Church, Oxford (*Coll.* ed. Doble, Oxf. Hist. Soc., iii. 138), but his name does not appear in the university register. He began 'to learne the tongues' when he was twenty, and taught grammar between 1568 and 1570. Hearne describes him as 'a person of excellent parts and learning. He was a poet, antiquary, and historian of great industry, well read in classick authors, and was withall very well skilled in French.' His earliest published work, which occupied him two years, was a new and revised edition of 'Huloet's Dictionarie,' London, 1572, fol. (by Thomas Marshe). Higgins, who describes himself as 'late student in Oxforde,' dedicates the book to Sir George Peckham. In 1575 appeared 'Flowers, or Eloquent Phrases of the Latine Speach, gathered out of the sixe Comedies of Terence, whereof those of the first three were selected by Nicholas Vdall, and those of the latter three nowe to them annexed by John Higgins' (by

Thomas Marshe). A new edition followed in 1581. Thomas Newton, in his 'Encomia,' 1589 (p. 128), highly commends the joint labours of Higgins and Udall. Higgins's next undertaking was a translation entitled 'The Nomenclator or Remembrancer of Adrianus Junius, Physician, divided into two Tomes, conteining proper names and apt termes for all things vnder their conuenient titles, London (for Ralph Newberie and Henrie Denham),' 1585, 8vo. The dedication, to Dr. Valentine Dale, is signed 'Joannes Higgins,' and is dated from Winsham, Somerset, 15 Nov. 1584. In 1602 Higgins published at Oxford 'An Answer to W. Perkins concerning Christ's Descension into Hell' (8vo).

Higgins is best known by his elaborate expansions of 'The Mirrour for Magistrates,' originally prepared by William Baldwin, and published in 1559. Baldwin's collection treats of English history from the reign of Richard II onwards. Higgins resolved to write on the beginnings of British history. In 1574 he issued 'The First Parte of the Mirour for Magistrates, containing the Falles of the first Infortunate Princes of this Lande. From the coming of Brute . . .,' London (by Thomas Marshe), 1574, fol. The volume opens with an induction in imitation of Sackville's well-known poem. Sixteen legends, dealing with Albanact, Locrinus, Bladud, Ferrex, Porrex, Nennius, and the like, are told in verse; and the volume closes with a metrical address by Higgins. Higgins reissued his 'First Parte' in 1575, enlarging his address at the conclusion, and adding a new poem, 'Irenglass.' In 1587 Thomas Newton prepared a collective edition of the original 'Mirrour' and of the various supplementary volumes. For this edition Higgins prepared twenty-three new poems in continuation of the seventeen already published by him. The new series treats of Brennus, Cæsar, Nero, Caracalla, and similar heroes. Thus the first forty poems in Newton's volume are from Higgins's pen, and in a later section appears another new one by him dealing with later history, namely, 'How the Valiant Knight, Sir Nicholas Burdet, Chiefe Butler of Normandy, was slayne at Pontoise, Anno 1441.' Richard Niccols reissued all Higgins's contributions in another collective edition of the 'Mirrour,' published in 1610, and reissued as 'The Falles of Vnfortvnate Princes' in 1619. In 1815 Haslewood once again reprinted the whole work.

A manuscript in Brit. Mus. MS. Cott. Galba, C. iv. 189, entitled 'A Discourse on the ways how to annoy the K. of Spain, and to provide for the restitution of wrongs,' is dated June 1571, and is assigned to 'Mr. Higgins.'

[Wood's Athenæ Oxon. (Bliss), i. 734–6; Haslewood's Mirror for Magistrates (1815), introd. See art. Blenerhasset, Thomas.] S. L. L.

**HIGGINS, MATTHEW JAMES** (1810–1868), 'Jacob Omnium,' son of Matthew Higgins, by Janette, daughter of James Baillie, second son of Hugh Baillie of Dochfour, Inverness-shire, was born 4 Dec. 1810, at Benown Castle in the county of Meath. His father died soon after his birth. He was educated at a private school near Bath and at Eton. On 22 May 1828 he matriculated at University College, Oxford, but never graduated. At college he preferred hunting to study. He afterwards travelled much in Spain and in Italy, where his three sisters lived in Naples, after their marriage to Italians. In 1838–9 he visited British Guiana, where he had inherited an estate, and repeated the visit in 1846–7. This experience enabled him to keep his estate in good order during the critical period which followed the abolition of slavery, and to write some effective pamphlets upon the difficulties of the sugar-producing colonies. Immediately after his return in March 1847 he offered his services to the relief committee formed on occasion of the Irish famine, and spent several months in Ireland and London in active endeavours to help the sufferers. A letter to the 'Times' of 22 April 1847 (reprinted in his biography) gives a vivid account of the terrible scenes of the time. Higgins, who had been a conservative, followed Peel on the free trade question, and contested Westbury in 1847 on 'Peelite' principles, when he was defeated by James Wilson, afterwards financial minister in India. He never stood again, though he retained a keen interest in politics, and constantly attended debates. He was one of the chief writers in the 'Morning Chronicle,' under John Douglas Cook [q. v.], then the organ of the Peelites.

On 2 July 1850 he married Emily Blanche, daughter of Sir Henry Joseph Tichborne of Tichborne, and widow of the eldest son of Mr. Benett of Pythouse, Wiltshire. He then moved from 1 Lowndes Square to 71 Eaton Square. He was an exceedingly popular member of society. He was a judge of horses as well as a lover of literature and art, a member of the Philobiblon Society, and one of the original and most agreeable members of the Cosmopolitan Club. His advice was sought by many friends, and he spared no trouble in reconciling disputes and settling business. He had been obliged to take the waters at Homburg in later years, but no cause of

anxiety appeared until he was taken ill after bathing at Kingston House, near Abingdon, and died six days later, 14 Aug. 1868. He was buried near his younger son in the Roman catholic cemetery at Fulham. He was survived by his widow and three children. Higgins was six feet eight in height, and was a man of noble and amiable presence. Portraits by Sir Francis Grant, in which a toy-terrier was introduced by Landseer, and one by Reginald Cholmondeley are in possession of his family. A photograph of Grant's portrait is prefixed to his memoir.

Higgins was famous for his skill in newspaper correspondence. His talents were, he said, first revealed to him through the impression made on the committee of his club by a letter complaining of a bad dinner which he had drafted for a friend. His first published article, called 'Jacob Omnium, the Merchant Prince,' a satire on mercantile dishonesty, appeared in the 'New Monthly Magazine' for August 1845. He frequently used the name or the initials of his hero, and is generally known by it. His writings brought him the acquaintance of Thackeray, who dedicated to him the 'Adventures of Philip' in 1862. Thackeray's ballad on 'Jacob Omnium's Hoss' commemorates his friend's assault upon the Palace Court, which was abolished in consequence. Higgins's letters to the 'Times,' under various signatures, such as 'Civilian,' 'Paterfamilias,' 'Mother of Six,' 'A Thirsty Soul,' &c., always commanded notice, and exposed many abuses. His connection with the 'Times' was ended by a dispute in 1863. His letters, supported by articles, had led to a court-martial upon Colonel Crawley for oppressive treatment of a sergeant. The colonel was fully acquitted; the 'Times' was converted to his side; made difficulties about admitting a letter of self-defence from Higgins; published a severe reply to it, and then closed the discussion. Higgins privately printed his correspondence with the proprietor of the 'Times' upon the occasion. Higgins wrote other articles in the 'Edinburgh Review,' and especially in the 'Cornhill,' edited by his friend Thackeray. When the 'Pall Mall Gazette' was started, he showed especial skill in writing the 'Occasional Notes,' which were then a comparative novelty. In controversy Higgins had in the highest degree the journalist's faculty of presenting his case tersely and going straight to the main points.

Higgins published: 1. 'Is Cheap Sugar the Triumph of Free Trade?' a letter to Lord John Russell, by Jacob Omnium, 1847. This was followed in 1848 by a second letter with the same title, and 'a third letter to Lord John Russell . . . with an appendix.' 2. 'Cheap Sugar means Cheap Slaves,' 1848. 3. 'The real bearings of the West India Question,' by Jacob Omnium, 1848. 4. 'Light Horse,' 1855. 5. 'A Letter on Administrative Reform,' 1855. 6. 'Letters on Military Education,' 1855 and 1856. 7. 'Letters on Army Reform,' 1855 (?) (the last four reprinted from the 'Times,' and described as by Jacob Omnium). 8. 'Three Letters to the Editor of the "Cornhill Magazine" on Public Education; by Paterfamilias,' 1861; republished in 1865 with essay from the 'Edinburgh Review.' 9. 'The Story of the Mhow Court-martial . . . by J. O.' (reprinted from the 'Cornhill' of November 1863), 1864. In 1856 he printed privately some of his articles as 'Social Sketches.' These were published in 1875 (with some additions) as 'Essays on Social Subjects,' with an excellent memoir by Sir William Stirling-Maxwell.

[Memoir as above.] L. S.

**HIGGINS, WILLIAM** (*d.* 1825), chemist, born in co. Sligo, was the nephew of Bryan Higgins, M.D. [q. v.] He entered Pembroke College, Oxford, but did not matriculate in the university. After working with his uncle for a while, he left him in consequence of some disagreement. In 1789 he published at London 'A Comparative View of the Phlogistic and Antiphlogistic Theories, with Inductions' (2nd edit. 1791), in which he was clearly the first to enunciate the law of multiple proportions. Dalton, about 1802, adopted independently a similar hypothesis. Higgins made an unworthy attack upon Dalton in a treatise entitled 'Experiments and Observations on the Atomic Theory and Electrical Phenomena,' 8vo, Dublin, 1814, in which he set forth his superior claims to be considered the author of the atomic theory. In 1791 Higgins was appointed chemist to the Apothecaries' Company of Ireland, a post which he vacated in 1795 to become chemist and librarian to the Royal Dublin Society. Under act of parliament his office was raised about 1800 to the dignity of a professorial chair. On 12 June 1806 he was elected F.R.S., but never presented himself for admission (Thomson, *Hist. of Roy. Soc.* App. iv. lxviii). Higgins died in 1825. He was a man of eccentric, indolent habits. His style of lecturing was very quaint, and many anecdotes are told about him. To vol. i. pt. i. of the 'Transactions' of the Dublin Society for 1800 he contributed 'An Essay on the Sulphuret of Lime as a substitute for Potash; or a New Method of Bleaching.' He published also 'A Syllabus of a Course of Chemistry for the year 1802,' 8vo, Dublin, 1801.

[W. K. Sullivan in Dublin Quarterly Journal of Medical Science, new ser. viii. 487–95.]

G. G.

**HIGGINSON, EDWARD** (1807–1880), unitarian divine, was born at Heaton Norris, Lancashire, on 9 Jan. 1807. His father was Edward Higginson (*b.* 20 March 1781, *d.* 24 May 1832), unitarian minister and schoolmaster at Stockport (1801–10) and Derby (1811–31), who married as his first wife Sarah Marshall (*d.* 10 Aug. 1827, aged 45) of Loughborough, Leicestershire. He was educated in his father's school, and in September 1823 entered Manchester College, York, as a divinity student. In August 1828 he settled as minister of Bowl Alley Lane Chapel, Hull. From 1829 he taught a school in addition to his other duties. He removed in 1846 to Westgate Chapel, Wakefield, West Riding, taking his school with him. In 1858 he became minister of High Street Chapel, Swansea, Glamorganshire, a position which he resigned from failing health in 1876. While at Swansea he assisted in the tutorial work of the presbyterian college, Carmarthen, and at the end of 1875 was offered the principalship. From 1877 to 1879 he was president of the Royal Institute of South Wales. He was a man of great industry and much independence of mind. In his own denomination he ranked among its conservative scholars, his theological position being akin to that of Samuel Bache [q. v.], who married his sister. His preaching was not attractive, but his 'Spirit of the Bible' was widely known and read. He died at Swansea on 12 Feb. 1880. He married first, on 25 Dec. 1839, Lydia (*d.* 8 Feb. 1856, aged 42), youngest daughter of Flower Humble of Newcastle-on-Tyne; secondly, on 5 July 1857, Emily, daughter of George Thomas of Carmarthen, and left issue.

He published, besides separate sermons and tracts: 1. 'Orthodoxy and Unbelief,' &c., 1832, 8vo. 2. 'The Sacrifice of Christ,' &c., Hull, 1833, 12mo; 2nd edition, 1848. 3. 'Christ Imitable,' &c., 1837, 12mo. 4. 'The Spirit of the Bible,' &c., 1853–5, 8vo, 2 vols.; 2nd edition, 1863, 8vo, 2 vols. 5. 'Astro-Theology,' &c., 1855, 12mo. 6. Six Essays on 'Inspiration,' &c., 1856, 8vo. 7. 'The Morals of Belief,' &c., 1860, 8vo. 8. 'A Short Memoir of the Rev. R. B. Aspland, &c., 1869, 8vo. 9. 'A Catechism without Questions,' &c. [1869?], 8vo. 10. 'Ecce Messias,' 1871, 8vo. 11. In conjunction with his wife he published 'The Fine Arts in Italy,' &c., 1859, 8vo, a translation from the French of A. J. Coquerel. He frequently contributed theological and critical articles to the 'Christian Reformer,' edited by his friend Robert Brook Aspland [q. v.]; in 1857 and 1858 he wrote anonymously in this magazine a series of semi-autobiographical sketches, under the title 'A Minister's Retrospect;' from 1876 he contributed to the 'Christian Life,' edited by Robert Spears.

[Monthly Repository, 1827, p. 695; Unitarian Chronicle, 1832, pp. 138 sq.; Christian Reformer, 1856 p. 192, 1857 p. 528; Autobiog. Sketch in Christian Life, 21 Feb. 1880.]

A. G.

**HIGGINSON, FRANCIS** (1587–1630), puritan divine, born in 1587, son of the Rev. John Higginson, was educated at Jesus College, Cambridge, and subsequently became a member of St. John's College, Cambridge. He graduated B.A. in 1609, and M.A. in 1613, and about 1615 obtained the living of Claybrooke in Leicestershire. At this time he appears to have been a strict conformist, but falling under the influence of the Rev. Arthur Hildersam [q. v.], he became a conscientious nonconformist. He obtained the preachership of St. Nicholas in Leicester, but was deprived about 1627 for his nonconformity. The Bishop of Lincoln (Williams), however, permitted him to lecture during one part of the Sunday, and to assist an aged parson during the other, his late parishioners agreeing to maintain him by voluntary contributions. He also preached at Belgrave, a neighbouring village, until Archbishop Laud insisted on the withdrawal of his license, when Higginson became a leader among the Leicester puritans, and devoted much time to the preparation of young men for the university. Notwithstanding his nonconformity, he was offered the preachership to the mayor, but this, as well as several livings in the neighbourhood, he declined, on account of the degree of conformity required. He appears to have given a number of books to the town library, and to have been active in promoting measures for the relief of the protestant exiles from Bohemia and the Palatinate.

Higginson was strongly impressed with the advantages New England offered to persecuted nonconformists, and, on learning that proceedings were commenced against him in the court of high commission, offered himself as a minister to the Massachusetts Bay Company in March 1628 (Young, p. 65). In 1629 the governors of the company appointed him minister to one of their settlements in New England at a liberal salary, with a promise of sufficient provision for his family in case of his death; he was also appointed one of the council (*ib.* pp. 194, 1209–12). With his family he sailed from Gravesend on 25 April 1629 in the Talbot, and arrived in Salem harbour on the 29th of the following June. On the voyage, in conjunction with

another minister, Samuel Skelton, he drew up a confession of faith, which, as some of the passengers were episcopalians and some congregationalists, took a middle course regarding differences in creed, and caused the framers to be accused of anabaptism. Soon after their landing a church was formed at Salem or Naumkeag, when Skelton was chosen minister, and Higginson his assistant. On account of their ignoring the Book of Common Prayer, and their strictness in discipline, troubles arose, and complaints were made to the governors. Higginson was required to answer the charges against him, which he appears to have been successful in doing. The unhealthy atmosphere of the place and the fatigues consequent on the formation of the settlement caused Higginson to contract a hectic fever, from the effects of which he died on 6 Aug. 1630, leaving a widow and eight children. Higginson was a puritan of the most severe type, but upright, conscientious, and unselfish, an able scholar, and an excellent preacher.

He published, besides the confession before mentioned, 'New England's Plantation. Or a Short and Trve Description of the Commodities and Discommodities of that Countrey. Written in the year 1629 by Mr. Higgeson, a reuerend Diuine, now there resident,' 3rd edition, London, 1630, 4to, 25 pp.; the first edition had appeared in the same year without the author's name; it is reprinted as chap. xii. of Young's 'Chronicles of the First Planters.' This tract was a continuation of 'A True Relation of the last Voyage to New England, declaring all circumstances, with the manner of the Passage we had by Sea . . . and what is the present State and Condition of the English people that are there already. Written from New England, July 21, 1629.' This latter was printed for the first time in Young's 'Chronicles,' chap. xi., where another letter by Higginson is also printed (pp. 260–4).

Higginson, John (1616–1708), eldest son of the above, was born at Claybrooke 6 Aug. 1616, and went to New England with his father. On his father's death he maintained his mother by teaching at Hartford; afterwards he was chaplain successively at Saybrook and Guilford, where he married a daughter of the Rev. Henry Whitfield. In 1659 he sailed for England, but putting in at Salem he accepted an invitation to preach there for a year, and eventually became regular pastor of the church which his father had planted. He published various sermons, and was author of an attestation prefixed to Cotton Mather's 'Magnalia.' John Higginson died at Salem 9 Dec. 1708; he had several children, a notice of whom will be found in the collections of the Massachusetts Historical Society (3rd ser. vii. 196–222), where a number of letters written by him and his sons are printed.

Francis Higginson's second son, Francis (1617–1670), returned to England, and after studying at Leyden entered the church of England, and became vicar of Kirkby Stephen, Westmoreland. He published in 1653 'A Brief Relation of the Irreligion of the Northern Quakers,' 4to, to which 'A Reply,' &c., appeared next year.

[J. B. Felt's Life of F. Higginson; Morse and Parish's Hist. of New England, i. 52; Mather's Hist. of New England, i. 18, 19, iii. 71, 75; Young's Chronicles of the First Planters; Massachusetts Hist. Soc. Collections, 1st ser. vol. i., 3rd ser. vol. vii.; Massachusetts Papers, pp. 32, 46; Morton's New England Mem. pp. 76, 77; Brook's Hist. of the Puritans, ii. 369; Palmer's Nonconf. Mem. i. 336; Neal's Hist. of the Puritans, ii. 205; Nichols's Leicestershire, vol. i. pt. ii. p. 426.] A. C. B.

**HIGGONS, BEVIL** (1670–1735), historian and poet, was born at Kezo in 1670, being the third son of Sir Thomas Higgons [q. v.], by his second wife, Bridget, daughter of Sir Bevil Grenville, and relict of Sir Simon Leach of Cadleigh, Devonshire. In Lent term 1686, when aged 16, he matriculated as a commoner at St. John's College, Oxford, but not long afterwards migrated to Trinity Hall, Cambridge. His first production in print was a set of English verses addressed 'to the queen on the birth of the prince,' which as a fellow-commoner of Trinity Hall he wrote for insertion in the university collection of congratulatory poems, entitled 'Illustrissimi principis ducis Cornubiæ genethliacon.' On leaving the university—the statement that he obtained a fellowship at Trinity Hall does not seem to be correct—he was entered as a student of the Middle Temple, but probably paid little attention to the study of law. His family was in sympathy with the exiled Stuarts. His uncle, Dean Denis Grenville [q. v.], had accompanied James II to France. Higgons followed them, and remained there for some years, keeping, as is specially noted, his wit and good humour unimpaired in adversity. After he was allowed to return to his own country he and his two brothers were suspected in 1695 of knowledge of the conspiracy against the life of William III, but Bevil was said to have dissuaded his brother Tom from joining the plot, 'declaring it was an assassination' (*State Trials*, xii. 1313–15). A proclamation for the arrest of George Higgons and his two brothers was issued by William on 23 Feb. 1695–6 (*ib.* xiii. 192,

607). Bevil's restraint in prison did not last long, and the rest of his life was passed in literary pursuits. He died on 1 Aug. 1735.

The main works of Higgons were historical. The most important bore the title of 'A Short View of the English History; with Reflections on the Reigns of the Kings, their Characters and Manners, their Succession to the Throne; and all other remarkable incidents, to the Revolution, 1688,' and was published in 1723, after he had left the papers to 'lie cover'd with dust these twenty-six years.' Another edition was issued at the Hague in 1727, a 'second edition with additions' appeared in London in 1734, and a third edition in 1748, each of the last two impressions containing a dedication to the Duchess of Buckingham and Normanby. A translation into French was also published at the Hague in 1729. A cognate treatise of 'Historical and Critical Remarks on Bishop Burnet's History of his own Time' was published by him in 1725, and reached a second edition in 1727, when there was 'added a postscript in answer to the "London Journal" of the 30th of January and 6th of February 1724–5.' Both these productions were reissued in 1736, with the title of 'The Historical Works of Bevill Higgons. In two volumes.' A volume styled 'Bishop Burnet's Proofs of the Pretender's Illegitimacy . . . compared with the accounts given by other writers, viz. Echard, Higgons, &c.,' and bearing the name of George Wilson, appeared in 1724, and contained on pp. 29–33 an extract from the 'Short View of English History.' A passage from the same work describing the character of Oliver Cromwell was inserted in 'Enthusiasm Display'd,' 1743, pp. 34–5. Another work purporting to be by Higgons on the 'History of the Life and Reign of Mary Queen of Scots and Dowager of France' bore the imprint of Dublin, 1753.

In 'Examen Poeticum, being the Third Part of Dryden's Miscellany, 1693,' were inserted 'several poems by Higgons (pp. 250–266), the first of which was addressed to Dryden on his translation of Persius. The lines which Higgons prefixed to Congreve's 'Old Bachelor' pointed out that play-writer as the legitimate successor of Dryden. He was himself the author of 'The Generous Conqueror, or the Timely Discovery. A Tragedy as it is acted at the Theatre Royal, 1702,' in which he is said to have 'illustrated the right divine and impeccability' of James II. It was received without disfavour on the first day, but not attended afterwards, and Gildon, who published anonymously 'A Comparison between the two Stages, with an Examen of the Generous Conqueror' (pp. 79–139), gives as the reason that it 'was writ after an untoward manner, and above half the Town condemn'd it as Turbulent and Factious.' The prologue was by his relation, George Granville, lord Lansdowne [q. v.], and Higgons in turn composed the epilogue for Granville's 'Heroick Love,' and the prologue for his 'Jew of Venice' (GRANVILLE, *Works*, i. 136–137, ii. 103–4, iii. 109–11). He is said to have contributed to a collection by Fenton of 'Poems on Several Occasions,' 1717, and his panegyric in verse of the 'Glorious Peace of Utrecht' came out in 1731. Most of his pieces were reprinted in the collection of Nichols, i. 128–30, iii. 111–14, 312, iv. 335–6, vii. 101–2, viii. 281–2.

[Wood's Athenæ Oxon. (Bliss), iv. 714; Botfield's Stemmata Botevill. pp. 104–5, 137; Le Neve's Knights (Harl. Soc. viii.), p. 172; Doran's Her Majesty's Servants (Lowe's ed.), i. 277; Nichols's Lit. Anecd. viii. 169; Luttrell's Brief Hist. Relation, iv. 22–6, 54; Gent. Mag. i. 228.]

W. P. C.

**HIGGONS, THEOPHILUS** (1578?–1659), divine, son of Robert Higgons, born at Chilton, near Brill in Buckinghamshire, was educated partly in the free school at Thame in Oxfordshire. In November 1592 he became a student of Christ Church, Oxford, at the age of fourteen (*Oxf. Univ. Reg.*, Oxf. Hist. Soc., vol. ii. pt. ii. 206). He proceeded B.A. 20 Oct. 1597, and M.A. 4 June 1600 (*ib.* iii. 205), 'being then noted to be a young man of pregnant parts, and a tolerable Latin poet.' He was inclined to puritanism, and while censor at Christ Church he sawed down the maypole. On the promotion of Dr. Ravis, dean of Christ Church, to the see of Gloucester, Higgons became his domestic chaplain, continuing with him till his translation to London, when he became lecturer at St. Dunstan's Church, Fleet Street, and was much followed for his eloquent preaching. 'But so it was that many of his contributory auditors thought that his long prayers and spitting pauses were too short, because the reverend bishops (yea, his own lord and master) were ever left out for wranglers and anti-Christian hierarchies' (SIR EDWARD HOBY, *Letter to T. H.* p. 13). After he had been established there for some time, Higgons gave offence to his relations and admirers by a marriage. He therefore left his wife and went into the north of England, but soon returned and published a book in favour of protestantism.

Higgons, according to Wood, became discontented owing to the want of preferment and debts occasioned by his marriage. He was converted to Roman catholicism 'by one Fludde,' probably John Floyd [q. v.], jesuit,

and is said to have immediately written a pamphlet 'of venial and mortal sin.' But according to Wood, who had not seen it, this was said by some to be still directed against Rome. Afterwards he went to France and spent two years at Douay and St. Omer's, to which last his father went, in vain, to recal him. He now took the name of Thomas Forster, and wrote 'A first motive to adhere to the Romish Church,' 1609 (*ib.*) Thence he went to Rouen, where he lived some time, but again, not finding preferment, was reconverted to protestantism by Thomas Morton [q. v.], afterwards bishop of Durham, who had replied to one of his books. After his reconversion he became rector of Hunton, near Maidstone, Kent. During the rebellion his living was sequestered, when he was taken into the house of a Daniel Collins of Maidstone. He died there in 1659 and was buried in Maidstone churchyard.

Besides the works already noticed, Higgons wrote: 1. 'A Scholastical Examination of Man's Iniquity and God's Justice,' 1608. 2. 'Apology, refuting Sir E. Hoby's Letter,' &c., Rouen, 1609. 3. 'The First Motive to suspect the Integrity of his Religion, with an Appendix against Dr. Field, Dr. Humfrey, &c.,' 1609. 4. 'Sermon at St. Paul's Cross,' 1610. 5. 'Reasons proving the lawfulness of the Oath of Allegiance,' 1611. 6. 'Sermon on Ephesians ii. 4–7,' London, 1611, 4to. 7. 'Mystical Babylon, or a Treatise on Apoc. xxiii. 2,' London, 1624, 4to. 8. 'A Miscellany of divers remarkable Passages and Practices of Master Freeman, by T. H., rector of Hunton,' 1655 (appended to R. Boreham's 'Mirrour of Mercy and Judgment').

[Wood's Athenæ Oxon. (Bliss), 1813, ii. 195, iii. 482–6; Watt's Bibl. Brit. 1824, p. 495; Hazlitt's Collection Series, 1882, ii. 283; Sir E. Hoby's Letter, 1609.] N. D. F. P.

**HIGGONS**, SIR THOMAS (1624–1691), diplomatist and author, born in 1624, was the son of Thomas Higgons, D.D., rector of Westbury, Shropshire, by his second wife, Elizabeth, daughter of Richard Barker of Haghmond Abbey in the same county (LE NEVE, *Pedigrees of Knights*, Harl. Soc. p. 172). In the beginning of 1638 he became a commoner of St. Alban Hall, Oxford, but left the university without a degree, and afterwards travelled into Italy. Soon after his return, in 1647 or 1648, he married Elizabeth, widow (having been second wife) of Robert Devereux, third Earl of Essex [q. v.], and daughter of Sir William Paulet, knt., of Edington, Wiltshire. He delivered an affecting oration at her funeral on 16 Sept. 1656, which he had printed in the same year. From its extreme scarcity, most of the copies would appear to have been afterwards destroyed. In January 1658–9 Higgons, being then resident at Grewell, near Odiham, Southampton, was elected M.P. for Malmesbury, Wiltshire, and for New Windsor, Berkshire, on 9 April 1661. He was knighted on 17 June 1663. His services to the crown were rewarded with a pension of 500*l.* a year, and gifts to the amount of 4,000*l.* (*A Seasonable Argument to perswade all the Grand Juries in England to petition for a Parliament*, 1677, p. 3). In 1665 he was engaged on some diplomatic business at Paris (*Cal. State Papers*, Dom. 1664–5 p. 396, 1665–6 p. 28). In 1669 he was sent as envoy extraordinary to invest John George, duke and elector of Saxony, with the order of the Garter. About four years afterwards he went as envoy to Vienna, where he continued for three years. On 29 April 1685 he became M.P. for St. Germans, Cornwall. He died suddenly of apoplexy in the court of king's bench on 24 Nov. 1691, having been summoned there as a witness in a cause pending between Elizabeth, duchess of Albemarle, and his brother-in-law, John, earl of Bath. He was buried in Winchester Cathedral on 3 Dec., near the remains of his first wife. By Lady Essex he had two daughters, Elizabeth and Frances. He married secondly, by license dated 11 Nov. 1661, Bridget (*d.* 1692), widow of Symon Leach, of Cadeleigh, Devonshire, and daughter of Sir Bevil Grenville, knt., of Stowe, Cornwall (CHESTER, *London Marriage Licenses*, ed. Foster, col. 679), by whom he had three sons, George, Thomas, and Bevil [q. v.], and three daughters, Grace, wife of the Rev. Sir George Wheeler, knt., of Sherfield, co. Southampton, Jane, and Bridget. Higgons was also author of: 1. 'A Panegyrick [in verse] to the King [Charles II, on his restoration],' fol., London, 1660. 2. 'The History of Isuf Bassa, Captain-general of the Ottoman Army at the Invasion of Candia' (anon.), 8vo, London, 1684. He likewise translated from the Italian of G. F. Busenello 'A Prospective of the Naval Triumph of the Venetians over the Turk' (anon.), 8vo, London, 1658, in verse, for which he was complimented by Waller, who addressed a poem to Mrs. Higgons.

[Wood's Athenæ Oxon. (Bliss), iv. 343–5; Chalmers's Biog. Dict. xvii. 465–6; Evelyn's Diary (1850–2), ii. 259; Le Neve's Pedigrees of Knights (Harl. Soc.), pp. 35, 366; Lists of Members of Parliament, Official Return, pt. i.; wills of Sir Thomas Higgons (P. C. C. 213, Vere), and Lady Bridget Higgons (P. C. C. 38, Fane).] G. G.

**HIGGS**, GRIFFIN or GRIFFITH (1589–1659), dean of Lichfield, born in 1589 at South Stoke, Oxfordshire, was the second

son of Griffin Higgs, yeoman of that place, by Sarah, daughter of Robert Paine of Caversham in the same county. After attending Reading school he entered St. John's College, Oxford, in 1606, and acquired very high reputation both as an orator and disputant. He graduated B.A. on 28 June 1610 (Wood, *Fasti Oxon.* ed. Bliss, i. 337), and some time afterwards wrote a life of Sir Thomas White, the founder of the college, in Latin verse, which is still preserved in manuscript in the college library. Bound up with it is another manuscript by Higgs, entitled 'A True and Faithfull Relation of the Risinge and Fall of Thomas Tucker, Prince of Alba Fortunata, Lord of St. John's, with all the Occurrents which happened throughout his whole Domination,' an account of the mock ceremonies on choosing a lord of misrule at Christmas (Coxe, *Cat. of Oxford MSS.* St. John's College, p. 15). Of this narration 250 copies were printed in 1816 by Philip Bliss, under the title of 'An Account of the Christmas Prince, as it was exhibited in the University of Oxford in 1607,' 4to, London. Appended are several extracts from the dramas acted on the occasion. In 1611 Higgs was elected probationer fellow of Merton College, and proceeding M.A. on 27 June 1615 (Wood, *Fasti*, &c., i. 362), had two small cures successively bestowed on him by the college. He served the office of senior proctor 1622–3 (*ib.* i. 404) 'with great courage, tho' of little stature.' He commenced B.D. on 1 April 1625 (*ib.* i. 423), and in 1627 went to the Hague as chaplain to Elizabeth, queen of Bohemia, in which capacity he remained for twelve years. His preaching was greatly admired by the queen, who made him several presents, as he mentioned in his will. On 12 Feb. 1629–30 he took his doctor's degree at Leyden, and was incorporated at Oxford on the 27th of that month (*ib.* i. 452). By Laud's interest he was collated precentor of St. David's on 21 May 1631 (Le Neve, *Fasti*, ed. Hardy, i. 316), instituted vicar of West Cliffe, Kent, about 1636 (Hasted, *Kent*, iv. 32), and in 1638 made dean of Lichfield (Le Neve, i. 563), 'the cathedral of which,' says Wood, 'he adorned to his great charge.' He was also chaplain in ordinary to the king.

When the civil war broke out he lost all his preferments, and retired to South Stoke, but afterwards to Oxford, where he remained until its surrender. For this he was adjudged a delinquent and his estate sequestered. He only obtained a pardon by paying a fine of 480*l.* on 21 Sept. 1647 (*Commons' Journals*, v. 310). Higgs died unmarried at South Stoke on 16 Dec. 1659, and was buried in the chancel of the church. By will dated 22 Aug. 1659 (P. C. C. 8, Nabbs) he gave 5*l.* to the church of South Stoke, and 100*l.* to buy land for the poor of that town. He also gave 600*l.* to purchase free land of socage to the value of 30*l.* a year for the maintenance of a schoolmaster there, the purchase to be made by the warden and fellows of Merton College, who were appointed patrons of the school to be erected at South Stoke. He left 100*l.* to buy divinity books for the Bodleian Library, and to Merton and St. John's Colleges for the like purpose 50*l.* apiece. His library, which had been scattered during the war, the greatest portion being kept at Stafford, he left to Merton College, with provision for a librarian's salary of 10*l.* annually, but the corporation of Stafford successfully resisted the attempts of the college to obtain the books. Higgs likewise gave money to found a divinity lecture at Merton College, and 15*l.* annually to augment the allowance of the postmasters there.

His other writings are: 1. 'Problemata Theologica,' 4to, Leyden, 1630. 2. 'Miscellaneæ Theses Theologicæ,' defended by him when he was made D.D., 4to, Leyden, 1630. He left other works in manuscript. He has verses in 'Ultima Linea Savilii,' 1622.

The Griffith Higgs of South Stoke whose curious epitaph is printed in 'Notes and Queries,' 1st ser. vol. x. p. 266, was Higgs's nephew. He died in 1693, not 1698.

[Wood's Athenæ Oxon. ed. Bliss, iii. 479–82; Hunter's Chorus Vatum, v. 435 (Addit. MS. 24491).] G. G.

**HIGHAM, JOHN** (*fl.* 1639), catholic writer. [See Heigham.]

**HIGHAM, THOMAS** (1796–1844), engraver, born in 1796, was a line-engraver under the Findens, and engraved several plates after J. D. Harding, S. Prout, and others for Moore's 'Life of Byron,' published in 1833. He exhibited some engravings at the Society of Artists in 1820 and 1833. Higham engraved plates after J. M. W. Turner, R.A., for the 'Rivers of France,' Whitaker's 'Richmondshire,' and similar works. A view of Helmingham Hall in Suffolk by Higham was engraved by J. Greig. He died in 1844.

[Graves's Dict. of Artists, 1760–1880; notes from engravings in the print room, Brit. Mus.] L. C.

**HIGHMORE, ANTHONY** (1758–1829), legal writer, son of Anthony Highmore [see under Highmore, Joseph], draughtsman, and grandson of Joseph Highmore [q. v.] the painter, was born in London in 1758. In 1766 he was sent to school under Dr. Burney at Greenwich, and commenced practice as a soli-

citor in 1783. Highmore was an intimate friend of Granville Sharp [q. v.], and was active in opposition to the slave trade. He also took part in promoting the change brought about by Fox's act on the law of libel. During the alarm created by the threatened invasion he became a member of the Honourable Artillery Company. In 1808 a bill was brought before parliament 'to prevent the spreading of the infection of the small-pox.' No medical practitioner was to inoculate for the small-pox within three miles of any town, and provisions were made for isolating small-pox patients. Highmore, though a believer in vaccination, opposed this bill in 'A Statement of some Objections to the Bill as amended by the Committee of the House of Commons to Prevent the Spreading of the Infection of the Small-Pox,' 1808. Charles Murray replied in the same year in 'An Answer to Mr. Highmore's Objections.' Highmore was secretary to the London Lying-in Hospital. He died at Dulwich 19 July 1829.

Besides a number of contributions to the 'Gentleman's Magazine' Highmore also wrote: 1. 'A Digest of the Doctrine of Bail in Civil and Criminal Cases; compiled from the various Authorities and Reports of Cases adjudged,' &c., 1783. 2. 'A Succinct View of the History of Mortmain and the Statutes relative to Charitable Uses; with a full Exposition of the late Statute of Mortmain, 9 George II, c. 36, and its subsequent Alterations,' 1787; 2nd edition, enlarged, 1809. 3. 'Reflections on the distinction usually adopted in Criminal Prosecutions for Libel, and on the method lately introduced of pronouncing Verdicts in consequence of such distinction,' 1791. 4. 'Addenda to the Law of Charitable Uses,' 1793. 5. 'A Practical Arrangement of the Laws relative to the Excise,' 2 vols., 1796. 6. 'The History of the Honourable Artillery Company of the City of London from its earliest Annals to the Peace of 1802,' 1804; written at the suggestion of the court of assistants. 7. 'A Treatise on the Law of Idiotcy and Lunacy,' 1807; American edit., 1822. 8. 'Statement of some Objections,' &c., 1808 (see above). 9. 'A Letter to William Wilberforce, Esq., M.P., relative to the second Bill introduced by him to the House of Commons . . . for Registering Charitable Donations,' &c., 1810. 10. 'Observations on the Amended Bill now depending in the House of Commons "For the Registering and securing of Charitable Donations for the benefit of poor persons in England,"' 1810. 11. 'Pietas Londinensis: the History, Design, and Present State of the various Public Charities in and near London,' 1810. 12. 'The Attorneys and Solicitors' new Pocket-Book and Conveyancers' Assistant, by F. C. Jones . . . Third edition, with corrections and additional modern precedents, by Anthony Highmore,' 1814, 12mo. 13. 'An Arrangement of the Accounts necessary to be kept by Executors of Wills and Codicils and Administrators of Intestates' Estates. To which are prefixed Tables of the New Duties on Probates and Administrations,' 1815; 2nd edit., enlarged, 1821. 14. 'Philanthropia Metropolitana: a View of the Charitable Institutions established in and near London chiefly during the last twelve years,' 1822. In 1876 an account of 'A Ramble on the Coast of Sussex in 1782' was edited by C. Hindley from a manuscript of Highmore.

[Gent. Mag. 1829, ii. 180 et seq.; Biog. Dict. of Living Authors, 1816; Brit. Mus. Cat.]

F. W–T.

**HIGHMORE, JOSEPH** (1692–1780), painter, third son of Edward Highmore, a coal merchant in Thames Street, London, was born in the parish of St. James, Garlickhithe, on 13 June 1692. As he showed at an early age a strong predilection for painting, his father wished to place him under an uncle, Thomas Highmore [q.v.], the serjeant-painter. This fell through, and Highmore was articled to an attorney for seven years on 18 July 1707. His natural taste for drawing, however, declared itself, and he spent his leisure hours in studying geometry, perspective, &c., and attending the anatomical lectures of Dr. Cheselden. He eventually entered himself as a student in the new academy of painting in Great Queen Street, where he worked for ten years, and gained the special notice of its director, Sir Godfrey Kneller. On the expiration of his apprenticeship he took up painting as a profession, and in March 1715 settled in the city. As his practice increased he removed his establishment to Lincoln's Inn Fields, where he lived for many years. Highmore was noted by his contemporaries for his study of the scientific side of his art, and his sobriety, independence, and steadfastness of judgment (see Vertue's MSS. *Brit. Mus. Add. MS.* 23076). He was a careful student of perspective, and grounded his system on Dr. Brook Taylor's 'Linear Perspective.' He made some drawings for Cheselden's 'Anatomy,' published in 1722. His first important work was the series of portrait-drawings which he undertook for 'The Installation of the Knights of the Bath on June 17, 1725,' by John Pine [q. v.] the engraver. Highmore made careful studies of portraits for this work; his portrait of the Duke of Richmond and his three esquires is now at Goodwood. Highmore was

employed by the king to paint the portrait of Prince William, afterwards Duke of Cumberland, and also painted the Prince and Princess of Wales. He did not succeed in getting sittings from the king and queen, but from frequent observation composed portraits of them, which were engraved, and enjoyed some popularity. In the same way he executed portraits of the Duke of Lorraine and the Misses Gunning. In 1744 he painted a series of twelve illustrations to Richardson's 'Pamela;' these were engraved by A. Benoist and L. Truchy, and excited much notice. He also painted Richardson himself; one version is in the National Portrait Gallery, and another, with a companion picture of the novelist's wife, hangs in Stationers' Hall. Among other notabilities painted by him were the queen of Denmark, General Wolfe when young, Dr. Young, Heidegger, Sir James Thornhill, Thomas Hollis (of Harvard College), and the Rev. Henry Stebbing, the last being in the National Portrait Gallery. At Revesby Abbey, Lincolnshire, also, there are some good portraits by Highmore. He painted his faces rapidly at one sitting, if possible, and obtained good likenesses, though with some sacrifice of grace and elegance. His conversation-pieces were notable, and much of his work has been ascribed to Hogarth. He painted subject-pictures with less success, such as 'Hagar and Ishmael,' which he presented to the Foundling Hospital, 'The Good Samaritan,' 'The Finding of Moses,' 'The Graces unveiling Nature, &c. Many of his portraits were engraved in mezzotint by J. Faber, jun., and others.

Highmore was also a prolific author, and wrote numerous essays on literary and religious questions, some of which were published in the 'Gentleman's Magazine.' He published two valuable pamphlets on perspective, viz. 'A Critical Examination of the Ceiling painted by Rubens in the Banqueting House,' 1754, 4to, and 'The Practice of Perspective on the Principles of Dr. Brook Taylor,' 1763. In these pamphlets, written some years before publication, Highmore criticised the views of Dr. Taylor and others with some force. In 1761, on the marriage of his daughter Susanna to the Rev. John Duncombe of Canterbury, Highmore retired from his profession, sold his collection of pictures, and in 1762 removed to their house at Canterbury, where he spent the rest of his life. He died in March 1780, and was buried in the cathedral 'in the Body of the Church, and wrapped in sheep's wool' (Harl. Soc. Publications, *Register Canterbury Cathedral*). He also left by his wife Susanna, daughter of Anthony Hiller, one son, Anthony (see below). Highmore was a man of mark in his day, agreeable in conversation, sound in learning, a traveller, and, if not an interesting painter, a faithful adherent to his own system of painting. An etched portrait, done by himself, is said to be his own portrait.

HIGHMORE, ANTHONY (1719–1799), draughtsman, only son of the above, drew five views of Hampton Court, which were engraved by J. Tinney. He was deaf, and resided principally at Canterbury, where he occupied himself with the study of theology. He married early in life Anna Maria, daughter of the Rev. Seth Ellis of Brampton, Derbyshire, and died on 3 Oct. 1799, in his eighty-first year. They had fifteen children, one of whom was Anthony Highmore [q. v.]

[Gent. Mag. l. (1780) 154, lxix. (1799) 995; Vertue's MSS. (Brit. Mus. Add. MS. 23068, &c.); Redgrave's Dict. of Artists; Seguier's Dict. of Painters; J. Chaloner Smith's British Mezzotinto Portraits; information from G. Scharf, C.B.] L. C.

**HIGHMORE, NATHANIEL,** M.D. (1613–1685), physician, son of Nathaniel Highmore, rector of Candel-Purse, Dorsetshire, was born at Fordingbridge, Hampshire, on 6 Feb. 1613. He entered at Trinity College, Oxford, in 1632, graduated M.B. in 1641, and M.D. in 1642, and was still in residence when Harvey, the discoverer of the circulation of the blood, came to Oxford with the king after the battle of Edgehill. They became friends, and in 1651 Highmore, who had settled in practice at Sherburne, Dorsetshire, dedicated to Harvey his first work, 'Corporis Humani disquisitio anatomica in qua sanguinis circulationem prosequutus est.' This treatise was published at the Hague, and, like most of the books on anatomy of its period, gives an account of pathological appearances and of comparative anatomy, as well as of the normal structure of the human body. He was familiar with the anatomy of the dog and of the sheep, and had dissected an ostrich. Though perfectly sound in his views as regards the circulation of the blood, the physiological remarks of Highmore are sometimes mediæval. Thus he believed in an 'alexipharmaca dispositio vitalium,' which enabled an Oxford student of his acquaintance to devour spiders with impunity. His plates are based on those of Vesalius, and he frequently attacks Spigelius. The book is never read now, but one passage in it has made the author's name familiar to all students of anatomy. He describes accurately (p. 226 a table xvi.) the cavity in the superior ma bone, to which his attention was a lady patient, in whom an

cavity, ever since known as the antrum of Highmore, was drained by the extraction of the left canine tooth. He became a magistrate for Dorsetshire, and attained considerable practice as a physician. He never took fees from the clergy. He also published in 1651 'A History of Generation, examining the Opinions of Sir Kenelm Digby, with a Discourse of the Cure of Wounds by Sympathy,' a work containing some careful observations on the development of the chick. In 1660 he published at Oxford 'Exercitationes duæ . . . De Passione Hysterica et de Affectione Hypochondriaca;' 3rd ed., Jena, 1677; and a few years later some remarks on Scarborough spa, and an account of springs at Farindon and East Chenock. He died at Sherburne on 21 March 1685, and was buried on the south side of the chancel of the church of Candel-Purse. He had made his will on 4 March 1684, and by it endowed an exhibition to Oxford from Sherburne school, and left his tables of the muscles to the physic school at Oxford. There is a small portrait of him on the title-page of his anatomy (1651), and one drawn in 1676 in Hutchins's 'Dorset.'

[Works; Hutchins's Dorsetshire, vol. iv.]
N. M.

**HIGHMORE, THOMAS** (*d.* 1720), serjeant-painter, was son of Abraham Highmore, and cousin of Nathaniel Highmore, M.D. [q. v.] He was created serjeant-painter to William III. Sir James Thornhill [q. v.], who was lineally related to him, was apprenticed to Highmore, and eventually succeeded him in his office as serjeant-painter. Highmore died towards the close of 1720. He was brother to Edward Highmore, the father of Joseph Highmore [q. v.]

[Redgrave's Dict. of Artists; Hutchins's Hist. of Dorset (new edit.), ii. 461.] L. C.

**HIGHTON, HENRY** (1816–1874), scientific writer, born at Leicester in 1816, was eldest son of Henry Highton of that town. He spent five years at Rugby School, under Dr. Arnold, and matriculated at Queen's College, Oxford, 13 March 1834. After leaving school, he continued on intimate terms with Dr. Arnold. A letter (5 April 1837) from Arnold to him on the religious duty of cultivating the intellect is printed in Stanley's 'Life of Arnold.' Highton proceeded B.A. in 1837 (M.A. in 1840), obtaining a first-class in classics, and was Mitchell fellow of his college in 1840–1. He was assistant-master at Rugby School from 1841 to 1859, and principal of Cheltenham College from the latter date till 1862. On 23 Dec. 1874 died at The Cedars, Putney, where he had for several years.

In 1842 Highton offered some advice as to the recovery of the Israelitish 'nationality lost for 1800 years' in a printed letter addressed to Sir Moses Montefiore. In 1849 he published some sermons; in 1851 a 'Catechism of the Second Advent;' and in 1862 a revised translation of the New Testament. In 1863 appeared his 'Letter to the Lord Bishop of London on the Repeal of the Act of Uniformity and the True Principles of Church Reform,' criticising the Athanasian Creed—a 'sore of long standing'—the burial service, 'fabulous holidays,' &c. Highton's last theological work was 'Dean Stanley and Saint Socrates, the Ethics of the Philosopher and the Philosophy of the Divine,' 1873. It was an attack on Stanley when chosen select preacher to the university of Oxford for his 'consistent opposition to evangelical truth.' In 1873 Highton published a translation of some of Victor Hugo's poems.

Meanwhile Highton had paid some attention to practical physics, especially to the application of electricity to telegraphy. On 1 May 1872 he read before the Society of Arts a paper on 'Telegraphy without Insulation,' as a cheap means of international communication, in which he refers to a systematic series of experiments with different lengths of wire dropped in the Thames, and with a gold-leaf instrument which had 'twenty-six years previously been adapted [by him] for telegraphic purposes.' The paper was accompanied by several experiments illustrating the entire field of electrical physics. The society conferred on Highton their silver medal for the paper. He afterwards read another on galvanic batteries; and various letters of his are printed in the society's journal on Atlantic telegraphy, the science of energy, &c. He also invented and patented an artificial stone which came into considerable use for paving and building purposes.

[Foster's Alumni Oxon.; Rugby School Register; Times, 24 Dec. 1874; Journal Soc. Arts, xx. 506, 657, 861, &c., xxi. 59, 62, 843, &c.]
R. E. A.

**HIGSON, JOHN** (1825–1871), local antiquary and topographer, of Lees, near Ashton-under-Lyne, Lancashire, was born in 1825 at Whitely Farm, Gorton, Lancashire. He resided for many years at Droylsden, where he was employed as cashier of the Springhead Cotton-spinning Company, was a zealous supporter of the Droylsden Mechanics' Institute, and an active church worker for years at Leesfield. He died at Lees, 13 Dec. 1871, leaving a widow and seven children.

[illegible]

[illegible] The poem to Abelard is [illegible] and printed at Paris [illegible] French [illegible] Dunod and Lazara are [illegible] Mysteres, pp. [illegible] The poem to Abelard is [illegible] abbot, and [illegible] resistance. He also

obtained letters from the pope to support his claims, though when charged indignantly with this by Henry I he denied it. The dispute was heard before the king at Colchester in 1157. Becket was present as chancellor, and took a decided part against the bishop, which may probably have influenced his after conduct. Henry obliged the bishop to abandon his claims, and to give the abbat the kiss of peace (see *Materials for History of Becket*, iv. 244). Hilary was one of the two bishops sent by the king from abroad with Richard de Lucy to convey to the chapter of Canterbury his will that Becket should be elected archbishop. At the council of Westminster (1163), when the king urged Becket and the bishops to accept unreservedly the 'avitæ consuetudines' while they contended for the qualifying clause of 'salvo ordine suo,' Hilary, thinking to effect a compromise, proposed the substitution of the words 'bonâ fide' for 'salvo ordine suo;' but this pleased neither side, and was rejected. After the meeting at Northampton in the same autumn, Henry induced Hilary and some of the other bishops to use their influence with Becket, and Hilary accordingly went to the archbishop's house at Teynham, but failed to produce any effect by his arguments. At the council of Northampton in October 1164 Hilary was present, and was one of the bishops who on 10 Oct. went to Becket's lodgings and urged him to yield to the king's demands. Becket refused, but three days later when he appeared in the royal court, Hilary, speaking on behalf of the other bishops, once more urged Becket to have regard to the dangers of the time, and 'yield to the royal will, though only for a while.' Again the archbishop rejected his advice, and then Hilary declared that Becket was guilty of breaking his oath of fidelity to the king, and summoned him to appear before the pope on a fixed day. The archbishop said, 'I hear you.' Soon, however, after this outburst Hilary made another attempt at compromise. He proposed that Becket, instead of paying the sum demanded of him, should offer to give up to the king certain manors belonging to the see. The archbishop indignantly refused, saying he would rather lose his head. Then followed Becket's flight and his honourable reception by the pope at Sens. The embassy which Henry immediately despatched after him (in November 1164) included the bishop of Chichester. Here the ambitious eloquence of Hilary was destined to receive a terrible downfall. In the course of his appeal to the pope to check Becket's presumption he used in his excitement 'oportuebat' instead of 'oporteret.' A loud laugh interrupted the unfortunate speaker. Some one shouted out, 'You have got into port at last, but not without damage.' 'The bishop stood dumb and speechless.' Hilary seems to have fallen out of favour with the king after this (*Mat. Hist. Becket*, v. 218), but to have afterwards recovered his position, and was one of those who granted absolution to those excommunicated by Becket in 1167, and on 27 Nov. of the same year was present at the meeting of Agentan. Hilary assisted at the consecration of a number of bishops, including that of Becket (see GERVASE, i. 138, 142, 148, 162, and 171). He died in 1169 (*Ann. Monast.* ii. 59, 339, iv. 382).

Hilary would appear to have been a man of moderate opinions, who, endeavouring to steer a middle course, lost the confidence of either side, and Becket spoke of him as 'the one among the brethren who played the part of Judas the Traitor.' He is described as a man wonderful for learning, and having at his command 'words many and full of persuasion,' and as 'much given to pompous speech.'

[Materials for History of Becket, Gervase of Canterbury, and Annales Monastici, all in the Rolls Series; Life of Becket by J. C. Robertson, London, 1859.] G. G. P.

**HILDA** (or more properly **HILD**), SAINT (614–680), abbess of Whitby, was of the royal Northumbrian line. Her father, Hereric, was nephew of Edwin, king of Northumbria. Her mother's name was Bregswid or Beorthswith (FLOR. WIG. *Mon. Hist. Brit.* p. 632). Her elder sister, Hereswid, became wife to Ethelhere, brother and successor of Anna, king of the East-Angles (BÆDA, *Hist. Eccl.* iv. 23). Hilda's parents were driven in her childhood from their home by Ethelfrith the Fierce, and took refuge in the British district of Elmete in the West Riding of Yorkshire, where Hereric was poisoned by the petty king Cerdic. Edwin, to avenge his nephew's death, deposed Cerdic and annexed his territory. Hilda thereupon became an inmate of her great-uncle's court. Together with him and his nobles she was baptised at the age of thirteen by Paulinus at York on Easter even, 11 April 627, 'the birthday of the Northumbrian church.' Before 647 Hilda's sister Hereswid became a nun in the convent of Chelles, near Paris. About that date Hilda, who was then thirty-three years old, went to East Anglia with a view to joining her sister in France. At the end of a year, however, she was recalled to Northumbria by St. Aidan, bishop of Lindisfarne, and established by him with a small band of companions, under monastic disci-

pline, on the north bank of the Wear. Here she passed another year. In 649 she was appointed by Aidan to succeed Heiu as abbess of the religious house which Heiu had founded at Hartlepool. Here, Bæda tells us, she 'took pains to rule her house according to such maxims of monastic discipline as she could learn from wise men.' Aidan and other holy men who 'held her in high regard often visited her and gave her advice' (*ib.* iv. 23). After his decisive victory over Penda of Mercia, 15 Nov. 655, Oswy, king of Northumbria, as a thankoffering, committed the care of his infant daughter Ælflæd [see under EANFLÆD] to Hilda, to be brought up as a nun (*ib.* iii. 24). About two years later (657), on having obtained possession of an estate of ten hides on the headland of Streaneshalch—renamed Whitby by the Danes—Hilda there founded a monastery for the religious of both sexes, of which she assumed the government, taking with her the royal child Ælflæd, who subsequently succeeded her as abbess (*ib.*) Here, in Bæda's words, she, whom all who knew her called 'mother,' taught her charge 'to practise thoroughly all virtues, but especially peace and love, so that, after the pattern of the primitive church, no one there was rich and no one was poor, but all had all things in common, for nothing seemed to be the property of any individual' (*ib.* iv. 23).

Hilda's new monastery speedily became the most celebrated religious house in the north-east of England, and here in the spring of 664 was held the famous conference between the adherents of the Roman and the Scotic rule as to the celebration of Easter and other matters of ritual. Hilda, Bæda informs us, had previously observed the Scotic rule, but when that practice was condemned she hastened to adopt the Roman rule. Her reputation for practical wisdom grew so that 'not only all ordinary folk resorted to her in their necessities, but even kings and princes sought counsel of her and found it' (*ib.*) Those who had been trained under her rule to a life of unanimity and unselfishness, 'devoting their time to the study of scripture and the practice of works of justice,' formed a school from which bishops gladly sought their candidates for holy orders. No fewer than five of the brethren (Bosa, Aetla, Oftfor, John, and Wilfrid—second of the name) became bishops, of whom three filled the see of York, and one of these, St. John of Beverley, obtained a place among canonised saints. The Anglo-Saxon poet, Cædmon [q. v.], originally a farm labourer on the monastic estate, at the command of Hilda became a brother of the house. Hilda shared in the Northumbrian feeling which condemned Wilfrid when he appealed to Rome against the division of his diocese; and joined with Archbishop Theodore in sending to accuse him before Pope Agatho (EDDIUS, *Vita Wilfridi*, c. 52). During the last six years of her life, although suffering from a succession of feverish attacks, she pursued her pious work unremittingly. She died, after receiving the Eucharist, on the night of 17 Nov. 680, in the seventh year of her illness and the sixty-sixth of her age. With her last words she exhorted the 'handmaids of Christ,' who stood round her, to maintain the peace of the gospel with each other and with all. A celestial vision vouchsafed to a sister named Begu is said to have apprised the nuns of Hackness, where in the last year of her life Hilda had formed a small dependent house, of the death of their great mother. St. Hilda is commemorated in the Roman calendar on 17 Nov., the festival of another English saint, St. Hugh, bishop of Lincoln.

[Bæda, Hist. Eccles. iii. 24, 25, iv. 23, 24; Dr. William Bright's Hist. of Early English Church, pp. 113, 123, 157, 170, 184, 192, 201, 282, 331; Dict. Christ. Biog.] E. V.

**HILDERSAM** or **HILDERSHAM, ARTHUR** (1563–1632), puritan divine, son of Thomas Hildersam, by his second wife, Anne Pole, was born at Stetchworth, Cambridgeshire, on 6 Oct. 1563. He was of royal descent through his mother, a daughter of Sir Geoffrey Pole, brother to Cardinal Pole. His parents, who were zealous Roman catholics, designed him for the priesthood; but in preparation for the university he was sent to the grammar school of Saffron Walden, Essex, where Desborough, the master, grounded him in protestant principles. In 1567 he was entered at Christ's College, Cambridge. Two years later his father removed him to London, intending to send him to Rome; on his declining to go, or to recede from his protestant convictions, he was disinherited. At this crisis he met in London John Ireton, fellow of his college, who took him to Henry Hastings, third earl of Huntingdon [q. v.], his mother's second cousin. Huntingdon provided for his return to Cambridge, where after graduating M.A. he was elected fellow in 1586. Barwell, the master of Christ's, refused to confirm the election, and the fellowship was given to Andrew Willet. Brook prints a very spirited protest addressed by Hildersam to Burghley, the chancellor. At Burghley's suggestion he was made divinity reader at Trinity Hall. He left the university in 1587, being appointed by Huntingdon (14 Sept.) lecturer at Ashby-de-la-Zouch, Leicestershire, the impropriate tithes being settled on him for life. Though with-

out orders or license, he preached at Ashby, setting forth the grievances of the puritans. Hence he was convened before the high commission, and made (10 Jan. 1589) a public confession of his faults. It is to be presumed that shortly after this he took orders, for he remained in his post at Ashby. In June 1590 he was suspended from the ministry by the high commission; in January 1592 he was permitted again to preach, but not at any place south of the Trent, which excluded him from Ashby. This condition was subsequently removed, it is said, by the favour of Elizabeth, who recognised him at court as 'cousin Hildersam.' On the death of Thomas Wyddowes, vicar of Ashby, Huntingdon presented (5 July 1593) Hildersam to the living, and he was instituted on 4 Oct. According to Neal, he was one of the five hundred beneficed clergy who declared their approbation of Cartwright's 'Book of Discipline.' His assize sermon in Leicester (midsummer 1596) was so unpalatable to the judge, Sir Edmund Anderson [q. v.], that he rose to leave the church, but Hildersam bade him stay. Anderson directed the grand jury to indict the preacher, but this they would not do. An attachment for his apprehension was issued by the high commission in 1598, apparently without result.

On the accession of James I, Hildersam was one of the most active managers of the so-called 'millenary' petition for church reforms, presented at Hampton Court in January 1604. William Chaderton [q. v.], bishop of Lincoln, silenced him for nonconformity on 24 April 1605. But William Overton, bishop of Coventry and Lichfield, licensed Hildersam for his diocese. In conjunction with William Bradshaw (1571–1618) [q. v.] and others, he conducted two weekly lectures at Burton-on-Trent, Staffordshire, and Repton, Derbyshire. William Barlow (*d.* 1613) [q. v.] restored him to Ashby in January 1609, whereupon a weekly lecture was re-established at Ashby. Neile, bishop of Coventry and Lichfield, suppressed (November 1611) the lectures at Burton and Repton, and, under a wrong impression, complained of Hildersam to the king as a teacher of the 'soul-sleeping' heresy. He had endeavoured to turn Edward Wightman [q. v.] from this opinion He was suspended by the high commission on 22 April 1613. In 1615, for refusing the 'ex officio' oath, he was imprisoned for three months in the Fleet and King's Bench. Next year, at the instance of Hacket, who had succeeded him as vicar of Ashby, he was prosecuted in the high commission court as a schismatic, chiefly on the allegation that he had declined to receive the communion kneeling. He was sentenced (28 Nov. 1616) to be imprisoned, degraded, and fined 2,000*l.* He compounded for the fine, and escaped imprisonment by remaining concealed. An invitation to the pastorate of the English church at Leyden was conveyed to him by John Hartly, one of its elders; but he declined it because of his wife's aversion to crossing the sea. He hid himself at Hampstead, in the house of Catherine Redich, widow of Alexander Redich, who had been the patron of his friend Bradshaw. Here, in the latter part of 1624, he lay seriously ill of fever. On 20 June 1625 Dr. Ridley, vicar-general of Abbot, archbishop of Canterbury, gave him a license to preach in the dioceses of London, Lincoln, and Coventry and Lichfield. He resumed (3 Aug.) his work at Ashby. Five years later he was again suspended (25 March 1630) for not using the surplice, but restored on 2 Aug. 1631. His last sermon was preached at Ashby on 27 Dec. 1631. He was attacked by a scorbutic fever, and died at Ashby on Sunday, 4 March 1632. He was buried in the chancel of his church on 6 March, without a funeral sermon, this being one of the provisions of his will. There is a monument to him on the south side of the chancel. He married (5 Jan. 1591) Anne (*d.* about 1640), daughter of Barfoot of Lambourne Hall, Essex, and had several children; his only son, Samuel, is separately noticed.

Hildersam probably owed his frequent suspensions to the prominence of his personal position, for while his convictions were strong, his spirit was not contentious. He was no separatist, but a church reformer. Lilly, the astrologer, who was at school at Ashby, speaks of him as 'a strong enemy to the Brownists,' and adds that 'most of the people in the town were directed by his judgment.' Willet, his old rival, calls him 'schismaticorum, qui vulgo Brownistæ, malleum,' in allusion to a disputation which he conducted (before 1606) with John Smyth, afterwards of Amsterdam. Fuller gives him a high character, observing that, 'though himself a non-conformist, he loved all honest men.' Echard commends 'his singular learning and piety.' Among those whom he encouraged to enter the ministry were Julines Herring [q. v.] and Simeon Ashe [q. v.]

He published: 1. 'A Treatise on the Ministry of the Church of England . . . whether it is to be separated from or to be joyned unto,' &c. [1595], 4to (two letters, one by 'A. H.,' the other a running commentary on it, by 'F: Io.,' i.e. Francis Johnson [q. v.]) 2. 'The Doctrine of Communicating worthily in the Lord's Supper, delivered by way of Question and Answer,' &c., 1617, 12mo (in-

cluded in W. Bridshaw's 'A Preparation to the Receiving of the Sacrament,' &c.; 7th edit. 1622. Lectures upon the Fourth [illegible] &c. 1629, fol., edited by J. [illegible] Chancellor of Bromfield, Salop; posthumous 1632, fol., and 1647, fol. Posthumous works: 4. 'The Doctrine of Fasting and Prayer,' and 'Humiliation,' &c. 1632, fol. Sermons at Ashby, 1625 and 1629, edited by his son Samuel. [illegible] LII Lectures upon Psalms LI, &c. 1656, fol. Lectures at Ashby, edited by his son Samuel, and entitled 1642. [illegible] translation into Hungarian, with additions by M. Nagyali, was published at Kolozsvar, 1672.

'Clarke's Lives of Thirty-two English Divines,' 1677, pp. 142 sq. [illegible] the account was drawn up by Samuel Ashe from materials furnished by Samuel Hildersam from his father's papers. 'Miscellanies Biographica Hungarica,' 1784, [illegible] 5 sq. 'Brook's Lives of the Puritans,' 1813, [illegible] 373 sq. 'Bradley's Memoirs of Hildersam,' 1819, [illegible] with [illegible] from Hildersam's works. 'Bradley has not his transcript to Brook.' 'Fuller's Church Hist.,' 1655, xi. 142 sq. 'W. Lilly's Life and Times,' 1774, p. 6. 'Neal's Hist. of the Puritans,' 1822, [illegible] 387, 394, n. 197; 'Nichols's Leicestershire,' iii. 626; 'Cole's manuscript Athenæ Cantabr.'] A. G.

**HILDERSAM or HILDERSHAM, SAMUEL,** (1594?–1674?), nonconformist divine, only son of Arthur Hildersam [q.v.], was born at Ashby-de-la-Zouch, Leicestershire, about 1594. He was educated at Emmanuel College, Cambridge, and became fellow and B.D. In 1628 he was presented by William Cokayne, a merchant in Austin Friars, to the rectory of West Felton, Shropshire, having been ordained by an Irish bishop, without subscription. The reputation he attained was that of a good preacher and sound expositor, of quiet habits, kindly to the younger clergy, and 'very much a gentleman.' He was a member, but not an original member, of the Westminster Assembly, which he seldom attended. His signature to the testimony of Shropshire ministers in 1648 is evidence of his presbyterianism. Ejected from West Felton by the Uniformity Act of 1662, he made no attempt to continue his ministry, but retired to the house of a relative at Erdington, a hamlet in the parish of Aston, near Birmingham, Warwickshire. Here he died in April 1674, at the age of eighty, and was buried in Aston churchyard, without funeral sermon, by his own order. He married Mary daughter of Sir Henry Goodyear of Polesworth, Warwickshire, who survived him.

Baxter and Matthew Henry speak highly of his abilities and character. He is the author of dedicatory epistles to the two posthumous volumes of his father's sermons and lectures.

['Calamy's Account,' 1713, pp. 566 sq.; Calamy's Continuation, 1727, p. 723; Neal's Hist. of the Puritans, 1822, iii. 47; 'Hildersam's Works; Williams's Life of P. Henry,' 1825, p. 458.] A. G.

**HILDESLEY, JOHN** (*fl.* 1538), bishop of Rochester. [See HILSEY.]

**HILDESLEY, MARK,** D.D. (1698–1772), bishop of Sodor and Man, born at Marston, Kent, on 9 Dec. 1698, was eldest surviving son of Mark Hildesley, rector of Marston and also vicar of Sittingbourne from 1706. In 1710 the father became rector of Houghton, which he held with the chapel of Wilton or Wyton All Saints, Huntingdonshire. About that time the son was sent to the Charterhouse School, London, where the learned Jortin was a schoolfellow. At the age of nineteen he was removed to Trinity College, Cambridge, and graduated B.A. in 1720, and M.A. in 1724. He was elected a fellow of his college in October 1723, and about the same time was appointed steward. He had been ordained deacon in 1722, and on 29 March 1723 Lord Cobham appointed him one of his domestic chaplains. In February 1724–5 he was nominated a preacher at Whitehall by Dr. Edmund Gibson, bishop of London. From 1725 till the end of 1729 he was curate of Yelling, Huntingdonshire. In February 1730–1 he was presented to the college vicarage of Hitchin, Hertfordshire, and married in the same year. He incurred great expense in improving the vicarage house, and, to augment his income, took six pupils as boarders. On 18 Jan. 1733–4 he was appointed chaplain to Henry, viscount St. John, the famous lord Bolingbroke; in October 1735 rector of Holwell, Bedfordshire, and on 10 May 1742 chaplain to John, viscount St. John. In 1750 he became an honorary member of the Gentlemen's Literary Society, established at Spalding, Lincolnshire. On 20 Feb. 1753–4 he was collated to the prebend of Marston St. Lawrence in the church of Lincoln (LE NEVE, *Fasti*, ed. Hardy, ii. 184). His tenure of the rectory of Holwell extended over thirty-two years (1735–67), and his exemplary conduct there recommended him to the notice of the Duke of Atholl, lord of the Isle of Man, who nominated him to the see of Sodor and Man. After being created D.D. at Lambeth by Archbishop Herring on 7 April 1755 (*Gent. Mag.* 1864, pt. i. 637), he was consecrated in Whitehall Chapel on the 27th, and on 6 Aug. following was installed in the cathedral of St. German, Peel Castle, Isle of

Man. He [illegible]
*in commendation* [illegible]
sented by Bish[illegible]
of Christ's Hosp[illegible]
ham.

Hildesley devote[illegible]
viding his Manx flock [illegible]
of the Holy Scripture[illegible]
On 28 Nov. 1772 he re[illegible]
of the work, and died [illegible]
years of failing health. [illegible]
wife, Elizabeth Hoker, [illegible]
1731, died without issue [illegible]

Of twenty thousand pe[illegible]
Man, few in Hildesley's d[illegible]
with English. A Manx [illegible]
New Testament had been [illegible]
decessor, Bishop Wilson. H[illegible]
was to supply a complete t[illegible]
whole bible. He himsel[illegible]
sufficiently well to conduc[illegible]
the church in that language, [illegible]
quired it perfectly. 'He wou[illegible]
he once said, 'were he enough n[illegible]
as to be able to translate.' To [illegible]
study, John Kelly (1750-1809) [illegible]
posed for his use a grammar an[illegible]
At first, with the sanction and su[illegible]
Society for Promoting Christian K[illegible]
which liberally encouraged the u[illegible]
Hildesley printed the New Testame[illegible]
Book of Common Prayer, translated, [illegible]
direction, by the clergy of the diocese [illegible]
as the 'Christian Monitor,' Lewis's [illegible]
tion of the Catechism,' and Bishop W[illegible]
'Form of Prayer' for the use of the [illegible]
fishermen. But he received such n[illegible]
assistance that about 1766 he made ar[illegible]
ments for the translation of the Old [illegible]
ment, dividing it for this purpose into [illegible]
four parts, which he distributed amo[illegible]
many translators, nearly all resident [illegible]
island, and, with one exception, clergy[illegible]
Their names and the books of script[illegible]
lotted to them are given in Butler's 'L[illegible]
Bishop Hildesley' (pp. 252-6). The [illegible]
was committed for final revision to [illegible]
Rev. Philip Moore (q. v.) and the Rev. J[illegible]
Kelly. The first volume of the transla[illegible]
was completed on 2 July 1771; the [illegible]
volume was ready for the press on 6 A[illegible]
1772; and all was finished and tran[illegible]
in December of the same year, at the [illegible]
of the Bishop's death. The work was pri[illegible]
at Whitehaven under the title of: 'Y [illegible]
Vible Casherick: ny, yn Chenn Chonam[illegible]
Voih ny chied, hlargyhyn, dy kiaal [illegible]
chyndut ayns Gaielg; [illegible] shen dy [illegible]
cheugey ny mayney Ellan Vannin.' It [illegible]
published in 1773. General Vallancey, in [illegible]
'Grammar of the Irish Language,' spea[illegible]



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[illegible]f Lincoln's

[illegible] Epigram-
Latinum,
Plauti Me-
A. Plauti
[illegible]xit,' 1839.
[illegible] the Rich
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[illegible] for the
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[illegible]d.' 1844.
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**HILDILID**, SAINT (*fl.* 700), abbess of Barking, was, according to the legendary life of Erkenwald or Earconwald [q. v.], bishop of London, of foreign origin, and Reyner has inferred from this that she came from Chelles (*Apost. Bened.* pp. 64–5). Earconwald is said to have engaged her to instruct his sister Ethelburga [q. v.], abbess of the monastery which he had founded at Barking. Hildilid succeeded her pupil as abbess at some date later than 692, if we accept the charter of Æthelred to Æthelburga given under that date (KEMBLE, *Codex Dipl.* i. 39). According to another account it must have been after the death of Earconwald (693), who died on a visit to his sister. Florence of Worcester, however, gives her accession under 664, but again mentions it under 675 (i. 27, 33). Bede speaks of Hildilid's long rule, of her translation of the bones of saints into the church of St. Mary, and of a miraculous cure of a blind man which took place in her time (*Hist. Eccl.* iv. 10). St. Boniface, writing to Eadburga, abbess of Minster, in 717 or 718, mentions Hildilid as the authority on which the visions of men who had been raised from the dead are reported. Among her pupils at Barking was Cuthburga, daughter of Ina, king of Wessex, and afterwards abbess of Wimborne, Dorsetshire. The date of Hildilid's death is uncertain, but Bede says she lived to a great age, and she was apparently dead before the date of Boniface's letter. Wilson (*Martyrologium Anglicanum*) gives her day as 22 Dec., but the more usually accepted date is 24 March. There is a life of Hildilid in Capgrave's 'Nova Legenda Anglie' (see HARDY, *Cat. Brit. Hist.* i. 414). Aldhelm, while abbot of Malmesbury, dedicated to her his treatise, 'De Laudibus Virginitatis' (MALMESBURY, *Gesta Pontif.* p. 143, Rolls Ser.)

[Bædæ Hist. Eccl. and Florence of Worcester in Engl. Hist. Soc.; Capgrave, Nova Legenda Anglie, p. 180; Bollandists' Acta Sanctorum, March iii. 484; Mabillon, Act. Sanct. Ord. Bened. III. i. 288; Dict. Christ. Biog.] C. L. K.

**HILDITCH**, SIR EDWARD, M.D. (1805–1876), inspector-general of hospitals, was born in 1805, studied medicine at St. George's Hospital, took his diploma in 1826, and at once entered the naval medical service. He was on the West Indian station from 1830 to 1855, and had a most extensive experience in dealing with outbreaks of yellow fever. He reached the rank of inspector-general in 1854. In 1855 he was appointed to the charge of Plymouth Hospital, in 1861 to Greenwich Hospital, and was placed on the retired list in 1865, receiving the honour of knighthood. In 1859 he was named honorary physician to the queen, when the distinction was first instituted. He died at Bayswater on 24 Aug. 1876, aged 71.

[Lancet, 2 Sept. 1876.] C. C.

**HILDROP**, JOHN (*d.* 1756), divine, was educated at St. John's College, Oxford, where he graduated B.A. on 7 July 1702, M.A. on 8 June 1705, B.D. and D.D. on 9 June 1743. On 14 April 1703 he was presented to the mastership of the Royal Free Grammar School at Marlborough by Thomas, earl of Ailesbury and Elgin. He was also rector of Maulden, Bedfordshire. He resigned the mastership on 4 Dec. 1733, and the rectory on 23 March 1733–4. On 13 April 1734 he was instituted to the rectory of Wath-juxta-Ripon on the presentation of Charles, lord Bruce, afterwards earl of Ailesbury and Elgin, whose chaplain he was. He was a friend and correspondent of Dr. Zachary Grey [q. v.] In 1740 he became one of the regular contributors to the 'Weekly Miscellany.' He died on 18 Jan. 1756. Hildrop published from time to time, anonymously or under the pseudonyms of 'Phileleutherus Britannicus' and 'Timothy Hooker,' various fugitive essays of a satirico-polemical stamp, chiefly directed against the deists, of slight intrinsic value, but written in a style unusually nervous, easy, and entertaining. Some of these were reprinted as 'The Miscellaneous Works of John Hildrop, D.D.,' London, 1754, 2 vols. 8vo. They comprise: 1. 'An Essay for the better Regulation and Improvement of Free-Thinking.' 2. 'An Essay on Honour.' 3. 'Free Thoughts upon the Brute Creation; or an Examination of Father Bougeant's "Philosophical Amusement,"' &c. (an attempt to prove that the lower animals have souls in a state of degradation consequent upon the fall of man). 4. 'A Modest Apology for the Ancient and Honourable Family of the Wrongheads.' 5. 'A Letter to a Member of Parliament containing a Proposal for bringing in a Bill to revise, amend, or repeal certain obsolete Statutes commonly called the Ten Commandments.' This amusing *jeu d'esprit*, which on its first appearance was attributed to Swift, was reprinted in 1834, London, 8vo. 6. 'The Contempt of the Clergy considered' (an argument for the liberation of the church from state control). 7. 'Some Memoirs of the Life of Simon Shallow.' Other miscellanies by Hildrop are: 1. 'Reflections upon Reason,' London, 1722, 8vo (a satire upon free-thinking, attributed at first to Bishop Gastrell [q. v.], and examined by Thomas Morgan in 'Enthusiasm in Distress,' London, 1722, 8vo). 2. 'A Caveat

against Popery; being a seasonable Preservative against Romish Delusions and Jacobitism now industriously spread throughout the Nation,' London, 1735, 8vo. 3. 'A Commentary upon the Second Psalm,' London, 1742, 8vo.

[Cat. of Oxford Graduates, notes; Gent. Mag. 1756 p. 43, 1834 ii. 114; Nichols's Lit. Aneed. i. 466, ii. 534; Nichols's Illustr. of Lit. iv. 323; Brit. Mus. Cat.] J. M. R.

**HILDYARD, JAMES** (1809–1887), classical scholar, eighth son of the Rev. William Hildyard, was born at Winestead in Holderness, Yorkshire, 11 April 1809, and educated under Dr. Samuel Butler [q.v.] at Shrewsbury from 1820 to 1829. From 1826 he was the head of the school, and in April 1829 was the chief person in a rebellion known as the 'Beef Row.' In October of the same year he was entered as a pensioner of Christ's College, Cambridge, where, through the influence of Dr. John Kaye [q.v.], he was at once elected to a Tancred divinity studentship, then worth about 113*l.* a year. In January 1833 he graduated as a senior optime in mathematics, second in the first class of the classical tripos, and chancellor's medallist, and was immediately elected fellow of his college. In due course he became classical lecturer and tutor. He proceeded B.A. 1833, M.A. 1836, and B.D. 1846. In 1843 he was senior proctor. During fourteen years' residence at the university he greatly improved the method of college tuition, and wrote more than one pamphlet against the system of private tuition. He wrote and spoke in favour of the 'voluntary theological examinations.' He spent some time upon a laborious edition of some of the plays of Plautus, with Latin notes and glossary. For two years, 1843 and 1844, he was Cambridge preacher at the Chapel Royal, Whitehall, when large congregations were present, and a printed selection from the discourses had a rapid sale. About this period he fought the battle of the black gown *versus* the surplice, his opponent being the Rev. Frederick Oakeley, who afterwards went over to the church of Rome. His foreign travels included tours in Greece, Smyrna, and Turkey. At Athens he caught a fever, and narrowly escaped being bled to death by King Otho's German physician. In June 1846 he accepted the college living of Ingoldsby, Lincolnshire. He found the church and parsonage in a ruinous condition, but in the course of two or three years he restored the church and built a new rectory. He was always a consistent advocate of the revision of the Book of Common Prayer, and printed two octavo volumes on the subject. He died at Ingoldsby on 27 Aug. 1887. In 1846 he married the only daughter of George Kinderley of Lincoln's Inn.

Hildyard was the author of: 1. 'Epigrammata, Carmen Græcum, Carmen Latinum, Oratio Latina,' 1828. 2. 'M. A. Plauti Menæchmei cum notis,' 1836. 3. 'M. A. Plauti Aulularia, recensuit notisque instruxit,' 1839. 4. 'Five Sermons on the Parable of the Rich Man and Lazarus. To which is added a proposed Plan for a systematic Study of Theology in the University,' 1841. 5. 'The Obligation of the University to provide for the Education of Members designed for Holy Orders,' Cambridge, 1841. 6. 'The University System of Private Tuition examined,' 1844. 7. 'Further consideration on the University System of Education,' 1845. 8. 'Sermons chiefly Practical,' 1845. 9. 'Abridgment of the Sunday Morning Service, urged in a Letter to the Bishop of Ely,' Grantham, 1856. 10. 'Further Arguments in favour of the Abridgment of the Morning Service,' 4th ed., 1856. 11. 'The People's Call for a Revision of the Liturgy, in a Letter to Lord Palmerston,' Grantham, 1857. 12. 'Reply to the Bishops in Convocation, February 10th, 1858, also in the House of Lords, May 6th, 1858, on Lord Ebury's Motion for a Revision of the Liturgy, in a series of Letters to the "Church Chronicle" and "National Standard,"' signed Ingoldsby, 1858; 3rd ed. 1862–3, 2 vols.; besides some sermons.

[Biograph, May 1881, pp. 472–7; Smith's Old Yorkshire, 1883, pp. 142–6, with portrait; Church Portrait Journal, April 1877, pp. 49–50, with portrait; Guardian, 31 Aug. 1887, p. 1288.] G. C. B.

**HILL, AARON** (1685–1750), poet, eldest surviving son of George Hill of Malmesbury Abbey, Wiltshire, was born in Beaufort Buildings, Strand, 10 Feb. 1684–5. His father died during his infancy after making an illegal sale (it is said) of an estate of 2,000*l.* a year entailed upon the son. Aaron was brought up by his mother and his grandmother, a Mrs. Gregory. When nine years old he was sent to Barnstaple grammar school, and afterwards to Westminster. With Mrs. Gregory's help he left his school, and sailed (2 March 1699–1700) to Constantinople, where a relation, Lord Paget, was then ambassador. Paget received him kindly, and sent him to travel in the East with a tutor. He returned in 1703 with Paget, who would, it is said, have provided for him but for the 'misrepresentations of a female.' He afterwards travelled for some time as tutor to Sir William Wentworth. In 1709 he published a 'Full Account of the Ottoman Empire,' of

which, though it reached a second edition in 1710, he was afterwards thoroughly ashamed (RICHARDSON, *Correspondence*, i. 25–8). In 1709 he also addressed a complimentary poem to Lord Peterborough, called 'Camillus' (*Works*, 1754, iv. 201, &c.) Peterborough in 1710 offered to take him abroad on a mission to Vienna and Turin. He declined on account of the objections of his wife, the only daughter and heiress of Edmund Morris of Stratford in Essex, whom he had married the same year. Hill became interested in theatrical matters, and was (according to his first biographers) 'master of the stage' at Drury Lane in 1709, and of the opera at the Haymarket in 1710. At Drury Lane he produced his first piece, 'Elfrid, or the Fair Inconstant,' written in less than a fortnight (*ib.* i. 125). It was ridiculed for its bombast, but in 1731 rewritten and brought out again as 'Athelwold.' It was then received in a way which would have caused him the 'liveliest indignation' had he not been the author (*ib.* i. 160). At the Haymarket he produced an opera, 'Rinaldo,' written at his request by G. Rossi, translated by himself, and set to music by Handel, then first visiting England. Hill had a sanguine belief in his own gifts, both for literature and speculation. He proposed a scheme to Harley in 1714 for improving the wool trade. He started a scheme for extracting oil from beechmast. A patent was granted on 23 Oct. 1713. A company was raised with a capital of 25,000*l.*, and he promised to pay 45 per cent. after two years, and besides making the whole nation happy. The company could not be got into working order, abundance of the sharers became 'peevish,' and by 1716 the speculation collapsed, and Hill lost a large sum. In 1718 he proposed with others to settle a colony in Georgia (then part of South Carolina). A grant of the land was obtained from the proprietors, but money was wanting, and the scheme broke down. It was carried out by Oglethorpe in 1732. In 1728 Hill tried to obtain timber for the navy in Scotland, showed the natives how to float rafts down the Spey, and received many compliments from the Duke and Duchess of Gordon, and the freedom of Inverness and Aberdeen. Somehow this, like all his schemes, failed, and led only to loss of money. He meanwhile continued his literary career, writing many occasional poems, and producing plays at intervals (see list below). He wrote a complimentary poem to Peter the Great, called 'The Northern Star,' about 1718 (*ib.* iii. 181, &c.) Peter, when dying in 1725, is said to have ordered a gold medal to be sent to Hill, which never came, and the czarina also promised him materials for a life. Only a few papers were sent before her death in the spring of 1727, and the life was not written. Among Hill's letters are many giving advice to actors (including Garrick) upon their art, others making suggestions to Oxford and Walpole upon politics and finance, and literary disquisitions addressed to Pope and Bolingbroke. His letters to Richardson (RICHARDSON, *Correspondence*, i. 1–132) begin in 1730, and upon the publication of 'Pamela' in 1740 he became an enthusiastic admirer. His self-importance and pomposity would now be rather amusing if less terribly long-winded. He is best known by his relations with Pope. He had attacked Pope in a preface to the 'Northern Star' on account of a misreported conversation, and upon Pope's explanation had apologised in a preface to 'The Creation,' 1720. The 'Bathos,' published in the third volume of Pope's 'Miscellanies' (March 1727–8), gave a list of bad authors, in which 'A. H.' appeared as one of the 'flying fishes,' who could only make brief flights out of the profound. Hill retorted by an epigram on the supposed authors, Pope, Swift, and Arbuthnot, and by a copy of verses. In the 'Dunciad,' published in the following May, Pope described Hill as attempting to dive in the games sacred to dullness, but rising unstained to 'mount far off among the swans of Thames.' A note stated that the satire had been turned into a compliment, because its object had shown himself capable of apologising. Hill, however, retorted in 'The Progress of Wit, a caveat for an eminent writer; by a fellow of All Souls,' with an 'explanatory discourse by Gamaliel Gunson, Professor of Physics and Astronomy,' 1730 (*Works*, iii. 371, &c.), an allegorical attack upon Pope for lowering himself by personalities against the dunces. He wrote to Pope soon afterwards, and in a dignified letter (28 Jan. 1730–1) put his case so well that Pope was driven to reply by the strange subterfuges too familiar to him. Hill punished Pope sufficiently perhaps by long letters, and by sending him manuscript tragedies to be criticised. A passage in the 'Epistle to Arbuthnot' (1735), describing such trials of Pope's patience, may include some recollections of this intercourse. Pope at the time returned the flattery in kind, and even ventured to assert (22 Dec. 1731) that he had read 'Athelwold' six times through. A long breach of correspondence seems, however, to imply that Pope found the burden intolerable, though Hill reopened it for a time in 1738. After Pope's death Hill abused him heartily to Richardson (RICHARDSON, *Correspondence*, i. 104, &c.) Although Hill was

absurd and a bore of the first water he was apparently a kindly and liberal man, and abandoned the profits of his plays, such as they were, to the actors. He was zealous on behalf of Savage, whose story he published in the 'Plaindealer,' and helpful to Thomson and others.

In 1738 Hill left London, where he had hitherto occupied a house in Petty France, Westminster, looking upon St. James's Park, to Plaistow in Essex. He mentions pecuniary difficulties at this time (to Pope, 1 Sept. 1738), which may have been the cause of his retirement. He probably did not diminish them by planting vineyards in Essex. He sent some bottles of his wine to Richardson (*ib.* i. 22, 29, 44–52), with the sanguine belief that they would contribute to Richardson's health and pleasure. He also busied himself in a scheme for making potash. His translation of Voltaire's 'Merope' (1749) was brought upon the stage, and a performance commanded for his benefit by Frederick, prince of Wales. He died the night before the intended performance, 8 Feb. 1749–1750, 'at the very minute of the earthquake.' He was buried in the cloister of Westminster Abbey in the same grave with his wife, who died 1731. He had by her nine children, of whom four were living in 1760, a son and three daughters, Urania, Astræa, and Minerva. A 'Collection of Letters between Mr. Aaron Hill, Pope, and others,' was published in 1751. His 'Works,' in 4 vols. 8vo, were published by subscription for the benefit of his family in 1753 (second edition 1754). The first two contain his correspondence; the last his poems and an essay upon acting (first published in 1746). The poems include 'Camillus,' the 'Northern Star,' and the 'Progress of Wit' (see above); the 'Creation,' 1720; 'Advice to Poets,' 1731; the 'Tears of the Muses,' 1737; 'Free Thoughts on Faith,' 1746; and a number of prologues and occasional pieces. He also published the 'Fanciad,' 1743; the two first books of 'Gideon,' an epic poem, about 1716, and three more books, now called 'Gideon, or the Patriot,' and dedicated to Bolingbroke, in 1749.

The dramatic works were also published by subscription in two volumes in 1760. The plays, with dates of first publication, are, Vol. i.: 1. 'Elfrid,' 1710. 2. 'The Walking Statue,' 1710. 3. 'Rinaldo' (in English and Italian), 1711. 4. 'The Fatal Vision,' 1716. 5. 'Henry V' (founded on Shakespeare), 1723. 6. 'The Fatal Extravagance,' 1726 (written by Hill for the benefit of J. Mitchell, under whose name it was first published). 7. 'Merlin in Love,' 1759 (pastoral opera). 8. 'Athelwold,' 1732. Vol. ii.: 1. 'The Muses in Mourning' (opera), 1760. 2. 'Zara' (from Voltaire), 1736, and later editions (acted in 1735 for the benefit of W. Bond). 3. 'The Snake in the Grass,' 1760. 4. 'Alzira' (from Voltaire), 1736. 5. 'Saul' (tragedy), 1760. 6. 'Daraxes' (pastoral opera), 1760. 7. 'Merope' (from Voltaire), 1749. 8. 'The Roman Revenge' (written about 1738 as 'Cæsar,' when he published a pamphlet 'On the Merits of Assassination,' with a view to this case of Cæsar, published 1754). The 'Biographia Dramatica' also mentions 'Trick upon Trick; or Squire Brainless,' a comedy, and in 1758 was published 'The Insolvent, or Filial Piety.'

Hill was co-author with William Bond [q. v.] of the 'Plaindealer,' 1724, afterwards collected in 2 vols. 8vo, and published the 'Prompter' in 1735. He wrote various pamphlets about his beechnut projects, and the first of 'Four Essays' in 1718, which treats of making china ware in England.

[Anonymous Life in Cibber's Lives of the Poets, 1753, v. 252–75; Life by 'J. K.' prefixed to Dramatic Works, 1760; general correspondence in Works, vols. i. and ii.; in Richardson's Correspondence, 1802, i. 1–132; Elwin and Courthope's Pope, x. 1–78 (and notes to the Dunciad and the Bathos); Biog. Brit.; Biog. Dram.; Genest's History of the Stage, iv. 295; Victor's Hist. of Theatres, 1761, ii. 170–202.] L. S.

**HILL, ABIGAIL** (*d.* 1734). [See MASHAM, ABIGAIL, LADY.]

**HILL, ABRAHAM** (1635–1721), man of science, baptised on 16 June 1635 at St. Dionis Backchurch, London (*Parish Register*, Harl. Soc., p. 104), came of an old family seated at Shilstone in Devonshire. His father, Richard Hill, a merchant and alderman of London, was appointed by the Long parliament treasurer of sequestrations in the summer of 1642, and acted in that capacity until 1649. Hill entered his father's business, in which he was very successful, but by private study he contrived to master several languages, and to gain some knowledge of natural and moral philosophy. He was besides an ardent book and coin collector. On his father's death in January 1659–60 he inherited an ample fortune, and that he might study with less interruption, he hired chambers in Gresham College, where he had frequent opportunities of conversing with learned men. He was one of the council of the Royal Society named in the king's charter, dated 22 April 1663 (THOMSON, *Hist. of Roy. Soc.*, Append. iv. p. xxi). On 30 Nov. of that year he was elected treasurer of the society, an office which he held until 30 Nov. 1665. On being re-elected on 1 Dec. 1679 he discharged the

duties with great ability until 30 Nov. 1700 (Weld, *Hist. of Roy. Soc.* i. 368). At the accession of William and Mary Hill became a commissioner of trade, and when Tillotson was promoted to the see of Canterbury in 1691 he appointed Hill his comptroller. In the next reign Hill resigned his seat at the board of trade, and retired to his estate of St. John's in Sutton-at-Hone, Kent, which he had purchased in 1683. He died on 3 Feb. 1721, and was buried in the chancel of Sutton Church. He married first, Anne (*d.* 1692), daughter of Sir Bulstrode Whitelocke, knt., by whom he had a son, Richard (1666–1721), and a daughter, Frances (1668–1736), a spinster. His second wife, Elizabeth (1644–1672), daughter of Michael Pratt of Bromley-by-Bow, Middlesex, brought him no issue. Hill wrote a life of Isaac Barrow, prefixed to the first volume of the latter's 'Works,' published in 1683, and missed in subsequent editions. A selection from Hill's correspondence was edited by Thomas Astle from the manuscript in his possession, and published as 'Familiar Letters which passed between A. Hill and several eminent and ingenious persons of the last century,' 8vo, London, 1767. The manuscript of this correspondence, together with many other papers of Hill and his father, is now preserved among the Additional Manuscripts in the British Museum (*Index to Addit. MSS.* 1783–1835, pp. 232–3), where are also ten volumes of Hill's commonplace books (Addit. MSS. 2891–2901), his official memoranda as commissioner of trade (*ib.* 2902), and his letters to Sir Hans Sloane, 1697–1720 (*ib.* 4048). Hill was also the friend and correspondent of Evelyn and Pepys, and a kinsman of Abigail Hill, afterwards Lady Masham [q. v.]

[Life prefixed to 'Familiar Letters;' Register of St. Dionis Backchurch (Harl. Soc.), pp. 115, 116, 232, 233; Ayscough's Cat. of MSS. in Brit. Mus.; Evelyn's Diary; Pepys's Diary; Hunter's Chorus Vatum, vi. 352–3 (Addit. MS. 24492); Notes and Queries, 2nd ser. viii. 10.] G. G.

**HILL, ADAM** (*d.* 1595), divine, probably born at Westbury, Wiltshire, was, according to his own account, educated under Bishop Jewel. He was fellow of Balliol College from 1568 to January 1572–3; graduated B.A. 1569, M.A. 1572, and B.D. and D.D. in 1591 (*Oxf. Univ. Reg.*, Oxf. Hist. Soc., i. 269, ii. iii. 21); and secured a reputation as a practical preacher. He was successively vicar of Westbury, Wiltshire, and Gussage, Dorsetshire. On 23 June 1586 he was installed as prebendary and succentor of Salisbury Cathedral. He died at Salisbury in February 1594–5, and was buried in the cathedral on the 19th.

A sermon which he preached at Chippenham, Wiltshire (28 Feb. 1589–90), on Christ's descent into hell, led Hill into a sharp controversy with one Alexander Hume, who republished a reply to it. Hill retorted with 'A Defence of the Article, Christ descended into Hell,' London, 1592, 4to, dedicated to John Whitgift, archbishop of Canterbury. Here Hill points his original sermon, with an appendix containing Hume's objections in full, and Hill's answers to them paragraph by paragraph. Hume is said to have issued a rejoinder. Hill also published: 1. 'Godly Sermon, shewing the Fruits of Peace and War,' London, 1588, 8vo. 2. 'The Crie of England,' a sermon on Gen. xviii. 21, 22, London, 1588, 8vo (Brit. Mus.)

[Wood's Athenæ Oxon., ed. Bliss, i. 623–4; Brit. Mus. Cat.] S. L. L.

**HILL or HYLL, ALBAN, M.D.** (*d.* 1559), physician, a native of Wales, studied at Oxford and at Bologna, where he proceeded doctor of physic. He 'became famous for physic at London, not only the theoretic but practic part, and much beloved and admired by all learned men' (Wood, *Athenæ Oxon.*) He resided for many years in the parish of St. Alban, Wood Street, being 'held in great respect, and esteemed one of the chief parishioners' (*ib.*) Caius calls him a good and learned man. He is mentioned in laudatory terms by Bassianus Landus of Piacenza in his 'Anatomia,' 1606, vol. ii. cap. xi. 225, with reference to a far from profound remark attributed to him about the uses of the mesentery. Landus adds that Hill wrote on Galen, but no such writings are known to be extant. He became a fellow of the College of Physicians on 23 March 1552, was censor from 1555 to 1558, and elect in 1558. He died on 22 Dec. 1559, and was buried in St. Alban's Church, Wood Street. His widow survived him until 31 May 1580.

[Wood's Athenæ Oxon. (Bliss), i. 308; Bale, De Script. cent. ix. No. 38; Munk's Coll. of Phys.] C. C.

**HILL, ALEXANDER** (1785–1867), professor of divinity in the university of Glasgow, was the son of George Hill, D.D. [q. v.], principal of St. Mary's College, St. Andrews, where he was born on 19 July 1785. He studied at the university of his native city, and graduated in 1804. He was licensed as a preacher in 1806; for a number of years afterwards he travelled, and resided in England and abroad as tutor to a relative. During this period he prosecuted his own studies, paying special attention to the classics, and became familiar with men and manners. In 1815 he was ordained and inducted

pastoral charge of Colmonell in Ayrshire, and in the following year was translated to the neighbouring parish of Dailly, where he remained for upwards of a quarter of a century. He graduated D.D. at St. Andrews in 1828, and in 1840 was appointed professor of divinity in the university of Glasgow, one of the competitors for the chair being Dr. Chalmers. He was moderator of the general assembly in 1845, and for many years took a prominent part in its proceedings. After the secession of 1843 he held a conspicuous place among those leaders of the moderate party whose acknowledged worth regained for the church the confidence of the country. A man of competent ability and scholarship, of sound judgment, courteous manners, and great kindness of heart, he was beloved by his parishioners and students, and was held in universal respect for his catholicity of spirit. He was the founder of the association for increasing the smaller livings of the clergy, and an active promoter of many other schemes of benevolence. When he resigned his chair in 1862 he received tributes of respect from many quarters. He died at Ayr in January 1867, in his eighty-second year. He married Margaret, only daughter of Major Crawford, H.E.I.C., of Newfield, and had nine children, among them being Crawford, an advocate; Alexander, minister at St. Andrews; Henry David, minister of Eaglesham, Renfrewshire; and Harriet, who married the Rev. James Macnair, minister of the Canongate.

Hill edited his father's 'Lectures in Divinity,' and published: 1. 'The Practice in the Judicatories of the Church of Scotland,' 2nd edit., Edinburgh, 1830; 5th edit., enlarged, London, 1851. 2. 'A Book of Family Prayers,' Edinburgh, 1837, 12mo. 3. 'Christ the Head of the Church, a Sermon,' Edinburgh, 1846. 4. 'Practical Hints to a Young Minister.' 5. 'Counsels regarding the Pastoral Office.' 6. 'Account of the Parish of Dailly' (*New Statistical Account*, vol. v.)

[Scott's Fasti Eccl. Scot.; Edinburgh Courant, January 1867; Dailly Parish Magazine, July 1885.] G. W. S.

**HILL**, ARTHUR (1601?–1663), colonel, born about 1601, was the second son of Sir Moyses Hill, knt., M.P., by his first wife, Alice, sister of Sorley Boye MacDonnell, and succeeded his elder brother's son, whose line failed, in the estates. Upon the outbreak of the civil war he inclined to the king's side, but eventually took service for the parliament, became a colonel, and acted on the Irish committee (*Cal. State Papers*, Dom. 1649–50). His allegiance, however, was never very warm. With William Jephson, M.P., and Sir Robert King [q. v.] he obtained a warrant from parliament on 22 April 1643 to go to Oxford on Irish business (*Commons' Journals*, iii. 57). On 2 Aug. 1654 he was returned M.P. for cos. Down, Antrim, and Armagh (*Members of Parliament*, Official Return, pt. i. p. 503). Some grants which he received during the protectorate in co. Down were formed into the manors of Hillsborough and Growle. There he built a considerable place of strength, which after the Restoration was constituted a royal garrison by the name of Hillsborough Fort, and the office of constable there made hereditary in the family. Hill was created constable on 21 Dec. 1660, and was also sworn of the Irish privy council. He died in April 1663, aged 62. He married first Anne, daughter of Sir Richard Bolton [q. v.], lord chancellor of Ireland; and secondly, Mary, daughter of Sir William Parsons, one of the lords justices of Ireland, who was mother of his second son and eventual heir, the Right Hon. William Hill (1641?–1693).

[Commons' Journals, vols. iv. v.; Brereton's Travels (Chetham Soc.), p. 128; Burke's Peerage under 'Marquis of Downshire.'] G. G.

**HILL**, DAVID OCTAVIUS (1802–1870), landscape and portrait painter, son of Thomas Hill, bookseller, Perth, was born in that city in 1802. Having early displayed considerable artistic taste, he was placed under Andrew Wilson, then superintendent of the School of Art at Edinburgh. His attention was principally directed towards landscape-painting, and among his first pictures were 'Dunkeld at Sunset' and two views of 'The Tay at Perth,' exhibited when he was twenty-one years of age. Hill acted as secretary to the Society of Artists in Edinburgh for eight years before the charter was granted in 1838 incorporating it into the Royal Scottish Academy, and occupied the post almost till his death. In 1841 he published a series of sixty pictures, engraved from sketches in oil made by him, illustrative of the scenery of the 'Land of Burns,' and this work has attained an immense popularity. His most important pictures were 'Old and New Edinburgh, from the Castle,' and 'The Braes of Ballochmyle,' painted for the late John Miller of Leithen, and engraved in 1850; 'The River Tay from the Bridge at Perth;' 'Windsor Castle, Summer Evening;' 'Edinburgh from Mons Meg' (Royal Academy, 1852); 'Dunure Castle' (Royal Academy, 1861); 'River Tay' (Royal Academy, 1862); 'Vale of Forth' (Royal Academy, 1868). The last great picture on which he was engaged was the his-

torical work commemorative of the disruption from which the free church of Scotland sprang. It was entitled 'Signing the Deed of Demission,' and has about five hundred portraits of all the leading lay and clerical members who took part in that movement. This extensive work, begun in 1843 and completed in 1865, is now in the Free Church Assembly Hall, Edinburgh. It was the largest picture reproduced by the autotype process, and was the first in which photography was used as an aid to the artist in portraiture. On the recommendation of Sir David Brewster, Hill interested himself in the photographic experiments then being made by Robert Adamson of St. Andrews. Hill was the first to apply the new art to portraiture, and many of the calotypes of eminent men which he took are still in existence. In 1850 Hill was appointed one of the commissioners of the board of manufactures in Scotland, which has under its direction the Government School of Art and the National Gallery of Scotland. Two months before his death he resigned the secretaryship to the Academy, and was voted the full amount of his salary as a pension. He died on 17 May 1870, in the sixty-eighth year of his age, and was buried in the Dean cemetery, where his widow has placed a bronze bust, executed by herself. He was twice married, his second wife—a sister of Sir Noel Paton, R.S.A.—being Amelia Robertson Paton, the well-known sculptor, who (1891) survives. His only daughter, Chattie Hill, wife of Mr. W. Scott Dalgleish, predeceased him.

Hill did great service to art by originating the Art Union of Edinburgh, the first institution of the kind established in the kingdom. As an artist he occupied a high position in that school of Scottish landscape-painters to which Horatio McCulloch, R.S.A., belonged, and which has now few adherents. His works were admirably suited for engraving, and he is better known by reproductions through this medium than by his original pictures.

[Redgrave's Dict. of Artists; Art Journal, 1869–70; Edinburgh Evening Courant, 18 May 1870; private information.] A. H. M.

**HILL**, Sir DUDLEY ST. LEGER (1790–1851), major-general, colonel 50th foot, eldest son of Dudley Hill, a gentleman of Welsh descent, by his wife, the daughter of Colonel John Clarges, was born in co. Carlow, Ireland, in 1790. He was appointed ensign in the 82nd foot, 6 Sept. 1804, and exchanged the year after to the 95th rifles (now rifle brigade). As lieutenant he accompanied his battalion to South America in 1806, volunteered for the forlorn hope at Monte Video, and commanded the scaling party that captured the north gate of the city in February 1807. He was wounded and taken prisoner in the subsequent attempt on Buenos Ayres in June. He accompanied his battalion to Portugal in 1808, was present at Roleia, was wounded in the affair at Benevente, and present at Corunna. Returning to Portugal in 1809, he was present at the battle of Talavera, the operations on the Coa, &c. In July 1810 he was promoted to a company in the Royal West India rangers, but remained attached to the 95th until appointed to the Portuguese army. He commanded a wing of the Lusitanian legion at Busaco, September 1810, and a half battalion with some British light companies at Fuentes d'Onoro, May 1811. He commanded the 8th Portuguese caçadores at the storming of Badajoz, April 1812, at the battle of Salamanca in July, and in the Burgos retreat, where his battalion lost half its numbers at the passage of the Carrion, and where he was himself wounded and taken prisoner. He again commanded his battalion at Vittoria, and at the storming of St. Sebastian, September 1813, he headed the attack of the 5th division, and received two wounds. He was also present with it at the repulse of the sortie at Bayonne in 1814. In these campaigns he was seven times wounded. At the peace he returned with the Portuguese army to Portugal, and served there for some years. In 1820 he was holding a divisional command in the Portuguese service (Philippart). He was made major in the new 95th (Derbyshire) foot in December 1823, from which he exchanged to half-pay in January 1826. In 1834 he was appointed lieutenant-governor of the island of St. Lucia, and took out with him the act of emancipation of the slaves. He returned home on the occasion of his second marriage in 1838; became major-general in 1841, and, after serving on the staff in Ireland, was appointed to a divisional command in Bengal in 1848, which he held at the time of his death.

Hill was made C.B. in 1814, knighted in 1816, and made K.C.B. in 1848. He had the Portuguese orders of the Tower and Sword, and St. Bento d'Avis, the latter conferred in 1839, and also four Portuguese medals. He was presented with a sword and two valuable pieces of plate by his native county. He was appointed to the colonelcy of the 50th foot in 1849. He died at Umballa, Bengal, on 21 Feb. 1851.

Hill married, first, the third daughter of Robert Hunter of Kew, Surrey, by whom he had six children; and secondly, on 23 June 1838, Mary, widow of Mark Davies, of Turnwood, Dorsetshire.

[Army Lists; Philippart's Royal Military Cal. 1820, iv. 475; Cope's Hist. of the Rifle Brigade; Gent. Mag. 1851, i. 552.] H. M. C.

**HILL, EDWIN** (1793–1876), mechanical inventor and writer on currency, second son of Thomas Wright Hill [q. v.], by Sarah Lea his wife, was born at Birmingham on 25 Nov. 1793. He was an elder brother of Sir Rowland Hill [q. v.], the inventor of penny postage. He showed great mechanical ingenuity in his youth, and entering the Fazeley Street Rolling Mills in Birmingham, rose to be manager. This post he threw up in 1827 to join his brother, Rowland Hill, in establishing a school at Bruce Castle, Tottenham. On the introduction of penny postage in 1840 he was appointed supervisor of stamps at Somerset House. Till his retirement in 1872 he had under his control the manufacture of stamps. By his inventive mechanical skill he greatly improved the machinery. In conjunction with Mr. Warren De la Rue he invented the machine for folding envelopes which was exhibited in the Great Exhibition of 1851. In 1856 he published a work under the title of 'Principles of Currency: Means of Ensuring Uniformity of Value and Adequacy of Supply.' In this he proposed 'that government should prepare and issue under the authority of parliament an adequate amount of interest-bearing securities, almost identical with exchequer bills; and that these be made a legal tender for their principal sum, together with their accumulated interest up to the day of tender, according to a table to be printed upon the face of each bill.' He published, moreover, pamphlets entitled 'Criminal Capitalists' (1870–2), by which he meant those owners of house-property who knowingly provided lodgings for criminals, or shops where stolen goods could be disposed of. He proposed to strike at crime by first striking at these landlords. He died on 6 Nov. 1876 at his residence, No. 1 St. Mark's Square, Regent's Park, and was buried in Highgate cemetery. He married Anne Bucknall, the younger daughter of a Kidderminster brewer, by whom he had ten children, seven of whom survived him.

[Memoir of M. D. Hill, by his Daughters, 1878; Life of Sir Rowland Hill, by G. B. Hill, 1880; Principles of Currency, by Edwin Hill, 1856; Transactions of the Association for the Promotion of Social Science, 1871; Transactions of the International Prison Congress, 1872.] G. B. H.

**HILL, GEORGE** (1716–1808), serjeant-at-law, of an old Northamptonshire family, was born in 1716. He was admitted a member of Lincoln's Inn, and was called to the bar, practising at first as a conveyancer. He joined the midland circuit, and although his practice was small, he soon gained a great reputation for exceptional knowledge of case law. Although he was a scholar and a mathematician of considerable learning and attainments, as a lawyer he was so overwhelmed by his memory for cases that he was unable to extract from them clear general principles, and earned for himself the nickname of Serjeant Labyrinth. On 6 Nov. 1772 he became at once a serjeant and a king's serjeant. Of his absence of mind and abstraction among unpractical points of law many anecdotes are told (see POLSON, *Law and Lawyers*, i. 76; TWISS, *Life of Lord Eldon*, i. 301, 325; CRADOCK, *Memoirs*, i. 248, iv. 149; *Memoirs of Letitia Matilda Hawkins*, i. 255; CAMPBELL, *Lives of the Chief Justices*, ii. 571). He died at his house in Bedford Square on 21 Feb. 1808, and was buried in the family vault at Rothwell, Northamptonshire, where there is an epitaph upon him by Bennett, bishop of Cloyne. He married Anna Barbara, daughter and heiress of Thomas Medlycote of Cottingham, Northamptonshire, by whom he had two daughters. His legal manuscripts were purchased of his executors by the Society of Lincoln's Inn, and are in the library there.

[Woolrych's Eminent Serjeants; Law Mag. 1844, p. 331; European Mag. i. 233; Romilly's Memoirs, i. 72.] J. A. H.

**HILL, GEORGE** (1750–1819), principal of St. Mary's College, St. Andrews, was born in that city in June 1750. He was the son of John Hill, one of the clergymen of St. Andrews, by his second wife, the daughter of his colleague, Dr. McCormick, and a grand-niece of Principal Carstares [q. v.] He was educated at the grammar school and university of his native city, and graduated at the age of fourteen. His distinction as a student attracted the notice of Lord Kinnoull, then chancellor of the university, who as long as he lived was his constant friend and patron. He entered the divinity hall in his fifteenth year, but, losing his father soon afterwards, he was recommended by Principal Robertson of Edinburgh to Pryse Campbell, esq., M.P., one of the lords of the treasury, as tutor to his eldest son. He resided for some time in Campbell's family in London and Wales, and afterwards spent two years with his pupil in Edinburgh, where he finished his divinity course at the university. In both capitals he saw much of the best literary society of the time. Before he had completed his twenty-second year he was appointed joint professor of Greek in the university of

St. Andrews. In 1775 he was licensed as a probationer by the presbytery of Haddington, and afterwards preached regularly in the college church. He was ordained by the same presbytery in 1778, and in 1780 was inducted as one of the ministers of St. Andrews, holding his parochial charge along with his chair. He received the degree of D.D. in 1787, and in the same year was appointed dean of the order of the Thistle. After having held the Greek chair for sixteen years, he became professor of divinity in St. Mary's College in January 1788, and in 1791 was promoted to the principalship. He was soon afterwards appointed one of his majesty's chaplains for Scotland, and in 1799 he received the deanery of the Chapel Royal as 'an acknowledgment of his public services as a churchman.' For these latter preferments he was much indebted to the first Lord Melville, with whom he was on terms of friendship, and who consulted him on Scottish ecclesiastical affairs. From 1773 Hill had been constantly a member of the general assembly, and he was raised to the moderator's chair in 1789. He early distinguished himself as a supporter of Principal Robertson, and succeeded him as leader of the moderate party, a position which he held for upwards of thirty years. Combining great natural abilities with unwearied industry, equanimity of temper, and dignified and courteous manners, he discharged his manifold duties with conspicuous success. He was esteemed a model of pulpit eloquence; his 'Lectures on Divinity' form one of the most valuable theological works which Scotland has produced; while his thorough knowledge of the constitution of the church, great power in debate, business capacity, and conciliatory spirit towards those who differed from him qualified him for the place which he long held in the ecclesiastical councils of his country. He died on 19 Dec. 1819, in his seventieth year.

Hill married, on 7 June 1782, Harriet, daughter of Alexander Scott, merchant, Edinburgh, and had, with other children, Alexander [q. v.], professor of divinity in Glasgow; David, chief secretary of the Honourable East India Company at Madras; Thomas, minister of Logie-Pert; Janet, who married Dr. John Cook, professor of divinity in St. Andrews; Jane, who married Dr. Macnair, minister of Paisley; and Harriet, who married Mark Sprot, esq., of Garnkirk, Lanarkshire.

Hill published: 1. 'Occasional Sermons.' 2. Volume of 'Sermons,' London, 1796. 3. 'Lectures upon Portions of the Old Testament,' 1812. 4. 'Theological Institutes,' Edinburgh, 1817. 5. 'Lectures on Divinity,' 3 vols., Edinburgh, 1821.

[Life by the Rev. Dr. George Cook; Scott's Fasti Eccl. Scot.] G. W. S.

**HILL, Sir HUGH** (1802–1871), judge, second son of James Hill, by Mary, daughter of Hugh Norcott of Cork, was born in 1802 at Graig, near Doneraile, co. Cork, where his family had been long settled. He graduated B.A. at Dublin in 1821, kept two years' terms at the King's Inns, and then joined the Middle Temple in London. He practised with great success as a special pleader under the bar between 1827 and 1841, when he was called to the bar and joined the northern circuit. He became a Q.C. in 1851; on 29 May 1858 he was appointed a judge of the court of queen's bench, and about the same time was made a serjeant-at-law; he was also knighted. Owing to prolonged illness he retired from the bench in December 1861. He died at the Royal Crescent Hotel, Brighton, on 12 Oct. 1871. In 1831 he married Anoriah, daughter of Richard Holden Webb, controller of customs, and by her had two sons, who both survived him; his wife died in 1858.

[Foss's Judges of England, p. 346; Times, 16 Oct. 1871; Burke's Landed Gentry.] W. A. J. A.

**HILL, JAMES** (*d.* 1728?), antiquary, a native of Herefordshire, was called to the bar as a member of the Middle Temple. Between 1715 and 1717 he issued proposals for publishing by subscription a history of the city of Hereford in two parts, devoted to its ecclesiastical and its civil state respectively, with 'transcripts from original records,' 'geometrical plans of the city, churches, monasteries, and chapels,' and engravings of monuments, arms, ancient seals, and portraits of eminent persons. He proposed to follow this, if successful, by another volume treating of the county. The plan is printed in Rawlinson's 'English Topographer,' 1720, pp. 71–3. Owing to Hill's premature death nothing came of the project. In 1718 he was elected F.S.A., and was admitted F.R.S. on 30 April 1719. He showed to the Society of Antiquaries in the year of his election a 'vast collection of drawings, views, inscriptions, plans, and observations in MS., the fruits of his travels in the west of England that summer' (Gough, *British Topography*, i. 410). One of his drawings, a west view and ichnography of Tintern Abbey, Monmouthshire, was engraved by J. Harris for John Stevens's 'History of Antient Abbeys,' 1723, ii. 57 (*ib.* i. 789). When at a meeting of the So-

ciety of Antiquaries on 3 Jan. 1721-2 it was resolved to attempt a complete history of British coins, Hill undertook to describe the Saxon coins in Lord Oxford's possession, while his own collection was to be catalogued by George Holmes (1662–1749) [q. v.] (NICHOLS, *Lit. Anecd.* iv. 543 *n.*, v. 454 *n.*, vi. 156 *n.*) During the same year he exhibited to the society an accurate survey of Ariconium and of Hereford (GOUGH, i. 417). A few years before his death, in December 1727 or in January 1728, Hill went to reside permanently in Herefordshire, but still maintained a correspondence with his brother-antiquaries, especially with Roger Gale and William Stukeley. To the latter he sent his picture, drawn by himself, in profile (STUKELEY, *Diaries and Letters*, Surtees Soc., i. 132). At his dying request his father forwarded his Herefordshire collections to Gale for his perusal in March 1728. Gale found that although Hill had done more than was supposed, his work was 'a mere embryo of what he had promised' (*ib.* i. 204–5), and therefore unfit for publication. In 1752 Isaac Taylor of Ross bought the papers of Hill's brother, a schoolmaster in Herefordshire, for John Roberts, M.B., also of Ross, who indexed the volumes and made many additions in six duodecimo volumes. After Roberts's death in 1776 the whole collection, now increased to about twenty volumes of various sizes, again passed to Taylor, who sold them in 1778 to Thomas Clarke, F.S.A., principal registrar of the diocese of Hereford (GOUGH, i. 418*). On Clarke's death in March 1780 they came to the Rev. James Clarke, who still owned them in 1821. Clarke offered to sell them to John Allen the younger of Hereford, but they could not agree about the price. A collection of thirty-five ancient Herefordshire deeds, most of them marked with Hill's name, was given by Joshua Blew, librarian of the Inner Temple, a native of the county, to Andrew Coltee Ducarel [q. v.] Isaac Taylor had 'a beautiful soliloquy of Hill's on hearing a parent correct his child with curses' (GOUGH, i. 418*). A more ambitious, but unfinished, poem is mentioned by Maurice Johnson, junior, in a letter to Stukeley, dated 14 Oct. 1719 (STUKELEY, i. 168). Verses on his death are in John Husband's 'Miscellany of Poems' (pp. 134–40), 8vo, Oxford, 1731, from which it appears that Hill wrote some lines on 'Eternity' about ten hours before his death.

[Rawlinson's English Topographer, pp. 70–3; Stukeley's Diaries and Letters (Surtees Soc.), vol. i.; Gough's British Topography, vol. i.; John Allen's Bibliotheca Herefordiensis, pp. viii–x; Nichols's Lit. Anecd.] G. G.

**HILL, JAMES** (*d.* 1817?), actor and vocalist, was a native of Kidderminster; lost his father when four years old; was educated by an uncle, and was apprenticed at the age of sixteen to a painter. After a visit to London he went to Bristol, and with some difficulty induced the managers of the theatres at Bristol and Bath to allow him to perform for a single occasion at the Bath theatre. He made his first appearance accordingly, 1 Oct. 1796, in Bannister's part of Belville in 'Rosina,' a comic opera by Mrs. Brooke. His success was enough to secure him an engagement for singing parts. After he had taken lessons of the leader of the orchestra at Bath, Xamenes, and others, he became, on the introduction of Signora Storace, the pupil of Rauzzini. As Edwin in Leonard MacNally's comic opera of 'Robin Hood' he made, at Covent Garden, 8 Oct. 1798, his first appearance in London, attracting little attention. He was the original Sir Edward in Thomas Knight's 'Turnpike Gate,' 14 Nov. 1799; Don Antonio in Cobb's 'Paul and Virginia,' 1 May 1800; Abdalla in T. J. Dibdin's 'Il Bondocani,' 15 Nov. 1800; Young Inca in Morton's 'Blind Girl,' 22 April 1801; Lorenzo in 'Who's the Rogue?' and he took other second-rate parts in musical pieces of little importance. De Mountfort, count of Brittany, in T. J. Dibdin's 'English Fleet in 1342,' is the last part in which he is traceable at Covent Garden, 13 Dec. 1803. At the close of the season of 1805–6, in resentment of some fancied injury, he retired into the country and disappeared. According to Oxberry's 'Dramatic Chronology,' Hill seems to have died in 1817 in Jamaica. Gilliland speaks of him as possessing a pleasing voice and genteel person, but wanting in sprightliness and ease of deportment, a respectable substitute for Incledon, but not in the same rank (*Dramatic Synopsis*, pp. 114–15).

[Books cited; Genest's Account of the Stage; Gilliland's Dramatic Mirror.] J. K.

**HILL, JAMES JOHN** (1811–1882), painter, was the son of Daniel Hill of Broad Street, Birmingham, where he was born in 1811. He was educated at Hazlewood School, and received his artistic training in the academy conducted by John Vincent Barber [see under BARBER, JOSEPH], where Thomas Creswick [q. v.] was his fellow-student. He practised his art for some years in his native town, chiefly as a portrait-painter, and among his sitters were Dr. Warneford and Mrs. Glover, the founder of Spring Hill College. In 1839 he removed to London, and in 1842 was elected a member of the Society of British Artists.

The first works which he exhibited there were 'The Rose of York' and 'The Rose of Lancaster,' with three portraits, and he continued a constant and popular contributor to its exhibitions for nearly forty years. Lady Burdett-Coutts was one of his most constant friends, and he painted for her many portraits and several pictures of horses and dogs. After some years' residence in London he mainly devoted himself to the fancy subjects by which he is best known. These were usually half-length single figures, or at most a couple of figures, studied from life, and with landscape backgrounds painted from nature. Many of the most effective were Irish studies, the earliest of which were painted in 1854, on his first visit to Ireland. Several were purchased by Mr. Ingram, and published as chromolithographs with the 'Illustrated London News.' Later in life he again changed his line in art, and devoted himself chiefly to landscape-painting, but not with success equal to that which he had achieved with his rustic figures. He died of bronchitis at Sutton House, West Hill, Highgate, on 27 Jan. 1882, in the seventy-first year of his age.

[Birmingham Daily Post, 31 Jan. 1882; reprinted in Architect, 1882, i. 73; Exhibition Catalogues of the Society of British Artists, 1842–82.] R. E. G.

HILL, JOHN? (*d.* 1697?), governor of Inverlochy during the massacre of Glencoe in 1692, was lieutenant-colonel of a regiment of foot then not long raised by Archibald Campbell, first duke of Argyll (*d.* 1703) [q. v.], and which was disbanded about 1697. He was in 1691 governor of Inverlochy, now Fort William, Inverness-shire, where he had been left with fifteen hundred men by General Hugh Mackay to watch the highlands. On 31 Dec. 1691, the last day for the highland chieftains to take the oath of allegiance to William III, Mac Ian, chief of the Macdonalds of Glencoe, a sept of the great Clan Coila, visited Hill, and requested him to administer the oath to him. Hill was not a magistrate, but gave Mac Ian an introductory letter to Sir James Campbell of Ardkinglass, sheriff of Argyllshire. Mac Ian accordingly presented himself to Sheriff Campbell at Inverary on 6 Jan. 1692, five days after the oath should have been taken. Mac Ian showed Hill's letter to the sheriff and was sworn. It was decided by the government in London, however, to make an example of Mac Ian and his people. Hill seems to have been a kind-hearted man, and was not disposed to favour a measure like the Glencoe massacre. The instructions were for that reason sent to his second in command, Lieutenant-colonel James Hamilton. The massacre took place under Hamilton's instructions and superintendence on 13 Feb. 1692. Hill and Hamilton were tried for murder at Edinburgh, but were 'cleared' (LUTTRELL, *Relation*, iii. 496). Luttrell speaks of some of Hill's men having been killed in the highlands while tax-collecting in November 1695 (*ib.* iii. 551). In the index to Luttrell's 'Relation of State Affairs' Hill of Inverlochy is identified with the Colonel Hill, lieutenant-governor of Montserrat, who died at Pembroke in August 1697 (*ib.* iv. 261).

[Account of the massacre of Glencoe in Macaulay's Hist. of England, vol. iii.; Luttrell's Relation of State Affairs (Oxford, printed 1857), ii. 82, 314, 327, 375, 484, iii. 493, 496, 551, iv. 261. The Home Office (War Office) records afford no materials for the further identification of Colonel Hill of Argyll's regiment. In Notes and Queries, 2nd ser. viii. 193, he is confused with Major-general John Hill (*d.* 1732?) [q. v.]] H. M. C.

HILL, JOHN (*d.* 1732?), major-general, brother of Queen Anne's favourite, Abigail Hill, lady Masham [q. v.], was a poor relation of the Duchess of Marlborough, who calls him 'a tall ragged boy that I took and clothed, and the Duke of Marlborough made a colonel of, although he was of no use as a soldier.' Through the Marlborough influence he became a page to the Princess Anne, and in April 1703 was appointed captain in the Coldstream guards, apparently his first commission. In 1705 he was made colonel of Brigadier Stanhope's late regiment (11th foot), when reformed after its surrender at Portalegre (*Home Office Mil. Entry Book*, vii. 32). Luttrell says (*Relation*, v. 572) that Stanhope was his uncle. Hill commanded a brigade at Almanza, where his regiment was all but destroyed; reformed the latter in England, and went with it to Flanders, where he was wounded at the siege of Mons in 1709. The proposal to give him a vacant colonelcy in the following winter was successfully resisted by Marlborough, but he was soon afterwards consoled by a pension of 1,000*l.* a year (*ib.* vi. 585). He was made a brigadier-general, and sent to America in 1711 with certain regiments withdrawn from Flanders for an attack on the French settlements. The troops went to Boston, and were encamped for a time on Rhode Island. Reinforced by some provincials, they afterwards attempted to ascend the St. Lawrence (then called the Canada River) to attack Quebec. Ignorance of the navigation and stress of weather caused the loss of eight of the transports, with over a thousand seamen and soldiers, on 20 July 1711, and

the expedition returned home without result. Hill was made a major-general in 1712, and was appointed or proposed as lieutenant of the Tower of London in the room of Cadogan when Marlborough fell into disfavour. He was appointed to command the force sent to hold Dunkirk as security for the execution of the treaty of Utrecht. On the accession of the house of Brunswick he was deprived of his regiment. He is stated to have died in June 1732 (HAYDN, *Book of Dignities*). He is frequently mentioned in the 'Journal to Stella,' and Swift wrote a letter to him when he was at Dunkirk (*Works*, 1814, xvi. 16).

'Jack' Hill, as his boon companions called him, is referred to by Marlborough and others as 'Mr.' Hill, which has led to some later confusion with Richard Hill the diplomatist [see HILL, RICHARD, *d.* 1727].

[Mackinnon's Origin of the Coldstream Guards, vol. ii. Appendix; Cannon's Hist. Reg. 11th Foot; Abstracts of Musters, forming Addit. MS. 19023; Cal. Treas. Papers, 1702–14; Tindal's Continuation of Rapin's History, ii. 185, 186, 215, 280; Luttrell's Brief Relation of State Affairs; Marlborough Despatches (where the index appears to confuse John Hill with Richard); Haydn's Book of Dignities.] H. M. C.

**HILL, JOHN**, M.D., calling himself SIR JOHN, as member of the Swedish order of Vasa (1716?–1775), miscellaneous writer, the second son of the Rev. Theophilus Hill, is said to have been born at Peterborough in 1716. Early in life he was apprenticed to an apothecary, and after serving his term set up for himself in a small shop in St. Martin's Lane, Westminster. He tried to increase his profits by studying botany, and was employed by the Duke of Richmond and Lord Petre in the arrangement of their gardens and collections of dried plants. Hill travelled over the country in search of the rarer plants, specimens of which were to be dried by a particular process, and published by subscription with descriptive letterpress. Failing to increase his income sufficiently by these means, he went on the stage, but after several unsuccessful attempts, both at the 'little theatre' in the Haymarket and at Covent Garden, he resumed his business as an apothecary. In October 1738 he sent Rich a manuscript libretto of 'Orpheus, an English Opera.' It was not, however, accepted, and the production of Theobald's 'Orpheus and Eurydice' by Rich at Covent Garden in the following year led to a prolonged controversy between them. At this time Hill appears to have kept an apothecary's shop in James Street, Covent Garden. Martin Folkes and Henry Baker, members of the Royal Society, introduced him to several men of letters, and in 1746, while holding 'a trifling appointment of apothecary to a regiment or two in the Savoy,' published a translation of Theophrastus's 'History of Stones.' In March of the same year the first monthly number of the 'British Magazine' appeared under his editorship. A supplement for January and February was published afterwards to complete the yearly volume, and the 'Magazine' was carried on until December 1750. In March 1751 he contributed a daily letter called 'The Inspector,' described by D'Israeli as being 'a light scandalous chronicle all the week with a seventh-day sermon' (*Calamities and Quarrels of Authors*, p. 367), to the 'London Advertiser and Literary Gazette.' The first number appeared on 5 March 1751, and the letters were continued for over two years. Hill was now kept fully employed by the publishers, and wrote on all kinds of subjects, compiling book after book with marvellous rapidity. He obtained a diploma of medicine from the university of St. Andrews, and picked up scandal for the 'Inspector' in the chief places of fashionable amusement. His satirical and scurrilous writings frequently involved him in squabbles. Failing to obtain the requisite number of names for his nomination to the Royal Society, he attacked the society in several satirical pamphlets, specially vituperating Folkes and Baker, his former patrons, and in 1751 published 'A Review of the Works of the Royal Society,' holding up to ridicule the 'Philosophical Transactions,' to which he had himself contributed two papers a few years previously (*Phil. Trans. Abr.* ix. 200, 337). In 1752 he engaged in a paper warfare with Fielding, who attacked him in the 'Covent Garden Journal,' and in the following year, in 'The Story of Elizabeth Canning considered,' he censured Fielding's private treatment of this case. In the first and only number of 'The Impertinent,' published on 13 Aug. 1752, he grossly abused Christopher Smart, and renewed the attack in the 'Inspectors' for 6 and 7 Dec. 1752. Smart, on discovering Hill's authorship, retorted in 'The Hilliad: an epic poem,' in which he addresses Hill as 'Pimp! Poet! Puffer! Pothecary! Player!'

Hill also squabbled with Woodward the comedian, and was publicly thrashed at Ranelagh by an Irishman named Brown. Because his farce called 'The Rout' was hissed off the stage he made a series of venomous attacks upon Garrick. Garrick replied in the well-known epigram:

For physic and farces, his equal there scarce is,
His farces are physic, his physic a farce is.

In the following year (1753) Hill took Garrick to task for his faulty pronunciation in a pamphlet entitled 'To David Garrick, Esq. The Petition of I. in behalf of herself and her sisters.' To this Garrick replied with another epigram, and writing to Hawkesworth on 20 March 1759 says: 'Such a villain sure never existed: his scheme now is abuse, and he talks of a paper call'd y^e Theatre, in which his Pen will be as free as my crabstick whenever I meet his worship' (*Notes and Queries*, 3rd ser. viii. 55). In all these controversies Hill invariably got the worst of it. In 1759 he commenced the publication of 'The Vegetable System.' This cumbrous work, consisting of twenty-six folio volumes, and containing sixteen hundred copper-plate engravings representing twenty-six thousand different plants, was undertaken by Hill at the instance of his patron Lord Bute. It was not completed until 1775, and caused Hill heavy pecuniary losses, though it gained him the order of Vasa from the king of Sweden in 1774, and he thenceforth called himself Sir John. Hill next turned quack, and applied himself to the preparation of various herb medicines, such as 'the essence of waterdock,' 'tincture of valerian,' 'pectoral balsam of honey,' and 'tincture of bardana,' by the sale of which he made considerable sums of money. Through Bute he obtained the appointment of superintendent of the Royal Gardens at Kew; the grant, however, does not appear to have been confirmed. He died of gout, a disease for which he professed to have an invaluable specific, on 21 Nov. 1775, in Golden Square, and was buried at Denham. Hill was a versatile man of unscrupulous character, with considerable abilities, great perseverance, and unlimited impudence. On the king asking Johnson what he thought of Dr. Hill, Johnson answered that 'he was an ingenious man, but had no veracity,' adding that he was 'a very curious observer, and if he would have been contented to tell the world no more than he knew he might have been a very considerable man, and needed not to have recourse to such mean expedients to raise his reputation' (Boswell, *Life of Johnson*, ii. 38-9). Recklessly extravagant in his style of living, Hill was 'in a chariot one month, in jail the next for debt' (*Whiston MS.* quoted in Nichols's *Lit. Anecdotes*, ii. 724). The greater number of his books, many of which were published anonymously or under a pseudonym, are mere trashy compilations. Some of his botanical works, however, did good service in their day, and the first Linnæan flora of Britain was due to Hill (Jackson, *Guide to the Literature of Botany*, xxxvi).

Hill was a justice of the peace for Westminster, a 'member of the Imperial Academy,' and a 'fellow of the Royal Academy of Sciences at Bordeaux.' According to Walpole he was at one time earning 'fifteen guineas a week by working for wholesale dealers,' and on the accession of George III was 'made gardener of Kensington, a place worth two thousand pounds a year' (Walpole, *Letters*, Cunningham's edit. iii. 372-3). Whiston records that 'he was forbid Chelsea garden for making too free with it' (Nichols, *Lit. Anecdotes*, ii. 724). Hill's own gardens at Bayswater, where he cultivated the plants from which he prepared his quack medicines, covered the site of Lancaster Gate.

Hill married twice. His first wife, whom he married quite early in life, was a Miss Travers, the daughter of Lord Burlington's household steward. His second wife was the Hon. Henrietta Jones, sister of Charles, fourth viscount Ranelagh. She survived her husband, and in 1788 wrote 'An Address to the Public . . . setting forth the consequences of the late Sir John Hill's acquaintance with the Earl of Bute,' in which she attributed the loss of her husband's fortune and health to Bute.

Hill contributed many articles to the 'Supplement to Mr. Chambers's Cyclopædia, or Universal Dictionary of Arts and Sciences' (1753), which was edited by George Lewis Scott. The authorship of Mrs. Glasse's 'Art of Cookery made Plain and Easy,' published anonymously in 1747, has been frequently, though erroneously, attributed to him [see Glasse, Hannah]. The British Museum possesses several satirical prints containing allusions to Hill (*Cat. of Prints and Drawings*, 1877, vol. iii. pt. ii. Nos. 3183, 3184, 3185, 3187, 3212, 3213, and 3279). His portrait was painted by F. Cotes in 1757, and engraved by R. Houston.

Hill's separate publications were: 1. 'Orpheus, an Opera,' London, 1740, fol. 2. 'An answer to the . . . lyes advanc'd by Mr. John Rich, Harlequin; and contain'd in a Pamphlet, which he . . . calls an Answer to Mr. Hill's Preface to Orpheus,' London, 1740, 8vo. 3. 'Θεοφράστου τοῦ Ἐρεσίου περὶ τῶν λίθων βιβλίον. Theophrastus's History of Stones. With an English version, and . . . Notes. . . . By John Hill. To which are added two Letters . . . on the Colours of the Sapphire and Turquoise, and . . . upon the effects of different Menstruums on Copper, &c.,' London, 1746, 8vo; in Greek and English; second edition enlarged, London, 1774, 8vo. 4. 'A Complete History of Drugs. Written in French by . . . Pomet. . . . To which is added what is farther observable on the same subject from . . . Lemery and

Tournefort, divided into three classes: vegetable, animal, and mineral. . . . Illustrated with . . . copper-cuts. . . . Done into English. . . . The fourth edition . . . corrected with . . . additions,' London, 1748, 4to; in two parts. 5. 'History of Fossils,' London, 1748, fol. 6. 'A General Natural History; or Descriptions of the Animals, Vegetables, and Minerals of the different parts of the World. . . . Including the History of the Materia Medica, Pictoria, and Tinctoria of the present and earlier ages. As also . . . a series of critical enquiries into the Materia Medica of the Ancient Greeks,' London, 1748–52, fol., 3 vols. 7. 'The Actor; a Treatise on the Art of Playing,' &c., London, 1750, 12mo. 8. 'Lucina sine concubitu. A Letter humbly address'd to the Royal Society,' &c.; the third edition, London, 1750, 8vo, signed 'Abraham Johnson;' translated into French, London, 1750, 8vo; reprinted in vol. i. of 'Fugitive Pieces on Various Subjects by several authors,' editions 1761, 1762, 1765, 1771. 9. 'A Dissertation on Royal Societies. In Three Letters from a Nobleman on his Travels to a Person of Distinction in Sclavonia,' &c., London, 1750, 8vo. 10. 'A Review of the Works of the Royal Society of London, containing animadversions on such of the papers as deserve particular observation,' &c., London, 1751, 4to; second edition, London, 1780, 4to. 11. 'A History of the Materia Medica,' &c., London, 1751, 4to. 12. 'The Œconomy of Human Life. Part the Second. Translated from an Indian Manuscript, found soon after that which contain'd the original of the first part; and written by the same hand. In a second letter from an English Gentleman residing at China to the Earl of * * *,' London, 1751, 12mo. The first part was written by the Earl of Chesterfield, but the authorship of the second part is ascribed to Hill by Whiston. See 'Notes and Queries,' 1st ser. x. 8, 74, 318. The book passed through a great number of editions. 13. 'The Adventures of Mr. George Edwards, a creole;' the second edition, London, 1751, 12mo; another edition, London, 1788, 8vo. 14. 'The History of a Woman of Quality; or the Adventures of Lady Frail [i.e. Anne, viscountess Vane]. By an impartial hand,' London, 1751, 12mo. 15. 'Letters from the Inspector to a Lady, with the Genuine Answers. Both printed verbatim from the originals,' London, 1752, 8vo. 16. 'Essays in Natural History and Philosophy, containing a series of discoveries by the assistance of microscopes,' London, 1752, 8vo; translated into Dutch, Haarlem, 1753, 8vo. 17. 'The Inspector,' London, 1753, 12mo, 2 vols. 18. 'The Conduct of a Married Life; laid down in a series of Letters, written by the Hon. Juliana Susanah Seymour, to a young lady, her relation, lately married,' London, 1753, 12mo. 19. 'The Story of Elizabeth Canning considered. With remarks on what has been called a clear state of her case by Mr. Fielding,' &c., London, 1753, 8vo. 20. 'Observations on the Greek and Roman Classics, in a series of Letters to a Young Nobleman,' &c., London, 1753, 8vo. 21. 'The Critical Minute; a Farce,' London, 1754. 22. 'Urania; or a Compleat View of the Heavens, containing the Ancient and Modern Astronomy in form of a Dictionary,' &c., London, 1754, 4to. 23. 'Thoughts concerning God and Nature, in answer to a book written by the late Henry St. John, Viscount Bolingbroke,' 1755, 4to. 24. 'The Actor; or a Treatise on the Art of Playing. A new work written by the author of the former,' &c., London, 1755, 12mo. 25. 'The Useful Family Herbal; or an Account of all . . . English Plants . . . remarkable for their Virtues and of Drugs . . . and their Uses. . . . With an introduction, containing Directions for . . . Preserving . . . Herbs . . . and Receipts for Making . . . Distilled Waters, . . . and an Appendix;' the second edition, London, 1755, 8vo; another edition with coloured plates, Bungay, 1812, 8vo; other editions published at Bungay, 1820 (?) and 1822. 26. 'The British Herbal; an History of Plants and Trees natives of Britain, cultivated for use or raised for beauty,' London, 1756, fol. 27. 'The Naval History of Britain . . . to the conclusion of the year 1756. Compiled [by J. Hill] from the papers of Captain George Berkley, and illustrated with sea-charts,' &c., London, 1756, fol. 28. 'Eden, or a Compleat Body of Gardening. . . . Compiled and digested from the papers of the late Mr. Hale by the authors of the Compleat Body of Husbandry,' &c., London, 1757, fol., in 59 numbers. 29. 'The Sleep of Plants and Cause of Motion in the Sensitive Plant explain'd in a Letter to C. Linnæus,' &c., London, 1757, 12mo; second edition, London, 1762, 8vo; translated into French by M. A. Eidous, Paris, 1773, 8vo; also translated into German and Italian. 30. 'The Construction of the Nerves and Causes of Nervous Disorders practically explained, &c. By Christian Uvedale, M.D.,' London, 1758, 8vo. 31. 'The Virtues of Wild Valerian in Nervous Disorders,' &c., London, 1758, 8vo; third edition, London, 1758, 8vo; twelfth edition, London, 1772, 8vo. 32. 'An Idea of a Botanical Garden in England,' &c., London, 1758, 8vo. 33. 'The Fabrick of the Eye,' London, 1758, 8vo. 34. 'The Management of the Gout. By a

Physician, from his own case. With the virtues of an English plant, Bardana, not regarded in the present practice, but safe and effectual in alleviating that disease. By George Crine, M.D.,' London, 1758, 8vo. 35. 'An Account of a Stone in the possession of the Right Honourable the Earl of Strafford, which on being watered produces excellent mushrooms. With the History of the Iolithos, or Violet Stone of the Germans,' London, 1758, 8vo. 36. 'The Book of Nature; or the History of Insects . . . illustrated with copperplates. . . . With the Life of the Author [Jan Swammerdam] by H. Boerhaave' [translated, with notes, by Hill], London, 1758, fol.; in two parts. 37. 'The Rout; a Farce of Two Acts' [in prose], London, 1758, 8vo; second edition, London, 1758, 8vo. 38. 'A Method of Producing Double Flowers from Single, by a regular course of culture,' London, 1758, 8vo; second edition, London, 1759, 8vo. 39. 'The Gardener's New Kalendar; divided according to the twelve months of the year. . . . Containing the whole practice of gardening. . . . The system of Linnæus . . . also explained,' &c., London, 1758, 8vo. 40. 'Outlines of a System of Vegetable Generation,' London, 1758, 8vo; translated into German and Dutch. 41. 'To David Garrick, Esq. The Petition of I. in behalf of herself and her sisters,' London, 1759, 8vo. 42. 'Practice of Gardening, explained to all capacities,' London, 1759, 8vo. 43. 'Exotic Botany illustrated, in thirty-five figures of curious . . . plants; explaining the sexual system, and tending to give some new lights into the vegetable philosophy,' London, 1759, fol.; second edition, London, 1772, fol. 44. 'Cautions against the immoderate use of Snuff. Founded on the known qualities of the Tobacco Plant . . . and enforced by instances of persons who have perished . . . of diseases occasioned . . . by its use,' London, 1759, 8vo. 45. 'The Virtues of Honey in preventing many of the worst disorders,' &c., London, 1759, 8vo; third edition, London, 1760, 8vo; another edition, London, 1784, 12mo. 46. 'The Usefulness of Knowledge of Plants; illustrated in various instances relating to medicines, husbandry, arts, and commerce, &c.,' London, 1759, 8vo. 47. 'Observations on the account given of the Catalogue of Royal and Noble Authors of England, &c., in article vi. of the Critical Review, No. xxxv. for December 1758' [1759?]. Horace Walpole, writing to Gray in February 1759, resents Hill's alliance in this book (*Letters*, 1857, iii. 209). 48. 'Of the Origin and Production of Proliferous Flowers,' &c., London, 1759, 8vo; second edition, London, 1759, 8vo; translated into German and Dutch. 49. 'The Vegetable System, . . . or a series of . . . observations tending to explain the internal structure and the life of the Plants,' &c., London, 1759–75, fol., 26 vols.; second edition, London, 1770–5, fol., 26 vols.; another edition of vol. i., London, 1762, 8vo. 50. 'Flora Britanica, sive synopsis methodica stirpium Britanicarum post tertiam editionem Synopseos Raianæ . . . nunc primum ad . . . C. Linnæi methodum disposita,' London, 1760, 8vo. 51. 'Hillii Envelcata Observatio Microscopica Decima et Sexta,' appended to 'Jacobi Theodori Kleinii . . . dubia circa Plantarvm Marinarvm Fabricam Vermicvlosam cum tribus tabvlis,' Petropoli, 1760, 4to. 52. 'Botanical Tracts. By Dr. Hill. . . . Publish'd at various times. Now first collected together,' London, 1762, 8vo. 53. 'On the Virtues of Sage in Lengthening Human Life. With rules to attain old age,' &c., London [1763], 8vo. 54. 'Centaury, the Great Stomachic, in preference to all other Bitters, in that it gives appetite and digestion,' &c., London, 1765, 8vo; translated into French, London, 1770, 8vo. 55. 'The Old Man's Guide to Health and Longer Life . . .;' fifth edition, London, 1764, 8vo; sixth edition, London, 1771, 8vo. 56. 'Hypochondriasis; a practical treatise on the nature and cure of that disorder, commonly called the hyp and hypo,' London, 1766, 8vo. 57. 'A Method of Curing Jaundice and other disorders of the Liver, by the herb Agrimony, taken in the manner of Tea. . . . Second edition, . . . with a figure of the plant,' &c., London, 1768, 8vo. 58. 'Polypody. The ancient doctrine of the virtues of that herb, tried and confirmed,' London, 1768, 8vo. 59. 'Hortus Kewensis; sistens herbas exoticas, indigenasque rariores, in area botanica . . . apud Kew cultas,' London, 1768, 8vo; editio secunda, aucta, London, 1769, 8vo. 60. 'The Family Practice of Physic; or a plain . . . method of curing diseases with the plants of our own country,' &c., London, 1769, 8vo. 61. 'Herbarium Britannicum exhibens plantas Britanniæ indigenas, secundum methodum floralem novam digestas, cum historia, descriptione,' &c., London, 1769–70, 8vo, 2 vols. 62. 'The Construction of Timber from its early growth, explained by the Microscope and proved from experiments,' &c., London, 1770, fol. and 8vo; second edition, London, 1774, fol. 63. 'The Gardener's Pocket-book, or Country Gentleman's Recreation, &c. By R. S., Gent.,' London [1770?], 12mo. 64. 'The Management of the Gout in diet, exercise, and temper; with the virtues of Burdock Root. . . . Eighth edition,' &c., London, 1771, 8vo. 65. 'Virtues

of British Herbs, with the history, description, and figures of the several kinds. . . . The fourth edition, with additions Nos. I. II.,' London, 1771, 8vo; another edition, Nos. I–III., London, 1771–2, 8vo, in two parts. 66. 'Cautions against the use of violent Medicines in Fevers; and instances of the Virtue of Petasite Root,' &c., London, 1771, 8vo. 67. 'Fossils arranged according to their obvious Character, with their History and Description,' &c., London, 1771, 8vo. 68. 'Sparogenesia; or the Origin and Nature of Spar,' London, 1772, 8vo. 69. 'Twenty-five new Plants, rais'd in the Royal Garden at Kew: their History and Figures,' London, 1773, fol. 70. 'A Decade of Curious Insects, . . . shewn in their natural size, and as they appear enlarg'd before the lucernal Microscope, . . . with their History, Characters, . . . and Places of Abode, on ten quarto plates [coloured], and their explanations,' &c., London, 1773, 4to. 71. 'A Decade of Curious . . . Trees and Plants. . . . Accurately engraved; with their History . . . in English and Latin,' London, 1773, fol.; translated into Italian, 1786. 72. 'Plain and Useful Directions for those who are afflicted with Cancers. . . . With an Account of the Vienna Hemlock, with which Dr. Stork did so great good in cancers. And a History of some absolute cures performed by the English herb Cleavers, communicated . . . by a Lady of Quality [the Countess Dowager of Stafford],' &c., London, 1773, 8vo. 73. 'Horti Malabarici pars prima . . . Nunc primum classium, generum, et specierum characteres Linnæanas, synonyma authorum, atque observationes addidit, et indice Linnæano adauxit J. Hill,' London, 1774, 4to. No more of this edition of Draakestein's book was published. 74. 'Enquiries into the Nature of a new Mineral Acid discovered in Sweden, and of the Stone from which it is obtained; to which is annexed an Idea of an artificial arrangement, and of a natural method of Fossils,' London, 1775, 8vo; in two parts. 75. 'Circumstances which preceded the Letters to the Earl of —— [Mexborough?] and may tend to a discovery of the Author,' London, 1775, 8vo. 76. 'The Power of Water-dock against the Scurvy. . . . Tenth edition' [with plates], London, 1777, 8vo. The following works have also been attributed to Hill: 1. 'A Complete Body of Husbandry,' fol. and 8vo, 4 vols. 2. 'The History of Botany,' &c., 4to. 3. 'Tracts, Medical and Botanical,' 4 vols. 4. 'Orchides,' fol. 5. 'A History of the Aggregates on Cluster-headed Plants,' &c., fol. 6. Two pamphlets on the State Papers, and other matters respecting the revolution in Sweden. 7. 'Travels in the East,' 8vo, 2 vols. 8. 'The History of Mr. Lovell; a Novel.'

[Short Account of the Life, Writings, and Character of the late Sir John Hill, M.D., 1779; Sir John Hawkins's Life of Samuel Johnson, 1787, pp. 211–13; Boswell's Life of Johnson (G. B. Hill's edition), ii. 38–9, iii. 285, iv. 113; Davies's Life of Garrick, 1808, i. 359–61; Murphy's Life of Garrick, 1801, i. 209–10, 291–2, 327–9; Drake's Essays, 1810, ii. 238–45; D'Israeli's Calamities and Quarrels of Authors, 1859, pp. 362–76; Lawrence's Life of Henry Fielding 1855, pp. 304–7, 326; Donaldson's Agricultural Biography, 1854, p. 55; Nichols's Lit. Anecdotes, 1812, ii. 379–80, 724, iii. 732, vi. 89; Chambers's Book of Days, ii. 601–4; Baker's Biog. Dramat., 1812, i. 341–8; Dilly's Repository, 1783, iv. 1–67; Gent. Mag. 1751 xxi. 47, 69–71, 1752 xxii. 28–9, 47, 387, 568–70, 599, 601, 1753 xxiii. 55, 109–10, 1759 xxix. 36–7, 1771 xli. 569, 1774 xliv. 282, 1775 xlv. 551, 1819 vol. lxxxix. pt. i. p. 301; Lodge's Peerage of Ireland, 1789, iv. 304; Townsend's Catalogue of Knights, 1828, p. 94; Notes and Queries, 2nd ser. iii. 127, 198, viii. 206, xi. 30, 52, 198, 3rd ser. vi. 37, vii. 55, 4th ser. i. 453, 6th ser. i. 356, 406, 7th ser. vii. 168, 253; Pritzel's Thesaurus Lit. Bot. 1872, p. 144; Jackson's Guide to the Literature of Botany (Index Soc. Publ. 1880, No. viii.); Watt's Bibl. Brit.; Bohn's Lowndes; Brit. Mus. Cat.] G. F. R. B.

**HILL, JOHN HARWOOD** (1809–1886), antiquary, son of Robert Hill of Leamington, was born at Louth, Lincolnshire, in 1809. Robert Gardiner Hill [q. v.] was a younger brother. On 30 June 1830 he was admitted a pensioner of Peterhouse, Cambridge, graduated B.A. in 1834, and in the same year was ordained to the curacy of Glaston, Rutlandshire, removing in 1835 to that of Corby, Northamptonshire, and becoming librarian to Lord Cardigan at Deene. He compiled a black-letter catalogue of Deene library, with pen-and-ink etchings of his own. In 1837 he was appointed by Lord Cardigan rector of Cranoe, and by the lord chancellor in 1841 vicar of Welham, both near Market Harborough, Leicestershire. In August 1846 the church of Cranoe was much damaged in a storm, and through Hill's exertions a new church was built in 1849 by subscription. The church of Welham was also restored during his incumbency, and in 1838 the rectory-house at Cranoe was rebuilt, largely at his expense. Hill was appointed surrogate for the diocese of Peterborough in 1852. On 12 Jan. 1871 he was elected F.S.A. He died on 3 Dec. 1886 at Cranoe, aged 77. By his wife, who died on 1 Oct. 1874, aged 58, he had a large family.

Hill was author of: 1. 'The Chronicle of the Christian Ages, or Record of Events Eccle-

siastical, Civil, and Military . . . to the end of . . . 1858,' &c., 2 vols. 8vo, Uppingham (1859). 2. 'History of the Parish of Langton,' and of several parishes in the hundred of Gartree, 4to, Leicester, 1867, illustrated with etchings by his own hand. This work was originally designed to aid by its sale the erection of a new church at Tor Langton. 3. 'The History of Market Harborough, with that portion of the Hundred of Gartree, Leicestershire, containing the parishes of Bagrave, Billesdon, Bosworth,' &c., Leicester, 1875, 4to, privately printed, illustrated with etchings by the author. Hill was the local secretary of the Leicestershire Architectural and Archæological Society, and to its 'Transactions' he supplied many articles, of which the most remarkable were on the families of Langton, on Tailbois's 'Memoirs of the Archdeacons of Leicester,' and on the prebendaries of St. Margaret's, Leicester.

[Academy, 18 Dec. 1886; Crockford's Clerical Directory, 1886; Guardian, 8 Dec. 1886.]

G. G.

HILL, JOSEPH (1625–1707), nonconformist divine and lexicographer, was born at Bramley, near Leeds, Yorkshire, in October 1625. His father, Joshua Hill (*d.* 1636), was minister successively at Walmsley Chapel, Lancashire, and Bramley Chapel, and died a few hours before a citation reached his house to answer in the archbishop's court for not wearing a surplice. Joseph Hill was admitted at St. John's College, Cambridge, in 1644, graduated B.A. earlier than usual, was elected fellow of Magdalene College, and proceeded M.A. in 1649. He was a successful tutor, was senior proctor 1658, and in 1660 kept the act for B.D. But as he declined to conform in 1662 the authorities 'cut his name out of their books in kindness to him,' or he must have been ejected. He retired to London, and preached a while at Allhallows Barking. He travelled abroad in 1663, and entered Leyden University as a student 29 March 1664. From Leyden he removed in 1667 (elected 19 June) to the pastorate of the Scottish church at Middleburg, Zeeland. From 1668 a stipend was paid to him by the Provincial States. He wrote (30 Nov. 1672) a political pamphlet, which he had difficulty in getting printed. In April 1673 it appeared in Dutch at Amsterdam, and in English, with the title, 'The Interest of these United Provinces, being a Defence of the Zeelanders Choice,' &c., Middleburg, 1673, 4to. He advocates the English alliance, and vindicates Charles II from suspicion of popery. The printing cost him 100*l.* On 19 Aug. 1673 he was ordered by resolution of the states to quit Zeeland, with permission to return at the close of the war. Repairing to London he waited on Charles, who rewarded him for his pamphlet with a sinecure of 80*l.* a year; the offer of a bishopric did not tempt him from his nonconformity. On 13 Jan. 1678 he became minister of the English presbyterian church on the Haringvliet, Rotterdam, and held this office till his death. Calamy met him at Rotterdam in 1678. Hill was an indefatigable student and book-collector, retaining to the last his habit of reading, though his memory was nearly gone. He died on 5 Nov. 1707.

His chief work was the augmentation of Schrevelius's Greek-Latin lexicon, which he edited 1663, 8vo, adding eight thousand words. The Latin-Greek portion was edited by J. Hutchinson. He wrote also on the 'Antiquities of Temples,' 1696, 4to, and 'Artificial Churches,' 1698, 4to, a sermon on 'Moderation' in the Cripplegate morning exercise, 1677, 4to; and a funeral sermon for Mary Reeve, Rotterdam, 1685, 4to.

Another JOSEPH HILL (1667–1729), unconnected with the foregoing, but sometimes confused with him, was born 11 Oct. 1667 at Salisbury, ordained with Calamy 22 June 1694, was minister at the English presbyterian church, Rotterdam, 1699–1718, and at Haberdashers' Hall, London, from 1718 till his death on 21 Jan. 1729.

[Calamy's Account, 1713, p. 81; Calamy's Own Life, i. 140, 348, ii. 522; Wilson's Dissenting Churches, 1810, iii. 110 sq.; Steven's Scottish Church at Rotterdam, 1833, pp. 319, 325; Leyden Students (Index Soc.); Hunter's Life of Oliver Heywood, 1842, p. 22.]

A. G.

HILL, MATTHEW DAVENPORT (1792–1872), reformer of the criminal law, the eldest son of Thomas Wright Hill [q. v.], by Sarah Lea, his wife, was born at Birmingham on 6 Aug. 1792. He was brother of Sir Rowland Hill, the inventor of penny postage. [For an account of his parents and the circumstances in which he was brought up see HILL, SIR ROWLAND, and HILL, THOMAS WRIGHT.] Till the age of twenty-three he assisted his father in his school. At an early period of his life he took an active part in the political movement of which Birmingham some years later became the centre, writing articles for the 'Midland Chronicle.' In 1814 he entered at Lincoln's Inn, being the first man from Birmingham who went to the bar. He did not begin to keep terms till two years later. In his student days he reported in the House of Commons, and wrote for the newspapers. With two friends, John and Samuel Steer, he carried on for a short time a weekly journal, 'The Sunday Review,' or 'The Saturday Review,' as it

was styled in its edition for the provinces, with the motto of 'Pro rege sæpe, pro patria semper.' In Michaelmas term 1819 he was called to the bar, joining the midland circuit. He at once obtained a brief in a case arising out of the Manchester massacre. On his first circuit he was engaged for the defence of Major John Cartwright [q. v.] and others who were prosecuted for conspiracy in attending a meeting to elect what they called 'a legislatorial attorney' for Birmingham. Hill's known sympathies with the radical party and his ability led to his being retained for the defence in many other political trials. In 1820 he defended the wife of Richard Carlile [q. v.] on a charge of selling a seditious libel, and in 1822 Carlile's shop-boy on a charge of disseminating blasphemy. In 1831 he was leading counsel for the Nottingham rioters, in 1839 for the Canadian prisoners, and in 1843 for the 'Rebecca' rioters in South Wales. In 1844 he was one of the counsel for Daniel O'Connell in his appeal to the House of Lords, and in 1848 for the plaintiffs in the Braintree church rate case, and for the crown in the case of the appointment of Dr. Hampden to the see of Hereford. He was for many years actively engaged both in parliament and in the courts of law in the celebrated case of the Baron de Bode, who claimed as an English subject compensation for the loss of his property confiscated by the French government. The money had been paid by the French government in 1814 into the English treasury; but in spite of the support given to the baron's claim by Lords Derby, Truro, Brougham, and Lyndhurst, all Hill's efforts for his client were fruitless.

In 1822 he had published his work on 'Public Education' [see under HILL, SIR ROWLAND], which led to an intimate acquaintance with Jeremy Bentham and other advanced liberals. In 1823–4, under the pseudonyms of William Payne and Martin Danvers Heaviside, he contributed to Knight's 'Quarterly Magazine,' and so became intimate with Macaulay. In a contribution entitled 'My Maiden Brief' he gave a lively account of his first case. In 1826 he took part with Brougham in founding the Society for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge. In the political agitation which resulted in the Reform Bill he was largely concerned, and on the resignation of Lord Grey's ministry in 1832, when it was believed that the Duke of Wellington was going to use military force, he, like many of the reformers, purchased a rifle to use on the side of the people. Being returned for Hull in the first reform parliament, he strongly supported all measures for improving the law and extending liberty. He had the charge of the bill for the colonisation of South Australia, which in 1834 received the royal assent. In a speech at Hull in 1833, imprudently repeating a statement which he had heard in private conversation, he charged an Irish member with opposing a bill, and at the same time privately intimating to the government that it ought to pass. This led on the opening of the session to an unseemly debate, in the course of which Lord Althorp, who avowed his belief that the statement was true, and Sheil were committed to the custody of the sergeant-at-arms, as a duel between them seemed impending. A committee of inquiry was appointed, before which Hill, convinced that the report which had reached him could not be sustained, finally withdrew the charge. In the general election of 1835 he lost his seat. In 1838 he published a pamphlet, 'A Letter to Thomas Pemberton, Esq., M.P., on the Privileges of the House of Commons.'

In 1834 he took silk, and in 1839, on the erection of his native town into a municipal corporation, he was appointed recorder of Birmingham. It was in this office, which he held for twenty-six years, that he delivered that series of charges to the grand jury which greatly helped to effect a reform in the criminal law. These charges were published in a collected edition in 1857 under the title of 'Suggestions for the Repression of Crime.' He had for a fellow-worker his youngest brother, Frederic Hill, who as first inspector of prisons in Scotland had remodelled the gaols in that part of the kingdom, and published the results of his experience in a work entitled 'Hill on Crime' (1853). In dealing with criminals the following were the principles which Hill laid down: (1) The object of criminal jurisprudence should be the repression of crime to the lowest possible amount, the treatment of the criminal being a means to that end, not an end itself; (2) with retribution for sin, man, in regard to his fellow-man, has nothing to do; (3) punishment used solely as a deterrent being often futile, at the best insufficient, and always uncertain in effect, two methods alone exist of preventing crime by penal means, namely, incapacitation or reformation. Under incapacitation come capital punishment and imprisonment. Criminals guilty of murder, but who have been reprieved, or guilty of inflicting irremediable injury, and those whom repeated convictions for grave offences have shown to be incorrigible, he proposed to imprison, not nominally as at present, but really for life, in a special gaol. From this there was to be no release except by the recommendation of the judicial committee of the privy council. In dealing with

all other prisoners he adopted the principles laid down by Captain Maconochie, formerly governor of Norfolk Island, which Hill thus summed up: 'Begin to reform the criminal the moment you get hold of him, and keep hold of him until you have reformed him.' By good conduct and work alone the prisoner was to earn indulgences and liberation. By the Penal Servitude Act of 1853 this principle was in part adopted. A prisoner whose conduct had been good was to be released before the expiration of his sentence on a ticket of leave, the chief condition of which was that he would be sent back to prison on proof being given that he was associating with persons of evil repute, and was not in possession of any visible means of earning an honest livelihood. This measure was almost wrecked at the outset by the folly of the home office. Convicts, however bad their conduct had been, were discharged on the expiration of a certain portion of their sentence, and scarcely a single license was revoked except on the commission of a fresh crime. Crimes of violence increased, and the public laid the blame on the system. Fortunately it was worked with great efficiency in Ireland by Captain Crofton, the head of the convict prisons there. By the reduction of convicts in that country in eight years from 4,278 to 1,314, its merits were vindicated. It was not till the Penal Servitude Act of 1864 that tickets of leave ceased to be granted in England as a matter of course, but were rigidly earned by good conduct.

The juvenile criminals, who in 1844 amounted to one in 304 of the population between the ages of ten and twenty, engaged much of Hill's attention. He joined with Mary Carpenter [q. v.] and other philanthropists in advocating the establishment of reformatories, which should be worked not as barracks, but on the family principle, as at Mettray in France; and of industrial schools for those who, not yet convicted, were hovering on the brink of a criminal life, and of free day- or ragged-schools for neglected children. The cost of the maintenance of the child was as far as possible to be thrown on the parents. These views Hill supported not only in his charges, but in large conferences held from time to time of those interested in these questions. The result of improved legislation was seen in the rapid lessening of the number of known criminals, which fell from 155,000 in 1861 to 77,000 in 1871, and 32,910 in 1887–8. In 1851 Hill was appointed commissioner of bankrupts for the Bristol district, which post he held till the abolition of the provincial courts by the act of 1869. His judgments were unusually sound. 'I don't know how it is, Hill,' remarked Lord-justice Knight Bruce, 'but we can't manage to upset any of your decisions.' 'Nevertheless,' answered the commissioner, 'I do my best to give you a chance—I always try to be right.' While commissioner of bankrupts he continued his efforts at reforming criminal jurisprudence, and took an active part in the work of the Social Science Association and in the co-operative movement. One of the last schemes which occupied his attention was the boarding-out of pauper children. He died on 7 June 1872, at his residence at Heath House, Stapleton, near Bristol, and was buried by the side of his wife in the cemetery of Arno's Vale. A bust of him has been placed by the town council of Birmingham in the public library of the town. He married in 1819 Margaret Bucknall, the elder daughter of a Kidderminster brewer. She died in 1868. By her he had six children, five of whom survived him—Alfred Hill, late registrar in the Birmingham court of bankruptcy; Matthew Berkeley Hill, professor of clinical surgery in University College, London; Rosamond Davenport Hill, member of the City of London School Board since 1879; Florence Davenport Hill and Joanna Hill, who have both been active in poor law reform, especially in the boarding-out system.

[Remains of T. W. Hill, ed. M. D. Hill, privately printed, 1859; obituary notice in the Times and Daily News, 10 June 1872; Memoir of M. D. Hill, by his Daughters, 1878; Public Education, by M. D. Hill, 1822; Suggestions for the Repression of Crime, by M. D. Hill, 1857; Life of Sir Rowland Hill, by G. B. Hill, 1880; Knight's Quarterly Magazine, 1823–4; The Bench and the Bar, 1837; Transactions of the Association for the Promotion of Social Science; Co-operator, July and August 1863, January 1864.]

G. B. H.

HILL, NICHOLAS (1570?–1610), philosopher, born in London about 1570, entered Merchant Taylors' School about 1578, and in 1587 was elected scholar of St. John's College, Oxford, where he matriculated 21 July 1587, when he was aged 17. He graduated B.A. 27 May 1592, and became fellow of his college. He was for some time secretary to Edward de Vere, 'the poetical and prodigal earl of Oxford' (Wood), and afterwards lived under the patronage of Henry, earl of Northumberland, and shared in his philosophic studies. Wood mentions a gossiping story to the effect that he was concerned in a plot against James I, and being obliged to flee the country, settled at Rotterdam, where, through grief at the death of his son Laurence, he poisoned himself about 1610. His death abroad seems well established, although

Wood dismisses the story of its cause with the remark, 'I shall only say that our Author Hill was a person of good parts, but humorous; that he had a peculiar and affected way, different from others in his writings, that he entertained fantastical notions in his philosophy, and that as he had lived most of his time in the Romish persuasion, so he died, but cannot be convinced that he should die the death of a fool or a madman.' He left in the hands of his widow many papers upon the essence of God, the eternity and infinity of matter, and the like. Copies of these essays appear to have been made by several hands, but his only printed work was a treatise on philosophy, dedicated to his son Laurence, and entitled 'Philosophia Epicurea, Democritiana, Theophrastica, proposita simpliciter non edocta,' Paris, 1601, 8vo; another edition, Geneva, 1619, 12mo. Ben Jonson mentions Hill in his 'Epigrams' (No. 134) thus:

> . . . those Atomi ridiculous,
> Whereof old Democrite and Hill Nicholis,
> One said, the other swore, the world consists.

[Wilson's Hist. of Merchant Taylors' School; Oxf. Univ. Reg. II. ii. 160, iii. 171 (Oxford Hist. Soc.); Wood's Athenæ Oxon. (Bliss), ii. 86.]
C. J. R.

**HILL, PASCOE GRENFELL** (1804–1882), miscellaneous writer, son of Major Thomas Hill, was born at Marazion, Cornwall, on 15 May 1804. He was educated at Mill Hill School, Middlesex, and at Trinity College, Dublin, where he graduated B.A. in 1836. In the same year he was ordained a priest, and became a chaplain in the royal navy, in which he served till 1845, when he was placed on the retired list. During his service at sea he saw much of the slave trade on the African coast, of which he afterwards published an account in two works. An early publication, entitled 'Poems on Several Occasions' (chiefly love poems), was dedicated to his uncle, Oliver Hill, but in after years he repented of this production. From 1852 to 1857 he was chaplain of the Westminster Hospital, and for some time morning reader at Westminster Abbey. On 26 Jan. 1863 he was appointed rector of St. Edmund the King and Martyr with St. Nicholas Acons, Lombard Street, city of London, where he continued to his death. He endeavoured to enliven his church by providing a succession of preachers, by improving the choir, and holding short services in the middle of the day. He was the first to introduce a surpliced choir into a city church. He died at the rectory house, 32 Finsbury Square, London, 28 Aug. 1882, and was buried in the City of London cemetery at Ilford. His wife, Ellen Annetta, whom he married 26 Jan. 1846, died 18 April 1878. Hill was the author of: 1. 'Fifty Days on Board a Slave Ship in the Mozambique Channel,' 1843; 3rd ed. 1853. 2. 'Poems on Several Occasions,' Penzance, 1845. 3. 'A Voyage to the Slave Coasts of West and East Africa,' 1849. 4. 'A Journey through Palestine,' 1852. 5. 'The Kaffir War,' 1852. 6. 'A Visit to Cairo,' 1853. 7. 'The Christian Soldier, a sermon,' 1853. 8. 'Modern British Poesy, with Biographical Sketches,' 1856. 9. 'Letter to the Lord Mayor on Street Slaughter,' 1866. 10. 'Life of Napoleon,' 3 vols. 1869.

[City Press, 2 Sept. 1882, p. 5; Citizen, 2 Sept. 1882, p. 2; Times, 30 Aug. 1882, p. 10; Boase and Courtney's Bibl. Cornub. i. 240; Boase's Collectanea Cornubiensia, p. 365.]
G. C. B.

**HILL, RICHARD** (1655–1727), statesman and diplomatist, second son of Rowland Hill of Hawkstone, Shropshire, and his wife Margaret, daughter of Richard Whitehall of Doddington in the same county, was born at Hawkstone on 23 March 1655. He was educated at Shrewsbury School, and afterwards at St. John's College, Cambridge, where he graduated B.A. in 1675, and became a fellow. While acting as tutor to Lord Hyde, the eldest son of Laurence, first earl of Rochester [q. v.], he became acquainted with Richard, earl of Ranelagh, the paymaster of the forces, by whom he was appointed deputy-paymaster to the army in Flanders, a post which he held for six years. In 1696 he became envoy extraordinary to the elector of Bavaria at Brussels (LUTTRELL, iv. 37). He succeeded Sir Joseph Williamson in 1699 as ambassador at the Hague (*ib.* iv. 495, 520, 576), and in the same year went on a special mission to the court of Turin. On 15 Nov. 1699 he was appointed a lord of the treasury, and continued in that office until the accession of Queen Anne to the throne. On 20 May 1702 Hill became one of the council to Prince George of Denmark, the lord high admiral, and in July 1703 was appointed envoy extraordinary to the Duke of Savoy. After meeting with many delays and difficulties Hill succeeded in detaching the duke from Lewis XIV, and induced him to join the grand alliance. In accordance with his instructions he gave his assistance to the Vaudois and other protestants in the duke's dominions, and was successful in obtaining the revocation of the decrees against the Vaudois, and the confirmation in their favour of the secret article of 20 Oct. 1690, and of the edict of 23 May 1694. Hill left Genoa in February 1706, and returned to England early in May. On the death of Prince George of Denmark in October 1708

Hill's connection with the admiralty ceased. In 1710 he was appointed envoy extraordinary and plenipotentiary to the Hague and Brussels (*ib.* vi. 665, 668, 676), but ill-health forced him to refuse the appointment (LORD BOLINGBROKE, *Works*, 1798, vi. 31). During the latter part of his life Hill lived at Richmond in Surrey, where he died on 11 June 1727 in his seventy-third year. He was buried in Hodnet Church, Shropshire, where there is a monument to his memory. According to Speaker Onslow (BURNET, *History of his own Time*, iv. 318), Hill 'took deacon's orders, which he laid aside while employed in civil affairs; but upon his withdrawing from them he resumed his clerical character, took priest's orders,' and became a fellow of Eton College on 22 Dec. 1714 (HARWOOD, *Alumni Etonenses*, 1797, p. 84). Hill appears to have been strongly pressed to accept a bishopric, but though he refused this preferment he is said to have aspired to the post of provost of Eton. He was an able man of business, and though a tory greatly admired William's foreign policy, and staunchly supported the Hanoverian succession. Macky, in describing Hill, says: 'He is a gentleman of very clear parts, and affects plainness and simplicity in his dress and conversation especially. He is a favourite to both parties, and is beloved for his easy access and affable way by those he has business to do with' (*Memoirs of the Secret Services*, 1733, p. 148). Hill was not married, and died exceedingly rich. He left a considerable portion of his property by his will to his nephews, Samuel Barbour and Thomas Harwood, both of whom assumed the surname of Hill. Thomas, by his second wife, Susanna Maria, the eldest daughter of William Noel, a justice of the common pleas, was father of Noel Hill, who was created Baron Berwick on 19 May 1784. The Hawkstone estate passed to Rowland Hill, another nephew, who was created a baronet in consideration of his uncle's services on 20 Jan. 1727, and was father of Sir Richard Hill [q. v.] and of Rowland Hill, the preacher (1744–1833) [q. v.] Hill left the advowsons of several livings to St. John's College, Cambridge. He was a fellow of the Royal Society, and was created an honorary D.C.L. of Oxford University on 13 July 1708. He does not appear to have been knighted, or to have been admitted to the privy council. His correspondence while envoy to the Duke of Savoy, which was discovered about 1840 at Attingham Hall, near Shrewsbury, was edited in 1845 by the Rev. William Blackley, and throws valuable light upon the policy of Victor Amadeus, duke of Savoy, afterwards king of Sardinia.

[Preface to the Diplomatic Correspondence of the Right Hon. Richard Hill, 1845, pp. v–xiv; Luttrell's Brief Hist. Relation of State Affairs, 1857, vols. iv. v. vi.; Burnet's History of his own Time, 1833, iv. 317–18, 386, vi. 77, 120; Historical Register, 1727, Chron. Diary, p. 25; Hist. MSS. Comm. 11th Rep. pt. v. p. 306; Blakeway's Sheriffs of Shropshire, 1831, pp. 179–82; Betham's English Baronetage, 1803, iii. 209–10; Wotton's English Baronetage, 1741, iv. 215–16; Burke's Peerage, &c., 1889, pp. 131, 713; Foster's Peerage, 1883, p. 364; Notes and Queries, 3rd ser. xi. 456, 4th ser. iii. 161.] G. F. R. B.

**HILL, SIR RICHARD** (1732–1808), controversialist, was eldest son of Sir Rowland Hill, who was created a baronet in 1727 as nephew of Richard Hill (1655–1727) [q. v.] Richard's mother was Jane, daughter of Sir Brian Broughton; and Rowland Hill, the preacher (1744–1833) [q. v.], was a younger brother. He was born at Hawkstone, the family seat, near Shrewsbury, on 6 June 1732. He was educated at Westminster School and Magdalen College, Oxford, where he matriculated 8 Dec. 1750, and was created M.A. on 2 July 1754. He travelled on the continent for two years with the Earl of Elgin, and on his return to England in 1757 distinguished himself as a champion of George Whitefield and the Calvinistic methodists. In 1768 six undergraduates were expelled from St. Edmund Hall, Oxford, for adopting methodism. Hill violently attacked the university authorities in a pamphlet called 'Pietas Oxoniensis' (Oxford, 1768). Dr. Thomas Nowell, principal of St. Mary's Hall, and public orator, replied to Hill, who rejoined with much vigour in 'Goliath Slain.' Hill defended Calvinistic methodism against John Wesley, Fletcher of Madeley, and other methodist leaders in 1770. Towards the latter end of 1780 he was returned to parliament, unopposed, to represent Shropshire. His maiden speech was delivered on 19 May 1781, upon a 'Bill for the better Regulation of the Sabbath.' Throughout his parliamentary career Hill was an able and telling speaker. The 'Public Advertiser' characterised his speeches as uttered 'with much wit and good humour.' His habit of referring to the authority of holy writ excited much ridicule, and he was called 'the Scriptural Killigrew.'

In the autumn of 1783 Hill succeeded to the baronetcy and estates of his father, who had died on 7 Aug. in that year. In 1798 Archdeacon Charles Daubeny [q. v.] published his 'Guide to the Church.' Hill attacked Daubeny in 'An Apology for Brotherly Love and for the Doctrines of the Church of England.' Daubeny replied in 'An Appendix to the Guide to the Church,'

1799, in answer to which Hill published 'Reformation Truth Restored.'

In 1803 Bishop Tomline of Lincoln censured evangelical preaching somewhat severely in his charge, when Hill with much warmth defended the evangelical clergy from Tomline's accusations. Hill was a hearty supporter of the British and Foreign Bible Society, but failing health prevented him from appearing as its champion. Soon after the dissolution of parliament in the autumn of 1806 the same cause induced him to give up his seat, and he retired to Hawkstone. He died on 28 Nov. 1808, and was buried in a vault known as the 'Sepulchre of the Hills,' in the parish church of Hodnet, Shropshire, where a monument was erected to his memory. He was unmarried, and was succeeded as third baronet by his younger brother John, the father of Rowland, first viscount Hill [q. v.], and of Sir Thomas Noel Hill [q. v.] Among his friends Hill was held in the highest esteem on account of his simplicity and kindliness. Kenyon declared that he knew not 'within the circle of human nature a better man than Sir Richard Hill.' Hill's writings consist chiefly of religious pamphlets, the most remarkable of which are noticed above. Two of his works, 'A Present for your Poor Neighbour' and 'The Deep Things of God,' were long popular, and have been several times reprinted.

[Life of Sir Richard Hill, by the Rev. Edwin Sidney; Oxford Graduates; Public Advertiser, 22 March 1782; Alumni Oxon.; Notes and Queries, 3rd ser. ix. 427.] W. C. S.

**HILL**, otherwise **HULL**, ROBERT (*d.* 1425), judge, was perhaps born at Heligan, Cornwall (*Bibl. Cornub.* i. 240). He is mentioned as a lawyer acting as an arbitrator in 16 Richard II (*Rot. Parl.* iii. 302). In 1399 he was king's serjeant, and was called on for a 'loan' of 100*l.* to aid the king against the Welsh and Scotch. On 14 May 1408 (not, as Rymer says, 9 May 1409) he was appointed a judge of the common pleas, and in 1415 he was one of the judges who tried Richard, earl of Cambridge, Henry, lord Scrope, and Sir Thomas Grey at Southampton for treason. Two years afterwards he was appointed to hold sessions in Wales. In the first year of Henry VI's reign he was chief justice of the Isle of Ely. The last fine acknowledged before him is in Hilary term 1425, about which time he probably died. He lived at Shilstone in Devonshire, and married (1) Isabella, daughter of Sir Thomas Fychet; and (2) a daughter of Otto de Bodrugan, sheriff of Cornwall. Both ladies were Cornish heiresses. His son Robert was sheriff of Devonshire in 1428–9, and was ancestor of Abigail Hill, lady Masham (*Notes and Queries*, 2nd ser. viii. 10).

[Foss's Lives of the Judges; Cal. Inquis. p.m. iv. 462; Deputy-keeper of Records, 8th Rep. p. 163; Acts Privy Council, i. 202; Dugdale's Orig. p. 46; Cal. Rot. Parl. p. 234; Year-Books, 1 Henry VI p. 8 *b*, and 2 Henry V p. 5 *b*; Prince's Worthies; Fuller's Worthies.] J. A. H.

**HILL**, ROBERT (*d.* 1623), divine, a native of Ashbourne, Derbyshire, was, as he says, 'descended of meane but honest parentage' (will in P.C.C. 87, Swan). He was educated at Christ's College, Cambridge, and graduated B.A. in 1584, M.A. in 1588 (*University Register*). In 1588–9 he was admitted fellow of St. John's College, Cambridge, and from about 1591 to 1602 was perpetual curate of St. Andrew, Norwich (BLOMEFIELD, *Norfolk*, 8vo ed., iv. 301). Hill took an active part in the disputed election to the mastership of St. John's in 1595 (T. BAKER, *Hist. of St. John's*, ed. Mayor, pt. ii. p. 607). By October 1601 he was chaplain to Lord-chief-justice Popham. Having commenced B.D. in 1595, he was incorporated at Oxford on 10 July 1605 (WOOD, *Fasti Oxon.* ed. Bliss, i. 304). In 1602 he became lecturer of St. Martin-in-the-Fields (Address to parishioners in *Pathway to Prayer*, ed. 1613), and on 15 Sept. 1607 rector of St. Margaret Moyses, Friday Street (NEWCOURT, *Repertorium*, i. 404). In 1609 he proceeded D.D. On 24 Feb. 1613 he was preferred by Lord-chancellor Ellesmere to the well-endowed rectory of St. Bartholomew Exchange (*ib.* i. 292), when he resigned his other cures. Here he was 'a principall meanes to builde the parsonage house.' Hill died in August 1623, and was buried by his desire near his first wife in the chancel of St. Bartholomew. He was a member of the Vintners' Company, and left them 10*l.* to buy a piece of plate. He married, first, between 1613 and 1615, Margaret, daughter of John (?) Witts of Ghent, and widow of Prebendary Adrian de Saravia, who died in childbed on 29 June 1615, aged 39. Her death was mourned in verse by Joshua Sylvester. Hill's second wife, Susan, apparently the sister of Thomas Westfeild, afterwards bishop of Bristol, survived him.

Hill was author of: 1. 'Life euerlasting: or the trve knowledge of One Jehovah, Three Elohim, and Iesvs Immanvel: collected ovt of the best moderne Diuines, and compiled into one volume,' 4to, Cambridge, 1601. 2. 'Christs Prayer expounded, a Christian directed, and a Communicant prepared . . . To which is added a Preface of Prayer, a pithie Prayer for Christian Families,' &c., 8vo, London, 1606. Hill afterwards issued a greatly enlarged edition, under the title of

'The Pathway to Prayer and Pietie. Containing (1) An Exposition of the Lords Prayer. . . ; (2) A Preparation to the Lords Supper, with Ma. Zanchius Confession concerning that Sacrament; (3) A Direction to a Christian Life; (4) An Instruction to die well,' 2 pts., 8vo, London, 1613. To the sixth edition (5 pts., 8vo, London, 1615–16) is appended J. Sylvester's 'Elegie' upon the death of Mrs. Hill. The eighth edition (1629) contains 'The Protestation of J. White written to the end the Papists might understand he departed out of this world of the same opinion.' From the plan of this eloquently written manual Jeremy Taylor may have derived that of his 'Holy Living and Dying.' Hill translated from the Latin of William Bucanus 'Institvtions of Christian Religion,' 4to, London, 1606, and edited W. Perkins's 'Godly Exposition upon the three first chapters of the Revelation,' fol., London, 1607. In the fourth part of the 'Workes' of R. Greenham, fol., London, 1612, is 'An Exposition of the 119 Psalme found unperfect and perfected by R. Hill.' He also collected the posthumous sermons and lectures of Samuel Hieron [q. v.], and published them in folio in 1620 as the second volume of Hieron's 'Workes.' Hill has Latin verses before Foulke Robartes's 'The Revenue of the Gospel is Tythes,' 1613. His portrait has been engraved.

[Cole's Athenæ Cantabr. (Addit. MS. 5871, f. 26); Hunter's Chorus Vatum, i. 416 (Addit. MS. 24487), v. 456–9 (Addit. MS. 24491); Wood's Fasti Oxon. (Bliss), i. 280; Granger's Biog. Hist. of England (6th edit.), i. 363–4].

G. G.

**HILL, ROBERT** (1699–1777), learned tailor, the son of poor parents, was born on 11 Jan. 1699, at Miswell, Hertfordshire. His father died within a year of his birth, and his mother about five years later married Thomas Robinson, a tailor in Buckingham. Robert Hill was left to the care of his grandmother, Mrs. Clark, at Miswell, and on her removal in 1710 to Tring Grove became a farmer's boy. Proving too delicate for this occupation, he was apprenticed in 1714 to his stepfather in Buckingham, where the chance acquisition of a grammar at the age of seventeen inspired him with zeal for learning. His first studies were Latin and French. He married in 1721, and turned schoolmaster in 1724, on finding his increasing family hard to support on tailoring. For some years he numbered more than fifty scholars in his school. In 1730 he lost his wife. A second wife, whom he married in 1732, proved so unsatisfactory, that he left his home and travelled about the country. Before leaving home he had learned Greek, and during his wanderings worked at Hebrew. On hearing of his second wife's death, he returned in 1744 to Buckingham, and married a third time in 1747. About this date Hill came under the notice of a neighbouring clergyman, who introduced him to the learned world. This friend having given him a copy of the 'Essay on Spirit,' by Bishop Berkeley, he wrote some 'Observations' on it, and also a tract, 'Some Considerations on the Divinity of the Holy Ghost.' This was in 1753. In 1757 Joseph Spence published his 'Parallel in the Manner of Plutarch, between a most celebrated Man of Florence, and one, scarce ever heard of, in England.' This tract compares Hill with Magliabechi, giving an account of Hill's career; it was included in 'Fugitive Pieces, by several Authors,' published in two vols. by Dodsley in 1761, and several times reprinted. From a list of benefactors, three pages long, at the end of Spence's tract in Dodsley's volumes, we learn that Hill was substantially assisted by the benevolent, but in 1775 he was again in difficulties. In a 'Premonition by a Friend of the Author,' prefixed to 'Christianity the True Religion—an Essay in answer to the Blasphemy of a Deist,' by Mr. Robert Hill, Chester, 1775, 12mo, we are told that Hill's 'learning and ingenuity have not been able to set him above the frowns of fortune.' Hill inscribes the treatise to Sir John Chetwode 'in acknowledgment of many generous favours.' This is the last we hear of him. Besides the treatise mentioned, he wrote in 1753 a tract against papists, dedicated and presented to Lady Temple; a tract on the 'Character of a Jew,' when the bill for naturalising the Jews was in agitation; some short 'Criticisms on Job;' and made considerable progress in a Hebrew grammar. His literary ability is in no way extraordinary. He died at Buckingham in July 1777, after a long illness.

[Joseph Spence's Parallel; A Letter to the Rev. Mr. G. R., prefixed to Some Considerations on the Divinity of the Holy Ghost, and the Premonition noticed above, are the sources for the facts of Hill's life; see also Chalmers's Biog. Dict. xvii. 497, xxviii. 278.]

R. B.

**HILL, ROBERT GARDINER** (1811–1878), surgeon, originator of the non-restraint system in lunacy, son of Robert Hill of Leamington, was born at Louth, Lincolnshire, on 26 Feb. 1811. John Harwood Hill [q. v.] was an elder brother. At the age of fourteen Robert was apprenticed to a surgeon in his native town. He then studied at Grainger's, Guy's, and St. Thomas's Hospitals, becoming a member of the College of Surgeons of Eng-

land in 1834, and a licentiate of the College of Physicians, Edinburgh, in 1859. On passing as a surgeon he commenced practice at Lincoln, and in the same year obtained the appointment of house-surgeon to the General Dispensary there. His energy and determination were conspicuous, and he was elected in July 1835 resident house-surgeon of the Lincoln lunatic asylum. Here for some time he literally lived among the patients, and satisfied himself of the possibility of dispensing with any instruments of restraint. Under his management the number of the patients rapidly increased, and the Lincoln asylum attained much fame and prosperity. In 1839 he published his lecture on the 'Management of Lunatic Asylums and the Treatment of the Insane.' He argued that 'in a properly constructed building, with a sufficient number of suitable attendants, restraint is never necessary, never justifiable, and always injurious in all cases of lunacy whatever.' He proposed to substitute 'classification, watchfulness, vigilant and unceasing attendance by day and by night, kindness, occupation, and attendance to health, cleanliness, comfort, and the total abstinence of every description of other occupation by the attendants.' His efforts contributed to the general adoption of more humane methods. He entered into partnership with Richard Sutton Harvey in 1840, and became proprietor of Eastgate House private asylum, Lincoln. On 29 Oct. 1851 Hill was entertained at a public dinner in Lincoln and presented with a testimonial as the 'author and originator of the non-restraint system in lunacy.' The claim to the origination of the non-restraint system has been disputed [see under CONOLLY, JOHN], but in any case Hill was the first to carry out the system to a practical result on a large scale. In November 1852 he was chosen mayor of Lincoln, and elected a fellow of the Society of Antiquaries of London on 17 Feb. 1853. In October 1863 he removed to London and settled down as resident medical proprietor of Earl's Court House, Old Brompton, a private asylum for ladies, a residence formerly inhabited by John Hunter. He died of apoplexy at Earl's Court House, London, on 30 May 1878, and was buried in Highgate cemetery.

Hill was the author of: 1. 'Total Abolition of Personal Restraint in the Treatment of the Insane. A Lecture, with Statistical Tables,' 1839. 2. 'A Concise History of the entire Abolition of Medical Restraint in the Treatment of the Insane and of the success of the Non-Restraint System,' 1857. 3. 'Lunacy, its Past and its Present,' 1870. He also wrote articles 'On Total Abolition of Personal Restraint in Treatment of the Insane,' in the 'Lancet,' 11 April 1840, p. 93, and 22 Feb. 1851, pp. 226–7; and 'Psychological Studies,' six articles in the 'Medical Circular,' 6 Jan. 1858, p. 1 et seq.

[Thirteenth Annual Report of Lincoln Lunatic Asylum, 12 April 1837, and following reports; Illustrated London News, 3 Jan. 1852, pp. 13–14, with view of the testimonial; Medical Circular, 7 Sept. 1853, pp. 187–9, with portrait, and 23 Nov. pp. 391, 396; Medical Times and Gazette, 1864, pp. 522–3, by Dr. B. W. Richardson; Robertson's Photographs of Eminent Medical Men, 1868, ii. 65–8, with portrait; Times, 15 June 1878, p. 7; British Medical Journal, 15 June 1878, pp. 873, 879.] G. C. B.

**HILL, ROGER** (1605–1667), judge, of a family long settled at Houndstone, Somerset, son of William Hill of Poundsford, near Taunton, and Jane, daughter of John Young of Devonshire, was born at Collaton, Devonshire, at the house of Mrs. Sampson, his father's sister, on 1 Dec. 1605. He was admitted a member of the Inner Temple 22 March 1624, was called to the bar 10 Feb. 1632, and became a bencher of his inn 10 June 1649. In March 1644 he was the junior of five counsel against Archbishop Laud (WOOD, *Athenæ Oxon.* iii. 130), and was elected in 1645 to parliament for Bridport, the sitting member having adhered to King Charles (*Parl. Hist.* ii. 608). In 1646 he received a grant of the chambers in the Temple of Mostyn and Stampe (WHITELOCKE, *Memorials*, p. 201), and was named in the commission of judges to try the king, but did not act. In May 1649 he was appointed to assist the attorney-general for the Commonwealth against Lilburne, Walwin, Prince, and Overton, and was again assistant to the attorney-general in the trials in the west in the spring of 1655. On 29 June of that year he became a serjeant-at-law, was a judge of assize in Northamptonshire in August 1656, and is named as a baron of the exchequer in Easter term 1657 in Hardres's 'Reports.' He was present at the Protector's investiture in June 1657, and was a judge attendant on the House of Peers in January 1658 (BURTON, *Diary*, ii. 240, 512). In 1658 he went the Oxford circuit (WOOD, *Athenæ Oxon.* iii. 754), and in August 1659, with Chief-baron Wylde, held assizes in Gloucestershire, with instructions to proceed to Monmouth 'if it be safe, but otherwise to forbear.' Lambert being on the march from Chester, and the country becoming pacified, the judges were able to proceed (GREENE, *Cal. State Papers*, Dom. August 1659). On the restoration of the Long parliament he resumed his seat, and on 17 Jan. 1660 was

[illegible] pp. 161–2). In the following year he obtained a grant, by letters patent of Edward VI. of several churches and rectories in Shropshire, Cheshire, and Staffordshire (Pat. p. 17[illegible]). He is said by Maitland (*History of London*, 1756, ii. 1198) to have been elected one of the city representatives in Mary's first parliament in 1553, but the official returns are wanting. In 1557 he was appointed, despite his reputation as a strong protestant, one of Philip and Mary's commissioners against heretics (Foxe, *Acts and Monuments*, 4th edit., viii. 301–3). In 1[illegible] his name was included in a list of prominent merchants from whom Sir Thomas [illegible] advised Queen Elizabeth to extort a forced loan in that year (*Cal. State Papers*, Dom. Ser. 1[illegible], p. 153). He died, unmarried, on [illegible] 1581, 'of the strangwyllyon,' and was buried on 5 Nov. at St. Stephen's, Walbrook (Machyn, pp. 271–2). His epitaph, which was [illegible] by Stow (*Survey of London*, [illegible]), [illegible] his learning. The monument was in the south aisle, and perished with the church in the great fire of London. An [illegible] was erected to his memory in Hawk[illegible] Park by a collateral descendant, Sir [illegible] Hill, bart., [illegible] in 1745 (Hughson, [illegible] *History of London*, ii. 24–6). The [illegible] mentions his staunch protestantism, [illegible] in his seventieth year, [illegible] at the end of [illegible] his spiritual wel[illegible]

[illegible] charities during his [illegible] and his virtues are [illegible] (Fuller, *Worthies*, 1811, ii. 263) [illegible] was immense, [illegible] included the [illegible] In his lifetime he [illegible] for his own parish of [illegible] the neighbouring [illegible] He also built Tern and [illegible] churches in his native [illegible] and endowed several hospitals [illegible] and women's com[illegible] maintenance of a free [illegible] will proved 14 April [illegible] (Newcourt, *Repertorium*, i. 651–2) [illegible] universities, besides [illegible] many students both at [illegible] Hospitals [illegible] annual gift for the [illegible] poor people. By his will, [illegible] was buried in the P.C.C. [illegible] numerous [illegible] servants, tenants, and [illegible] Hughson, Stow, [illegible] Christ, and Bridewell [illegible] his marriage fortune to

his friend Alderman Sir Thomas Leigh [q. v.], who married his niece Alice. He had previously given 200*l.* to St. Bartholomew's Hospital and 600*l.* to Christ's Hospital. Another will, dated 10 Dec. 1560 and proved 1 Feb. 1561–2, was executed as feoffee in trust of property in St. Lawrence Jewry parish, formerly belonging to Sir Richard Gresham [q. v.], the income to be administered by the Mercers' Company for the benefit of the poor of the neighbouring parishes (*Cal. of Husting Wills*, ii. 677).

A portrait belongs to Lord Berwick; there is a lithographic print by Gauci. His arms are in a window of Mercers' Hall.

[Authorities above cited; information supplied by Mr. C. Hill, F.S.A.; Kittermaster's Shropshire Arms and Lineages, 1869; Records of the Corporation of London and of the Mercers' Company.] C. W–H.

**HILL, ROWLAND** (1744–1833), preacher, sixth son of Sir Rowland Hill, first baronet, was born at his father's seat, Hawkstone Park, Shropshire, on 23 Aug. 1744. Sir Richard Hill (1732–1808) [q. v.] was his eldest brother. Rowland was educated at both Shrewsbury and Eton. When still young he received deep religious impressions through the conversation and letters of his brother Richard. In 1764 he entered St. John's College, Cambridge, as a pensioner, subsequently becoming a fellow-commoner. He read diligently, but his religious views and his earnest efforts to do good exposed him to much scorn. He visited prisoners and the sick; preached wherever opportunity offered in Cambridge and the adjoining villages, and was often insulted by mobs. In January 1769 he graduated B.A. with honours, and endeavoured to obtain orders, but was refused by six bishops in succession, owing to his irregular preaching, which he refused to discontinue. On 6 June 1773, however, he was ordained by Dr. Wills, bishop of Bath and Wells, to the curacy of Kingston, Somersetshire. Here he was most diligent in the discharge of parochial duty, while at the same time he continued to make extensive evangelistic tours. On applying for priest's orders to the Bishop of Carlisle, with letters dimissory from the Bishop of Bath and Wells, he was, at the instance of the Archbishop of York, refused on account of his irregularities. He continued to preach wherever he could find an audience, in churches, chapels, tabernacles, and the open air, often to immense congregations, and sometimes amid great interruption and violence. A chapel was built for him at Wotton, Gloucestershire, and here he officiated for a part of every year during his life. In 1783 Surrey Chapel, London, was erected for him, and became henceforward the usual scene of his labours. His earnest, eloquent, eccentric preaching attracted large congregations. Attached to the chapel were thirteen Sunday schools, with over three thousand children on their rolls. In 1810 he issued his 'Village Dialogues,' which ran rapidly through several editions. In all the great religious and philanthropic movements of the time Hill took a prominent part. He was the first chairman of the committee of the Religious Tract Society, and an active promoter of the interests of the British and Foreign Bible Society and the London Missionary Society. Vaccination found in him a warm advocate at a time when it was not generally popular. He published a tract on the subject in 1806, entitled 'Cow-pock Inoculation Vindicated and Recommended from matters of Fact,' and himself vaccinated thousands of persons. He continued to work busily to a very advanced age. He died 11 April 1833, and was buried beneath the pulpit of Surrey Chapel. In addition to the works above mentioned, he published a number of sermons and several hymns, some of which received finishing touches from Cowper's hand. He married, in 1773, Mary Tudway.

[Life by the Rev. Edward Sidney, 1833; Memoirs by the Rev. William Jones, 1834; Memorials by the Rev. James Sherman, 1857.] T. H.

**HILL, ROWLAND**, first Viscount Hill (1772–1842), general, second son and fourth of the sixteen children of John Hill, afterwards third baronet, of Hawkstone, Shropshire, by his wife Mary, daughter of Robert Chambre of Petton in the same county, was born at Prees Hall, near Hawkstone, on 11 Aug. 1772. He was nephew of the Rev. Rowland Hill (1744–1833) [q. v.] At the age of seven he was sent to school at Ightfield, near his home, and was afterwards at private schools at Chester, kept by the Rev. Mr. Vanburgh and the Rev. Mr. Winfield. He was not at Rugby, as often asserted, the Rowland Hill on the school register at that period being a cousin, Rowland Alleyne Hill, who died in holy orders in 1844. Rowland Hill is described as a big, good-natured boy, chiefly remarkable for his love of gardening and pet animals. When he left school at Chester his friends proposed that he should enter the legal profession, but he chose the army, as also did four of his brothers: John, sometime an officer in the blues and 25th light dragoons, who died in 1814; Robert Chambre, colonel, knight, and C.B., who died in 1860; Clement, in the blues, who was his brother's aide-de-camp in the Peninsula and at Waterloo, and died a major-general (on the Madras

staff) and C.B. in 1845; and Thomas Noel [q. v.]

Rowland was appointed ensign 21 July 1790 in the 38th (Staffordshire) foot, then in Ireland, and obtained leave to study at the military school at Strasburg until the end of the year. Having brought twelve recruits from home he was promoted lieutenant on 24 Jan. 1791 in the independent company of foot commanded by Captain Broughton (afterwards Lieutenant-general Sir James Delves Broughton, bart.), quartered at Wrotham, Kent, and on 16 March following was transferred to the 53rd (Shropshire) foot, with leave to resume his studies at Strasburg. The threatening state of affairs on the continent drove him home again, and on 18 Jan. 1792 he joined his regiment, and was quartered at Edinburgh and Ayr until the end of 1792. For some months he was in charge of a small detachment at Ballantrae. Having raised men for an independent company Hill was gazetted captain 23 March 1793. His company was passed into the service at Chatham by General Fox, and ordered to Cork, where Hill was directed to hand it over to the 38th foot at Belfast. He next accompanied Mr. Drake, who on 13 July 1793 was appointed minister plenipotentiary to the republic of Genoa, in the capacity of assistant secretary, and while in Genoa obtained leave to accompany the expedition proceeding to Toulon, where he served as aide-de-camp successively to Generals Lord Mulgrave, O'Hara, and David Dundas, from all of whom he won golden opinions. On 13 Dec. 1793 he set out from Toulon with despatches for home, reporting himself on the way to the Duke of York at Ghent. In the meantime Hill had been brought in as captain to the regiment, afterwards known as the 86th (Royal County Down) foot, then being raised at Shrewsbury under the name of Colonel Cornelius Cuyler's Shropshire volunteers (see CANNON, *Hist. Rec. 86th, Royal County Down*). Among those who had been favourably impressed with young Hill's bearing at Toulon was Thomas Graham of Balgowan, afterwards Lord Lynedoch [q. v.], who obtained a majority for him in his new corps of Perthshire volunteers, which became the 90th foot. Hill was appointed major in the 90th foot on 10 Feb., and lieutenant-colonel 13 May 1794. He was with the regiment at Isle Dieu, under General John Doyle [q. v.], in September 1795, and afterwards at Southampton, where the 90th was under orders for St. Domingo. The regiment was counter-ordered to Gibraltar, whither Hill accompanied it, and served in that garrison in 1796–8, and at the reduction of Minorca in 1798. He obtained home leave from Minorca in May 1799, leaving Kenneth Mackenzie, afterwards Sir Kenneth Douglas, bart. [q. v.], in command. Hill, who became a brevet-colonel 1 Jan. 1800, subsequently obtained permission to accompany Drake on a diplomatic mission to Switzerland, intending to rejoin his corps by way of Italy. Hearing, however, that the 90th had been ordered on active service he embarked straight for Gibraltar, rejoined the 90th off Leghorn, and commanded the regiment in the demonstration against Cadiz, in Malta, and in the expedition to Egypt in 1801. On 13 March 1801, during Abercromby's advance from Aboukir towards Alexandria, the 90th and 92nd highlanders, forming the advance of the army, were very hotly engaged in front of Mandora Tower, and greatly distinguished themselves. The 90th was equipped as light infantry, and, according to Hill (DELAVOYE, *Hist. 90th Light Inf.* p. 40), worked by the bugle-horn. Hill was struck down early in the fight by a musket-ball. He was carried on board the Foudroyant flagship, and berthed in the cabin into which Abercromby was brought to die after the action of 21 March. While on board the flagship Hill was visited by the Turkish capitan pasha, who presented him with a jewelled sword and other gifts. He rejoined the 90th at El Hamed 13 April 1801, and commanded the regiment in the advance upon, and at the surrender of Cairo, and at the siege and capitulation of Alexandria. Under his command the 90th left Egypt for Malta 21 Oct. 1801, and returned home early in 1802. After sojourning at Chatham and Chelmsford the 90th was ordered to Fort George, Inverness-shire, to be disbanded. War alarms saved it from that fate, and in March 1803 the regiment was removed to Belfast, where Hill was made a brigadier-general with a command at Loughrea. He held commands at Loughrea and Galway until his promotion to major-general 30 Oct. 1805. Under Hill's strict but always considerate rule the 90th had been a particularly well-ordered corps. Among the improvements introduced in the regiment by him were a regimental school and a separate mess for the sergeants, then a novelty (*ib.* p. 54). His Connaught command was equally a success. The time was an anxious one; the enemy's fleet, afterwards destroyed at Trafalgar, was yet at large, small invasion panics were incessant, and there was much irregularity among the volunteer corps then existing, and a tendency in some quarters to represent every disturbance at wake or fair as the beginning of a fresh insurrection. Hill's firmness and quiet bonhomie well fitted him for his post, and his public services were

heartily acknowledged by the 'Amicable Society' of Galway, of which he had been elected chairman, and other residents in a complimentary address presented to him on his departure. He commanded a brigade in the Hanover expedition in December 1805, and with the part of his brigade which escaped shipwreck was quartered at Bremer Lee. When the tidings of Austerlitz caused the troops to be withdrawn from the continent Hill held brigade commands at Brabourne Lees and at Shorncliffe. In 1807 he was in command at Fermoy, where, as in his previous Irish command, much of his time was employed in training the brigaded light companies of the Irish militia in light manœuvres. In 1808 Hill commanded a brigade in the force sent to Portugal under Lieutenant-general Sir Arthur Wellesley, with which he fought at Roliça (Roleia) and Vimeiro. When Wellesley returned home Hill remained in Portugal. He commanded a brigade in the division under the Hon. John Hope, afterwards first Earl of Hopetoun [q. v.], during Moore's campaign in Spain. His brigade, reformed of battalions of the 1st royals, 5th, 14th, and 32nd regiments, was the last to embark at Corunna. The people of Plymouth presented Hill with an address in recognition of his active efforts on behalf of the sick and wounded of his own and other brigades landed there. A letter from Lord Castlereagh, dated 12 March 1809, sent him back to Portugal to put himself under the orders of Sir John Francis Cradock (afterwards Caradoc [q. v.]), and when Sir Arthur Wellesley returned and took over Cradock's command Hill commanded a brigade in the operations against Oporto, which drove Soult out of Portugal. When General Edward Paget was wounded Hill succeeded to the second division, and commanded it at the battle of Talavera, 27–8 July 1809. The composition of Hill's division, with headquarters at Montijo, November 1809, is given in Wellington's 'Supplementary Despatches,' xiii. 374. In January 1810 Hill commanded a detached corps (including his own division), and was entrusted with the defence of the Portuguese frontier between the Guadiana and Tagus (GURWOOD, *Well. Desp.* iii. 680, 697). He co-operated with Lord Wellington in the campaign of that year, and rendered important service, although not actually engaged, at the battle of Busaco, 27 Sept. 1810. In December a severe attack of malarial fever sent him to Lisbon, and eventually to England. Wellington gave Hill's command to Beresford, and sent him to invest Badajoz, while he endeavoured to bar Marmont's progress towards Beira [see BERESFORD, WILLIAM CARR]. After a few months at home Hill recovered his health, and resumed his command on 23 May 1811, just a week after Beresford's desperate fight at Albuhera, to the general rejoicing of the army. A letter from Beresford on the subject of Hill's separate command is given in Wellington's 'Supplementary Despatches,' vii. 547. When Wellington invested Ciudad Rodrigo, Hill was left in the Alemtejo with the second and fourth divisions and a brigade of cavalry, and received injunctions to fall on the French general Gerard, who had collected some troops at Merida. In Wellington's words, Hill 'did the work handsomely' (*ib.* v. 347–357). Learning that Gerard was at Arroyo-dos-Molinos, Hill, by forced marches in execrable weather, got within three miles of the French without their knowledge. At daybreak on 28 Oct. 1811 he formed up within two hundred yards of their sentries, surprised the troops on parade, took General Brun, the Prince d'Aremberg, and other officers of rank, and thirteen hundred other prisoners, three guns, all the camp equipage and stores, and put the rest of the force to rout. Ciudad Rodrigo fell in January 1812, and when Wellington turned his attention to Badajoz, Hill intended to attack the French works covering the bridge over the Tagus and Almaraz. The project was, however, postponed, and Hill, who had been promoted to the rank of lieutenant-general 1 Jan. 1812, remained with his corps in the neighbourhood of Badajoz, and in communication with the corps under Thomas Graham. At Lord Wellington's headquarters at Elvas, 10 March 1812, Hill was invested with the red ribbon of the Bath, which Wellington had asked for him two years before (*Well. Suppl. Desp.* vi. 183). After the fall of Badajoz, Hill, with a force of six thousand men, stormed the works of Almaraz with great gallantry on 19 May 1812. Fortuitous circumstances rendered the success less complete than was expected (NAPIER, *Hist. Peninsular War*, bk. xvii. chap. i.; GURWOOD, v. 667–70, 678–80). When Wellington attacked Burgos, Hill, with thirty thousand of Wellington's best troops and ten thousand Spaniards, was on the line of the Tagus, in communication with Madrid (GURWOOD, vi. to p. 200). On Wellington's retreat from Burgos, Hill retired towards the frontier of Portugal, eventually going into quarters at Coria, where his division passed the winter of 1812–13. At the dissolution of parliament in 1812 the Hon. William Noel Hill, afterwards Lord Berwick [q. v.], decided to retire from the representation of Shrewsbury. Sir Rowland Hill's family presented his return for the borough at the general election which

followed, and he retained his seat until elevated to the peerage. Wellington prepared his final advance in the spring of 1813. Hill's corps formed the right of the allied army, and had a prominent share in the subsequent successes, which led the allies victorious from the Tagus to the Garonne. Hill commanded the right of the army at the great battle of Vittoria, 21 June 1813, which began with an attack by one of Hill's brigades on the height of La Puebla, and ended with the utter rout of the French armies under Jourdan and Joseph Bonaparte (Gurwood, vi. 539–43). He was entrusted with the blockade of Pampeluna, and for months withstood the determined attempts of the enemy to dislodge him from his Pyrenean fastnesses (*Well. Suppl. Desp.* vol. viii. passim; Gurwood, vi. 557 to end of vol., vii. to p. 346). When the allied army was reorganised on French soil, in three army corps under Hill, Beresford, and Hope, the right was assigned to Hill, with the second and fourth British and a Portuguese division and Mina's and Murillo's corps of Spaniards attached. Hill rendered important services at the battle of Nivelle, 10 Nov. 1813, when Soult's triple line of defences was stormed, and in the operations on the Nive in the following month. On 13 Dec. 1813, the last day of the fighting at the Nive, the French attacked him in great force from the entrenched camp before Bayonne. Hill, unaided, gave them what Wellington, in characteristic phrase, declared to be the soundest thrashing they ever had. He rendered valuable service at the battle of Orthez, by the passage of the Gave and capture of the town of Aire, 3 March 1814 (Gurwood, vii. 346), and at the final battle on 10–11 April 1814 before Toulouse (*ib.* vii. 430–7), where he was left in command after Wellington went to Paris. After the close of the war Hill, like his comrades Beresford, Stapleton, Cotton, Graham, and Hope, was raised to the peerage. On 17 May 1814 he was created Baron Hill of Almaraz and Hawkstone, afterwards changed to Almaraz and Hardwicke, Hardwicke Grange being a small property near Shrewsbury left him by his uncle, Sir Richard Hill, second baronet of Hawkstone [q. v.] He was awarded a pension of 2,000*l.* a year. Wellington recommended him for the governorship of Gibraltar, which Beresford had refused (*ib.* vii. 465). There was also an idea of putting him at the head of a projected expedition to America, which was abandoned. Consulted by Lord Bathurst on the point the Duke of Wellington recommended Sir John Hope in the first place; but in case of Hope's probable refusal he nominated Hill as 'the most eligible, but I am not quite sure that he does not shrink from responsibility' (*Well. Suppl. Desp.* viii. 547). Hill returned from France, and met with an enthusiastic reception in London and in his native county. He received the thanks of parliament and the freedom of the city of London. A memorial, known as Lord Hill's column, a Doric column 133 feet high surmounted by a statue, was erected beside the London Road, Shrewsbury, by county subscription, at a cost of 6,000*l.* Hill was offered the command in Scotland, which he declined. When the news came of the return from Elba, Hill was on a visit to London with one of his sisters, and was despatched by the cabinet at a few hours' notice to urge upon the Prince of Orange to keep his troops (which included a British contingent) out of harm's way until larger forces could be massed on the frontier. Hill arrived in Brussels on 1 April 1815, and was followed by Wellington three days afterwards. The troops in the Netherlands were rapidly formed in two large army corps, the command of one being given to the Prince of Orange, and that of the second to Lord Hill (*ib.* x. 63). Hill's command included the 2nd and 4th British divisions, with the artillery attached, a cavalry brigade of the king's German legion, the Dutch-Indian contingent, and a Dutch-Belgian division of all arms under Prince Frederick of the Netherlands. Some Hanoverian landwehr brigades were added. Hill's headquarters were at Grammont. He was with his command on the night of the famous ball at Brussels. The movements of his troops on the days of the fighting at Quatre Bras and Ligny are detailed by Gurwood, 'Wellington Despatches,' viii. 142–4. At Waterloo Hill's corps was posted on the right of the Nivelle road, about Merke Braine, the brigades actually engaged being Adam's light brigade (52nd, 71st, and rifles), near which Hill was during the greater part of the day, Mitchell's (14th, 23rd, and 51st), and Duplat's brigade of the king's German legion and some Hanoverian landwehr brigades. According to the account of Sir Digby Mackworth, one of his aides-de-camp (*Life of Hill*, p. 307 et seq.), when the imperial guards made their last onset, and before the famous charge of Adam's brigade, led by the 52nd under Sir John Colborne, afterwards Lord Seaton [q. v.], who succeeded to the brigade when Adam was wounded, Hill placed himself at the head of the brigade, which was lying down on the ridge exchanging volleys at half-pistol shot with the imperial guard, but had his horse shot under him and was knocked over and badly contused. For more than half an hour he was lost in the mêlée and believed by his staff to be killed. His horse was afterwards

found to have been hit in five places. Hill passed the night with his staff in a small house beside the Brussels road, where they had spent the night before the battle. He advanced with the army to Paris, and commanded the troops which took over the defences in July 1815. 'I am particularly indebted to General Lord Hill for his assistance and conduct on this as on all other occasions,' wrote Wellington, in his Waterloo despatch; and when Hill had to go home from Paris on family affairs the duke wrote a sympathetic letter, acknowledging how much he owed to his aid (GURWOOD, viii. 330; *Suppl. Desp.* xi. 305–7). Hill returned to France and was second in command of the army of occupation under Wellington, until the final withdrawal of the troops in November 1818. He then retired to his estate at Hardwicke Grange, where he resided for some years, occupying himself with farming a little, hunting, fishing, and shooting in a quiet way. In 1820 the Oxford University conferred on him the honorary degree of D.C.L. In 1821, George IV, with whom he was a great personal favourite, chose him to bear the royal standard at the coronation. He declined the lieutenantship of the ordnance offered to him by Wellington, then master-general, in 1823, and the master-generalship offered him by Lord Goderich in 1827. When the Duke of Wellington became prime minister, Hill, who attained the rank of general 27 May 1825, was appointed to the command of the army (16 Feb. 1828), with the title of 'general commanding-in-chief,' which had been used by Lord Amherst, and at one time by the Duke of York. He held the post over fourteen years.

In politics a tory of the old school, Hill abstained from voting on the Reform Bill out of deference to William IV, who desired him to vote for it. But Hill never allowed political or private views to influence him unduly, and his administration of the horse-guards patronage was admitted to be conspicuously fair. The era was one of peace, but the troops abroad and at home were often called on to aid the civil power in the cause of order, and the attitude assumed by the government press towards the military authorities on some occasions, as during the chartist disturbances, and the growing tendency of the House of Commons to intermeddle in army matters, proved pregnant sources of vexation. Failing health at length compelled Hill to resign, when he was succeeded by the Duke of Wellington as commander-in-chief. He was raised to the dignity of a viscount, with remainder to his nephew Sir Rowland Hill, bart., M.P., on 27 Sept. 1842. He retired to his seat at Hardwicke Grange, and died unmarried on 10 Dec. 1842, being buried in Hadnall Church, four miles north-east of Shrewsbury.

Hill divided the greater part of his property (30,000*l.*) among his eleven nephews, and left small annual incomes to the three persons employed in taking charge of the column erected in his honour at Shrewsbury (*Gent. Mag.* 1843, pt. i. p. 532). Rowland (*b.* 1800), his successor in the title, was the eldest son of his brother John. The second viscount had outlived his father, and had succeeded to the family baronetcy in 1824. He was M.P. for North Shropshire 1832, 1835, 1837, 1841–2, and died 2 Jan. 1875. He married Anne, daughter of Joseph Clegg, by whom he was father of the third and present viscount.

Hill was a G.C.B. and G.C.H., and had the grand crosses of St. George of Russia (1815), Maria Theresa in Austria (1815), William the Lion in the Netherlands, and the Tower and Sword in Portugal (1812), the Turkish order of the Crescent and Peninsular gold cross and clasps, and the Waterloo medal. He was a commissioner of the Royal Military College and Royal Military Asylum, and a privy councillor (1828). He was colonel successively of the 3rd garrison battalion, the old 94th (Scotch brigade), the 53rd (Shropshire) foot (1817), and the royal horse-guards (1830), and governor in succession of Blackness, Hull, and Plymouth, the latter being the best military government going when Hill succeeded to it on 18 June 1830.

In person Hill was of middle height, inclining to be stout, florid, and having the appearance, as he had all the best qualities, of a plain English country gentleman. There is an excellent likeness of him engraved by Richmond in Sidney's biography, and his portrait was also painted by George Dawe (cf. engraving in DOYLE). Gronow (*Recollections*, i. 188) gives a rough sketch of him, circa 1816, mounted on a small steed the size of a modern polo pony.

[A biography, compiled with the approval of the family, was written under the title 'Life of Lord Hill' (London, 1845), by the Rev. Edwin Sidney, M.A., Hill's private chaplain and biographer of the Rev. Rowland Hill and Sir Richard Hill. Such memoranda as Hill had preserved relating to the Peninsula and Waterloo were apparently embodied in Gurwood's Wellington Despatches. For Hill's tenure of office at the Horse Guards see J. M. Stocqueler's Personal Hist. of the Horse Guards (London, 1872), pp. 147–63. Most of the other biographical notices of Hill are imperfect and incorrect, among which must be included that in the 9th ed. Encyclopædia Britannica. Among the works bearing on the subject are Foster's Peerage under 'Viscount Hill;' Doyle's Official Baronage; London Gazettes under

dates; Delavoye's Hist. 90th Light Infantry, London, 1880; Sir R. Wilson's Narrative of Campaign in Egypt, 1802; Napier's Peninsular War, passim; Siborne's Waterloo; Gurwood's Well. Desp. vols. iii–viii.; Wellington Suppl. Desp. vols. vi–xv.; Wellington's Desp. Corresp., &c. (in progress).] H. M. C.

**HILL, Sir ROWLAND** (1795–1879), the inventor of penny postage, third son of Thomas Wright Hill, by Sarah Lea his wife, was born at Kidderminster on 3 Dec. 1795. [For his ancestry and father's career see Hill, Thomas Wright.] About 1803 he entered his father's school at Hill Top, then on the outskirts of Birmingham, but being of delicate constitution he was often hindered in his studies by illness. Defective though his father was as a schoolmaster, he was admirable as a father. From him his son derived his fearless originality and largeness of view. It was his mother who gave him his perseverance and his caution. She imparted her pecuniary troubles, from which his family was never free, to her son even when he was a child. 'I early saw,' he said, 'the terrible inconvenience of being poor.' 'From a very early age,' wrote one of his brothers, 'he felt responsibility in a way none of us did.' He helped in the household work. 'By this means I acquired,' he said, 'a feeling of responsibility and habits of business, dispatch, punctuality, and independence, which have proved invaluable to me through life.' He had a strong taste for mechanical work, and became expert in the use of tools. Miss Edgeworth's stories had, he said, a great influence on his character, and inspired him with an ardent wish to do something for the world by which his name should be remembered. At the age of twelve he ceased to be a pupil and became a teacher, but his education was still carried on by his love of knowledge and his daily intercourse with his father. He was his assistant in a course of public lectures on natural philosophy. He made himself many ingenious machines. He learnt mathematics by teaching others, and became a good astronomer and an expert trigonometrical land-surveyor. In mental arithmetic he was wonderfully skilful, and he trained his pupils till they could rival 'the Calculating Boy.' His knowledge and ignorance were strangely mixed. The extent of his deficiencies he first learnt from Dr. John Johnstone, the editor of Dr. Parr's 'Works,' and he endangered his health in trying to remedy them. He made curious experiments in diet, living for many periods of three days each on not more than two articles, such as boiled green pease and salt, damson-pie and sugar. At the age of sixteen or seventeen he had undertaken the entire management of his father's money affairs, and at last cleared off all the debts. 'It was,' he recorded in his journal, 'the height of my ambition to establish a school for the upper and middle classes wherein the science and practice of education might be improved to such a degree as to show that it is now in its infancy.' He built a new school-house, to which the name of Hazelwood was given. He was his own architect and his own clerk of the works. For two or three weeks in succession he worked eighteen hours a day, with seven days to the week. He set about organising the discipline of the school. He established a system of rigid punctuality. He elaborated a curious system of government by the boys, with a constitution and a code of laws that filled more than a hundred closely printed pages. Corporal punishment was abolished. The laws were sanctioned by penalties which were strictly enforced. Bad marks could be cleared off by any kind of useful work done in play hours. A court of justice was established, with boys for magistrate, jury, and constables. A committee of boys was chosen who made laws and helped to govern the school. The whole system would have seemed impossible in Utopia, yet it succeeded in Birmingham. W. L. Sargant, in his 'Essays by a Birmingham Manufacturer' (ii. 187), thus describes the working of this strange system: 'By juries and committees, by marks and by appeals to a sense of honour discipline was maintained. But this was done at too great a sacrifice. The thoughtlessness, the spring, the elation of childhood were taken from us; we were premature men.' Six years before Dr. Arnold went to Rugby 'the Hazelwood System' was exciting a lively public interest. It can scarcely be doubted that it had an influence on his mind.

Rowland Hill's eldest brother, Matthew Davenport Hill [q. v.], described this system in 1822 in a volume entitled 'Public Education: Plans for the Government and Liberal Instruction of Boys in Large Numbers, drawn from Experience.' The book was reviewed in the 'London Magazine' in April and May 1824 by De Quincey, and in the 'Edinburgh Review' for January 1825 by Basil Hall. The school almost at one bound sprang into fame. Jeremy Bentham inspected it, and 'threw aside,' as he wrote to Dr. Parr, 'all he had done himself' in the way of educational reform. He, Grote, Joseph Hume, and many of the leading radicals sent pupils to it. Boys were sent over in large numbers from the newly founded republics of South America and from Greece. Matthew Hill's book was translated into Swedish, and

a Hillska Skola was founded at Stockholm. Had the scholastic attainments of the founders of this new system been equal to their originality and enthusiasm, a great and permanent school might have been founded. Even as it was, general education was largely influenced.

In 1827 the main body of the school was transferred from Hazelwood to Bruce Castle, Tottenham, an ancient mansion which takes its name from Robert Bruce's father, the lord of the manor. Rowland Hill's health more than once broke down under the great strain of work, but he was by this time aided by three of his brothers: Edwin [q. v.], Arthur (1798–1885, head-master of Bruce Castle school), and Frederic. The parents and their children, eight in all, had had all things in common. Rowland Hill was thirty-two years old before the common property, then amounting to several thousands of pounds, was divided among them in perfect harmony by Edwin the second son, whom they appointed arbitrator. They formed later on a mutual insurance fund, under the name of 'the family fund,' and a family council, in which plans for private or public improvement were considered. By this close league their strength was greatly increased, each brother in his schemes receiving the support and assistance of all.

Soon after the removal to Bruce Castle Hill began to feel that his vocation was not that of a schoolmaster. Of his want of scholarship he was painfully aware. He longed, moreover, for freedom of speech and action as well as of thought. He suffered under the oppression of religious observances. He had to take his pupils to the established church and to read daily prayers in the schoolroom. Yet he had ceased even to be a unitarian. On religious matters he thought with Grote and the two Mills. Robert Owen offered to him the management of one of his communities, but he declined it on account of Owen's rashness. With some of his brothers he formed a scheme for 'a social community.' A farm was to be taken on which they were all to live in great simplicity and freedom, supporting themselves by the work of their own hands. 'Here they could mature schemes for public good or private emolument, which could be prosecuted in the world at large by members liberated for a time for that purpose.' A little later on, with Sir John Shaw-Lefevre and Professor Wheatstone, the inventor of the electric telegraph, he formed a small society for furthering inventions. Under the title of 'Home Colonies' he published in 1832 a 'Plan for the Gradual Extinction of Pauperism and the Diminution of Crime,' and in 1834 'A Letter to Lord Brougham on Pauper Education.' He invented an instrument for accurately measuring time in connection with astronomical observations, and turned over in his mind a variety of schemes, such as 'propelling steamboats by a screw' and 'assorting letters in mail-coaches.' He spent months of hard work and a great deal of money on the invention of a rotatory printing-press. His invention was a complete success, but he was thwarted by the treasury. Each copy of a newspaper at this time was printed on a separate sheet of paper, on which a penny stamp had been previously impressed at the stamp office. For his continuous scroll such a process was impossible, and the treasury refused to allow the stamp to be affixed by machinery as the scroll passed through the press. The introduction of the present rotatory printing-press, which is a modification of his invention, was thereby delayed thirty-five years.

In 1833 he took part in an association which was formed for colonising South Australia, and in 1835 he was appointed secretary to the South Australian commission. It was while holding this appointment that in his out-of-office hours he planned his scheme of penny postage. During the previous century the rates for postage had been steadily raised, till on a letter from London to Edinburgh 1*s.* 4½*d.* was paid. Every enclosure was charged as a fresh letter. Had envelopes been invented at that time a letter enclosed in one would have been charged as two letters. By the right enjoyed by every member of both houses of parliament and every high official of sending letters free if the direction were in his own handwriting and attested by his signature, the wealthier classes were to a great extent freed from this burden, which pressed all the more heavily on the poor. The loss of time in 'franking' letters was great. Sir James Stephen, under-secretary of state for the colonies, complained that he spent as much time in the year in addressing letters as would have kept him at work six hours a day for the whole month of February. To the great mass of the people the post office was practically closed. For the thousands upon thousands of Irish who were in England to send a letter to Ireland and get an answer back would each time have cost (Daniel O'Connell complained) considerably more than one-fifth of their week's wages. There were districts in England as large as Middlesex in which the postman never set his foot. In Sabden, a town of twelve thousand souls, in which Cobden had his print-works, there was, he said, no post office nor anything that served for one. The high

charges led to all kinds of illicit conveyance. Five-sixths of the letters from Manchester to London did not pass through the post office. The natural result was a steady falling off in the revenue. Hill from his childhood had seen the burden on the poor of the high charges, and had often been witness of his mother's dread lest a letter should come with heavy postage to pay—for very few letters were prepaid—at a time when she had not a shilling in the house. One day in such an alarm he had been sent out to sell a bag full of rags, and had brought back 3*s*. The statement in Miss Martineau's 'History of England,' ii. 425, that Hill was moved to action by Coleridge's story of the device by which a poor woman obtained news of her brother, is untrue. His father had often maintained that postage was too high even for the sake of the revenue. As early as 1826 Hill had devised, but had not published, a scheme for a travelling post office, by which the letters could be sorted on the road. In 1835 the large surplus in the revenue set him and his brothers speculating on the best way of applying it in the reduction of duties. It was then that his thoughts were first turned earnestly to the post office. He noticed that its revenue, whether gross or net, in the previous twenty years, instead of increasing with the increase of population and wealth, had diminished, whereas in France, where the rates were lower, there had been in the same period a large increase. Convinced that a great reduction could be made with advantage to the revenue, he next examined what changes in the rates it would be most expedient to make so as to secure the maximum of advantage to the public with the minimum of injury to the revenue. He tried in vain to get admission into the London post office, so as to study its working; in fact he never was inside any post office till his scheme was adopted. He had to seek his information in the blue-books, especially in the 'Eighteenth Report of the Commissioners of Revenue Inquiry.' 'Provided with over half a hundredweight of this raw material, he began that systematic study, analysis, and comparison' which after months of labour brought out the facts on which his scheme was based. He first found out that there were three great sources of expense: First, 'taxing' the letters, that is ascertaining and marking the postage on each, for there were upwards of forty rates on single inland letters alone; second, the complication of accounts arising from this system, postmasters having to be debited with unpaid postage on letters transmitted to their offices, and credited with their payments made in return; third, the collection of the postage on delivery. From these facts it was clear that a vast economy would be effected if prepayment, which was very rare, was made a custom. He next examined the cost of the actual conveyance and distribution of letters, and made his great discovery 'that the practice of regulating the amount of postage by the distance over which an inland letter was conveyed, however plausible in appearance, had no foundation in practice, and that consequently the rates of postage should be irrespective of distance.' This discovery was only arrived at after the most laborious calculations, and was as startling to himself as it was to the general public. The cost of conveying a letter from London to Edinburgh, for which 1*s*. 4½*d*. was charged, was only one thirty-sixth part of a penny. As the expenses for the receipt and delivery of all letters were the same, however long or however short a distance they travelled, it followed that a uniform rate would approach nearer to absolute justice than any other rate that could be fixed. The two chief parts of his plan, therefore, were a uniform low rate and prepayment. He embodied it in a small pamphlet, entitled 'Post Office Reform: its Importance and Practicability,' which he marked 'private and confidential.' The title of 'uniform penny postage,' which he had first thought of, he rejected, lest its apparent absurdity should ruin its chance of success. In January 1837 he submitted it privately to Lord Melbourne's government, in the hope that it would carry conviction and be adopted. He was sent for by the chancellor of the exchequer, Spring Rice, but no result followed. He thereupon published his pamphlet, with additions, under the title of 'Post Office Reform, &c., second edit.' This led to his examination before a commission of post office inquiry, which was then sitting. It was before this commission, on 13 Feb. 1837, that he described his invention of the adhesive postage stamp—'a bit of paper just large enough to bear the stamp, and covered at the back with a glutinous wash.' He had borrowed the notion from Charles Knight's proposal in 1834 that the postage on newspapers should be collected by means of stamped wrappers. James Chalmers [q. v.], for whom this suggestion has been claimed, did not make it publicly till the November of 1837. The proposed reform quickly caught the public attention; it was ridiculed indeed by the official world, but was strongly supported by such men as Brougham, Hume, Grote, O'Connell, Cobden, and Warburton, and by the corporation of the city of London. On 23 Nov. 1837 a parliamentary committee was appointed to examine into the scheme. It worked through

the session, and on 17 July 1838, by the casting vote of the chairman, recommended a uniform rate of postage at twopence the half ounce. The government would not yield. The popular demand for the measure grew stronger, till at last, in the words of the 'Times' (16 March 1839), 'it was the cause of the whole people of the United Kingdom against the small coterie of place-holders in St. Martin's-le-Grand and its dependencies.' To a deputation of 150 members of parliament, supporters of the government, the prime minister at last reluctantly gave way. Penny postage being included in the budget, was carried in the House of Commons on 12 July by 215 to 113. In the House of Lords, being supported by the Duke of Wellington, it was carried without a division.

The hostility of the government to the measure was shown by the insulting offer made to Hill. He held as secretary to the South Australian commission a permanent office of 500*l.* a year. He was asked to resign it, and to accept at the same salary an engagement for two years, in which he was to introduce his scheme. He was to begin the struggle against all the strength of a powerful and hostile department, with a mark of degradation thus put upon him. He met the insult by offering to work without salary, but this was declined. A letter written by his brother, M. D. Hill, to the chancellor of the exchequer, exposing the folly and the meanness of the proposal, had such a startling effect that the salary was raised to 1,500*l.*; but the engagement was still only for two years, though it was subsequently extended to three. This offer was accepted. Rowland Hill now for the first time saw the post office at work. It was not to it that he was attached, but to the treasury, which exercises a controlling power over the expenditure of all the government offices. Over the post office he was not to exercise any direct authority. The officials there were left with great powers, which they exerted to the utmost in order to ruin a plan whose success they had foretold was impossible. They threw every obstacle in Hill's path, and multiplied expenses, so that the scheme might prove a financial failure. On 10 Jan. 1840 penny postage was at last established. The difficulties Rowland Hill met with in getting the machinery of the department into working order were vast, but in the next two years a great deal was done. In September 1841 the whig ministry was overthrown, and Sir Robert Peel came into power. Peel, in September 1842, at the end of Hill's third year, dismissed him from office, without any reward for his great services, leaving his scheme to be worked by men who would delight in its ruin. The folly of the ministry roused a strong feeling of public indignation. On 10 April 1843 Hill petitioned the House of Commons for an inquiry into the state of the post office, and on 27 June a select committee of inquiry was granted. It was appointed too late in the session for a proper investigation to be made.

For the next three years Hill was first a director, and then chairman of the Brighton railway, and in this capacity had the chief merit of introducing the system of express and excursion trains which were first run on that line. In June 1846 he was presented with a testimonial amounting to 13,000*l.*, raised by public subscription. In the following November, on the return of the whig ministry to power under Lord John Russell, he was offered the post of secretary to the postmaster-general, at a salary of 1,200*l.* a year, Colonel Maberley, who was hostile both to him and the penny postage, being retained as permanent secretary to the post office at a higher salary, and with full command of the staff. With great hesitation Hill accepted the inferior post. For more than seven years this arrangement was continued, by which postal improvement of every kind was delayed, and some millions of public money wasted. In 1854 Colonel Maberley was transferred to the board of audit, and Hill was appointed sole secretary. In 1851 his youngest brother, Frederic Hill, one of the inspectors of prisons, had been transferred to the post office as assistant secretary, where he rendered services of very great value.

In 1864 Rowland Hill's health broke down under the long strain of work, and on 4 March he sent in his resignation. By this time he had transformed the whole service, extending conveniences, cutting down expenses, shortening the hours of work, raising wages, reducing rates, and increasing the revenue. By establishing promotion by merit he had breathed fresh life into every branch of the service. The number of chargeable letters had risen since 1838 from 76 millions to 642 millions, the gross revenue from 2,346,000*l.* to 3,870,000*l.*, and the net revenue from 1,960,000*l.* to 1,790,000*l.* The business of the money order office had been multiplied fifty-two fold, and post office savings banks had been opened on the plan suggested by Sir Charles Sikes. In the years 1887–8 the number of letters, postcards, book packets, circulars, newspapers, parcels, and telegrams amounted to 2,262 millions, the gross revenue to 11,964,000*l.*, and the net revenue to 9,851,000*l.* His great reform, to use Mr. Gladstone's words, 'had run like wildfire through the civilised world; never

perhaps was a local invention (for such it was) and improvement applied in the lifetime of its author to the advantages of such vast multitudes of his fellow-creatures.' Hill retired on full pension, and received in addition a parliamentary grant of 20,000*l*. In 1857 he had been made F.R.S., and in 1860 K.C.B.; in 1864 the honorary degree of D.C.L. was conferred on him by the university of Oxford, and in 1879 the freedom of the city of London. In his retirement he served on the royal commission on railways appointed in 1865. In a separate report, published in 1867, he recommended that the state should gradually purchase the railways by free covenant between the proprietors and the government, and that they should then be worked, not by the state, but by companies, to which they should be leased on such conditions as would most tend to public benefit. He drew up also a 'History of Penny Postage,' which was written under his direction, but was the actual composition of his brother, Arthur Hill. This, with an introductory memoir, was published in two vols. 8vo, London, 1880, by his nephew, Dr. G. Birkbeck Hill. He died on 27 Aug. 1879, at his residence in Hampstead, and was buried in Westminster Abbey. Statues have been erected at Kidderminster, Birmingham, and at the Royal Exchange, London. The Rowland Hill Memorial and Benevolent Fund was raised shortly after his death to commemorate his memory, and to provide relief for distressed persons connected with the post office for whom no provision is made under the Superannuation Act. The invested property amounts to more than 16,000*l*., producing a yearly income of about 650*l*. By donations, &c., this was raised in 1888–9 to 1,673*l*., and relief was granted to 175 cases. He married, on 27 Sept. 1827, Caroline, the daughter of Joseph Pearson, a manufacturer of Wolverhampton, and a magistrate for the county. She died on 27 May 1881. By her he had one son and three daughters.

[Life of Sir Rowland Hill and Hist. of Penny Postage, by Sir Rowland Hill and G. Birkbeck Hill, 1880; Remains of Thomas Wright Hill, F.R.A.S., privately printed, 1859; Memoir of Matthew Davenport Hill, by his Daughters, 1878; obituary notice in the Times, 28 Aug. 1879; W. L. Sargant's Essays by a Birmingham Manufacturer, 1870, vol. ii.; Public Education; Plans for the Government and Liberal Instruction of Boys in Large Numbers, 1822; Laws of Hazelwood School, 1827; Home Colonies, by Rowland Hill, 1832; first four annual Reports of the Colonisation Commissioners for South Australia; Post Office Reform, its Importance and Practicability, 1837; Eighteenth Report of the Commissioners of Revenue Inquiry; Ninth Report of the Committee for Post Office Inquiry, 1837; Reports of the Select Committee on Postage, 1838–9; The Post Circular, Nos. 1–14, 1838–1839; Report of the Committee on Postage, 1843; State and Prospects of Penny Postage, by Rowland Hill, 1844; annual Reports of the Postmaster-general; The Post Office of Fifty Years ago, by Pearson Hill, 1887; A Paper on some newly discovered Essays and Proofs of Postage Stamps, by Pearson Hill, 1889; London Mag. April and May 1824; Edinburgh Review, Nos. 82 and 142; Quarterly Review, No. 128.]

G. B. H.

**HILL, ROWLEY, D.D.** (1836–1887), bishop of Sodor and Man, third son of Sir George Hill, bart., of St. Columb's, co. Londonderry, born 22 Feb. 1836, was educated at Christ's Hospital, London, and at Trinity College, Cambridge, where he graduated B.A. 1859, M.A. 1863, and D.D. *honoris causâ* 1877. He was ordained a deacon in 1860, and served the curacy of Christ Church, Dover; in the following year he was admitted to priest's orders, when he removed to the curacy of St. Marylebone, London. In 1863 he became perpetual curate of St. Luke's, Edgware Road, and after five years' service in that parish he was presented to the rectory of Frant, in the diocese of Chichester. In 1871 he exchanged his rectory for the vicarage of St. Michael's, Chester Square. He was presented in 1873 to the vicarage of Sheffield. That large and important parish he held, with the rural deanery of Sheffield and a prebend in York Cathedral, until August 1877, when he was raised to the bishopric of Sodor and Man. He discharged his duties with great zeal and success. But his plan of uniting the proposed bishopric of Liverpool to that of Sodor and Man was not generally approved, and was declined by the government. After a very brief illness he died at his residence in London, 10 Hereford Square, Old Brompton, 27 May 1887.

Hill married, first, 30 April 1863, Caroline Maud, second daughter of Captain Alfred Chapman, R.N., by whom, who died 6 April 1882, he had issue; and secondly, in 1884, Alice, daughter of Captain George Probyn, who survived him.

Besides smaller publications Hill wrote: 1. 'Sunday School Lessons; the Collects,' 2nd edition, 1866. 2. 'Sunday School Lessons; the Gospels,' 1866. 3. 'The Titles of Our Lord,' 1870. 4. 'Instructions on the Church Catechism,' 1874. 5. 'The Church at Home; a Series of Short Sermons,' 1881.

[Burke's Peerage and Baronetage, 1880, p. 637; Graduati Cantabrigienses, 1873, p. 198; Church Bells, 15 April 1878, viii. 215; Men of the Time,

1884, p. 569; Annual Register, 1887, Chron. p. 134; Illustrated London News, 1887, xc. 628, 682.] B. H. B.

**HILL, SAMUEL** (1648–1716), archdeacon of Wells, born in 1648, was son of William Hill of South Petherton, Somerset; became a servitor of Lincoln College, Oxford, in 1662, and, subsequently migrating to St. Mary Hall, was admitted B.A. on 15 Nov. 1666 (*Cat. of Oxford Graduates*, 1851, p. 321). He took no further degree at Oxford. He was instituted, on 18 Feb. 1673, to the living of Meare, Somerset, which he resigned on being instituted, on 10 May 1687, to the rectory of Kilmington in the same county, on the presentation of Sir Stephen Fox (WEAVER, *Somerset Incumbents*, pp. 117, 143). He was appointed prebend of Buckland Dinham in the church of Wells on 5 Sept. 1688, and was installed archdeacon of Wells on 11 Oct. 1705, being then styled master of arts. He died on 7 March 1715–16. There is a mural monument to his memory in Wells Cathedral (DAVIS, *Hist. of Wells Cathedral*, ed. 1825, p. 87). Wood says he was 'much esteemed for his learning and zeal for the church of England' (*Athenæ Oxon.* ed. Bliss, iv. 564).

His works are: 1. 'The Catholic Balance: or, a Discourse determining the Controversies concerning (I) The Tradition of Catholic Doctrines, (II) The Primacy of St. Peter and the Bishop of Rome, (III) The Subjection and Authority of the Church in a Christian State, according to the Suffrages of the primest Antiquity' (anon.), London, 1687, 4to. 2. 'The Necessity of Heresies asserted and explained in a Sermon ad Clerum [on 1 Cor. xi. 19],' London, 1688, 4to. 3. 'De Presbyteratu, Dissertatio Quadripartita, Presbyteratus Sacri, Origines, Naturam, Titulum, Officia, et Ordines ab ipsis Mundi Primordiis usque ad Catholicæ Ecclesiæ consummatum Plantationem complectens,' London, 1691, 8vo. 4. 'A Vindication of the Primitive Fathers against the Imputations of Gilbert, Lord Bishop of Sarum, in his Discourse on the Divinity and Death of Christ,' London, 1695, 8vo. Bishop Burnet complained to the Bishop of London that his chaplain, R. Altham, had licensed such a book, 'full of scurrility,' and Altham was accordingly obliged to make a submission or recantation. Burnet published anonymously, 'Animadversions on Mr. Hill's book, entituled, A Vindication of the Primitive Fathers. . . . In a Letter to a Person of Quality,' London, 1695, 4to; and this reply elicited from Thomas Holdsworth, rector of Stoneham, 'Some Account of the late Scandalous Animadversions on Mr. Hill's book, intituled, A Vindication, &c.,' London, 1695, 4to. There also appeared 'Remarks of an University Man upon a late book, falsly called A Vindication of the Primitive Fathers,' London, 1695, 4to. James Crossley had a manuscript 'Defence of the Vindication,' prepared for the press by Hill, but never published, and also a copy of the 'Vindication' revised for a second edition, with considerable additions. 5. 'Municipium Ecclesiasticum, or the Rights, Liberties, and Authorities of the Christian Church: Asserted against all Oppressive Doctrines and Constitutions. Occasioned by Dr. Wake's Book, concerning the Authority of Christian Princes over Ecclesiastical Synods' (anon.), London, 1697, 8vo. A reply appeared under the title of 'The Divine Right of Convocations examined,' London, 1701, 4to. 6. 'The Rights, Liberties, and Authorities of the Christian Church; with a Vindication of Municipium Ecclesiasticum,' London, 1701, 8vo. A reply, published anonymously by Dr. Turner, is entitled 'A Vindication of the Authority of Christian Princes over Ecclesiastical Synods from the Exceptions made against it by Mr. Hill. . . . To which are added some letters that passed between Dr. Wake and him relating to that controversy,' London, 1701, 8vo. 7. 'Solomon and Abiathar: or the Case of the depriv'd Bishops and Clergy discuss'd; between Eucheres, a Conformist, and Dyscheres, a Recusant,' London, 1692, 4to (HALKETT & LAING, *Anon. Lit.*); reissued in 'A Collection of State Tracts,' London, 1705, fol. i. 640–56. The preface is dated 20 May 1692. Samuel Grascome [q. v.] wrote two letters in reply to this work. 8. 'A Thorough Examination of the False Principles and Fallacious Arguments advanc'd against the Christian Church, Priest-hood, and Religion: In a late pernicious Book [by Matthew Tindal], ironically intituled, The Rights of the Christian Church Asserted, &c. In a Dialogue between Demas and Hierarcha,' London, 1708, 8vo. 9. 'Compendious Speculations concerning Sacerdotal Remission of Sins,' London, 1713, 8vo. 10. 'Speculations upon Valid and Invalid Baptism,' London, 1713, 8vo. 11. 'The Harmony of the Canonical and Apocryphal Scriptures with the Catholic Tradition of Faith in the Trinity and Unity, and the Incarnation of the Eternal Word and Son of God,' London, 1713, 8vo. William Whiston replied to this book in his 'Argument to prove that all Persons set apart for the Ministry are real Clergymen,' 1714.

A 'Student of the Temple' (J. Bleaman) published 'A Letter to the Reverend Mr. Brydges, Rector of Croscombe in Somersetshire. Occasion'd by a Sermon preached at that place, by Mr. H[ill], Arch-Deacon of

W[ell]s. Being a Vindication of the Dissenters,' London, 1715, 8vo.

[Addit. MS. 5872, f. 36 *b*; Jones's Popery Tracts, pp. 258, 270; Bodleian Cat.; Cat. of Lib. of Trin. Coll. Dublin; Le Neve's Fasti (Hardy), i. 162, 188; Watt's Bibl. Brit.; Darling's Cycl. Bibliographica.] T. C.

**HILL, THOMAS** (*fl.* 1590), miscellaneous writer, of London, was dead by April 1599. In addition to compiling and translating for the booksellers he practised astrology, and was on that account castigated in W. Fulke's 'Anti-prognosticon,' 1560. He translated from the Latin of B. Cocles 'A brief Epitomye of the whole Art of Phisiognomie gathered out of Aristotle, Rasis . . . and others many moe,' 8vo, London [1550?], and from the Italian of L. Fioravanti 'A Joyful Jewell. Contayning . . . orders, preservatives . . . for the Plague,' 4to, London [1579], which was edited by his friend John Hester [q. v.] Hill also wrote: 1. 'A most briefe and pleasaunt Treatyse, teachynge howe to Dress, Sowe, and Set a Garden,' 8vo, London, 1563. 2. 'The proffitable Arte of Gardening, now the third tyme set fourth. . . . To this annexed two Treatises, the one entituled the marveilous Government of the Bees . . . and the other the Yerely Conjectures, meete for Husbandmē to knowe: English by T. H.,' 2 pts., 8vo, London, 1568. To another edition, also styled the third, is 'newly added a Treatise of the Arte of Graffing and Planting of Trees,' 2 pts., 4to, London, 1574. Other editions appeared in 1579, 1586, 1593, and 1608. 3. 'The moste pleasaunte Arte of the Interpretacion of Dreames, whereunto is annexed sundry Problemes with apte Aunsweares, . . . and rare examples. Gathered by the former Auctour of T. H. . . . and now newly Imprinted,' 8vo, London, 1576. 4. 'A Briefe and pleasaunt Treatise, Intituled Naturall and Artificiall Conclusions; Written firste by sundry Schollers of the Universitie of Padua at the request of one Bartholomew, a Tuscane; and now Englished by T. Hyll,' 8vo, London, 1586. 5. 'A Contemplation of Mysteries: contayning the rare effectes and significations of certayne Comets. . . . Gathered and Englished by T. Hyll,' 8vo, London [1590?]. 6. 'The Schoole of Skil: containing two bookes: the first, of the Sphere, of Heaven, of the Starres, of their Orbes, and of the Earth, &c. The second, of the Sphericall Elements, of the Celestiall Circles, &c. With apt figures' [edited by W. I.], 4to, London, 1599. 7. 'The Arte of Vulgar Arithmeticke . . . devided into two Bookes. . . . Whereunto is added a third Booke. Newly collected, digested, and in some parts devised by a welwiller to the Mathematicals,' 4to, London, 1600. 8. 'A Pleasant History: declaring the whole Art of Phisiognomy, Orderly—utterly all the speciall parts of Man, from the Head to the Foot,' 8vo [London], 1613.

Hill's portrait has been engraved.

[Brit. Mus. Cat.; Granger's Biog. Hist. of England, 6th edit., i. 277.] G. G.

**HILL**, *alias* BUCKLAND, **THOMAS**, D.D. (1564–1644), Benedictine monk, born in Somerset in 1564, is said to have been originally a clergyman of the church of England. On becoming a Roman catholic he withdrew to the continent, and entered the English College of Douay, then temporarily removed to Rheims, on 21 Aug. 1590. He left for Rome on 16 Feb. 1592–3, continued his studies in the English College there, and was ordained priest in 1594. He took part with Anthony Champney [q. v.] and others in objecting to the administration of the English College at Rome by the jesuits. On 16 Sept. 1597 he was sent to the English mission (FOLEY, *Records*, vi. 192). When he published his 'Quartron of Reasons' in 1600, he was, according to Wood, 'living at Phalempyne, beyond the sea,' being then a doctor of divinity. Two years later he was again labouring on the mission, and being apprehended, was committed to Newgate. He was again in prison in 1612, when he was condemned to death for being a priest, but he was reprieved and banished in the following year. While in prison he received the Benedictine habit by commission from Dom Leander of St. Martin (John Jones), and after his release he was professed on 8 Oct. 1613 under the religious name of Thomas of St. Gregory. Weldon states that he first detected the error of the Illuminati, who expected the incarnation of the Holy Ghost from a certain young virgin, but does not say how he made his exposure public. In 1633 Hill was appointed titular cathedral prior of Gloucester. On leaving the English mission he retired to St. Gregory's monastery at Douay, where he died on 7 Aug. 1644.

His works are: 1. 'A Quartron of Reasons of Catholike Religion, with as many briefe reasons of refusall,' Antwerp, 1600, 8vo. This work elicited replies from George Abbot [q. v.], dean of Winchester, afterwards archbishop of Canterbury, and from Francis Dillingham, B.D., of Cambridge [q. v.] 2. 'A Plaine Path-Way to Heaven. Meditations, or Spirituall Discourses vpon the Ghospells of all the Sondayes in the yeare, for euery day in the weeke one,' with 'a little Treatise how to find out the True Fayth . . . by Thomas

Byckland.' Douay, 1634, 12mo, pp. 870; second part, 1637, 12mo, pp. 1270. A manuscript of the work dated 1634, perhaps the original, is preserved in the library of St. Mary's College, Oscott.

[Challoner's Missionary Priests, 1743, ii. 88; Dodd's Church Hist. ii. 160; Downside Review, September 1884, p. 256; Foley's Records, i. 61, iv. 654; Gillow's Dict. of English Catholics, iii. 305; Oliver's Catholic Religion in Cornwall, p. 517; Snow's Benedictine Necrology, p. 48; Weldon's Chronicle, p. 183, Appendix, p. 8; Wood's Athenæ Oxon. (Bliss), ii. 562.] T. C.

**HILL, THOMAS** (*d.* 1653), master of Trinity College, Cambridge, born at Kington, Worcestershire, was educated at Emmanuel College, Cambridge, of which he was scholar and fellow, and where he graduated B.A. in 1622, M.A. in 1626, and B.D. in 1633. He was incorporated B.A. at Oxford on 9 July 1622, resided for some years at Cambridge as a tutor, and having taken holy orders preached regularly at St. Andrews. Subsequently he lived for a time with his friend John Cotton [q. v.] at Boston, Lincolnshire. A strong puritan, he was summoned as assessor by the committee of the House of Lords appointed to consider innovations in religion on 1 March 1640–1. He was also one of the original members of the Westminster Assembly of Divines, which was constituted by ordinance of 12 June 1643, and was a frequent week-day preacher before the assembly in Westminster Abbey. He also preached regularly on Sundays at St. Martin's-in-the-Fields during the sittings of the assembly. About this time he was presented to the rectory of L[illegible] [illegible] marsh, Northamptonshire, wh[illegible] his death, and was elected to the mastership of Emmanuel College, wh[illegible] in 1645, by direction of the parliamentary commissioners. [illegible] He was appointed [illegible] versity, a[illegible] A [illegible] 1647 [illegible]

[illegible]

ness of Lady Frances, daughter of Robert, earl of Warwick. She survived him and married Puckney. Hill published some sermons, and edited the theological tracts of William Fenner [q. v.]

[Θανατοκτασία, Or Death disarmed and the Grave swallowed up in Victory (the funeral sermon referred to in the text), Clarke's Lives of Ten Eminent Divines; Cole MSS. xlv. 3[illegible], 1[illegible]7; Wood's Fasti Oxon. (Bliss), i. 408; Le Neve's Fasti Eccl. Angl. iii. 6[illegible]0; Cal. State Papers, Dom. 1660–1, p. 138; Lords' Journ. iv. 174, ix. 661; Commons' Journ. v. 401; Rushworth's Hist. Coll. v. 3[illegible]2–8; Hist. MSS. Comm. 6th Rep. App., 7th Rep. App.; Baker's Hist. of St. John's Coll. ed. Mayor, 220 n., 612; Brook's Lives of the Puritans.] J. M. R.

**HILL, THOMAS** (1628?–16[illegible]), nonconformist minister, was born at Derby. From the grammar school of Repton, Derbyshire, he entered the service of the first Earl of Chesterfield, but was admitted at Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, on 10 Sept. 1645. He graduated B.A., and left the university in 1649, rather than take the 'engagement' of loyalty to the Commonwealth. Some years later he refused to preach before Cromwell. He became chaplain to the Countess of Chesterfield at Tamworth Castle, Warwickshire, and afterwards preacher at Elvaston, Derbyshire. On 16 [illegible] 16[illegible], having received a call from the parishioners of Orton on the Hill [illegible] Leicestershire, [illegible] was ordained at A[illegible] [illegible] 15 March 16[illegible] [illegible]

[illegible]

His son, THOMAS HILL, M.A. (*d.* 1720), was a nonconformist tutor of some celebrity, who conducted an academy for training ministers at Derby (before 1714), at Hartshorn, and at Findern, Derbyshire, and died on 2 March 1720. He published, for the use of his pupils (who were to sing them) a selection of psalms in Latin and Greek verse, with title 'Celleberrimi viri G. Buchanani Paraphrasis Poetica in Psalmos,' &c., 1715, 12mo; the British Museum copy belonged to his most famous pupil, John Taylor, D.D., the hebraist.

[Calamy's Account, 1713, pp. 855 sq.; Calamy's Continuation, 1727, ii. 745 sq.; Walker's Sufferings of the Clergy, 1714, ii. 331; Christian Moderator, 1826, p. 241; Minutes of Wirksworth Classis, in Journal of Derbyshire Archæolog. and Nat. Hist. Soc., January 1880, pp. 164 sq.; extract from Register of Corp. Chr. Coll. Cambr. per the master.] A. G.

**HILL, THOMAS** (1661–1734), portrait-painter, born in 1661, first learned drawing from W. Faithorne the elder [q. v.], the engraver. He painted numerous portraits at the beginning of the eighteenth century, some of which were engraved in mezzotint by J. Smith and others. Among them were George Hooper, bishop of Bath and Wells, Baron de Ginkel, Sir Henry Goodricke, bart., Lady Goodricke, and a group of three children of the Duke of Leeds. He painted three portraits of Humphrey Wanley [q. v.]: one is in the Bodleian Library, Oxford; another, dated 18 Dec. 1711, is in the collection of the Society of Antiquaries, 'painted in a peculiarly soft and ornamental manner;' and a third, painted in 1717, is in the National Portrait Gallery. Hill died at Mitcham in 1734.

[Redgrave's Dict. of Artists; Chaloner Smith's British Mezzotinto Portraits; Vertue's MSS. (Brit. Mus. Add. MS. 23068); Scharf's Cat. of Portraits belonging to the Society of Antiquaries, and of the National Portrait Gallery.] L. C.

**HILL, THOMAS** (1760–1840), book-collector and *bon-vivant*, was born in Lancaster in May 1760, and went at an early age to London, where for many years he carried on an extensive business as a drysalter at Queenhithe. He patronised Bloomfield, whose 'Farmer's Boy' he read in manuscript, and recommended to a publisher. Hill was part proprietor of the 'Monthly Mirror,' and befriended Kirke White when a contributor to that periodical. Southey refers to him as 'a lover of English literature who possessed one of the most copious collections of English poetry in existence' (*Life of Kirke White*, i. 14). He had a house in Henrietta Street, Covent Garden, and a cottage at Sydenham, where he used to entertain the Kembles, Theodore Hook, Campbell, Dubois, the Hunts, the two Smiths, Barron Field, and many other literary men. These parties were 'the Sydenham Sundays' which Mrs. Mathews 'remembered with retrospective gratification' (*Memoirs of C. Mathews*, iii. 627). About 1810, having lost heavily by an unsuccessful speculation in indigo, he retired to second-floor chambers at 2 James Street, Adelphi, where he lived the rest of his long and merry life. Messrs. Longman gave between 3,000*l.* and 4,000*l.* for his books. They form the basis of their 'Bibliotheca Anglo-Poetica,' 1815, 8vo.

The most life-like picture of Tom Hill is to be found in Hook's 'Gilbert Gurney,' where he figures as 'Hull.' The scenes in which he appears were read over to him before publication. He was always thought to be the original of Poole's 'Paul Pry,' immortalised by Liston, although Poole himself insisted that the character was never intended 'as the representative of any one individual' (*New Monthly Magazine*, xxxi. 280). His familiar peculiarities are also represented in the person of 'Jack Hobbleday' of Poole's 'Little Pedlington.' Lockhart called him 'the most innocent and ignorant of all the bibliomaniacs.' 'He had no literary tastes and acquirements; his manners were those of his business' (CYRUS REDDING, *Fifty Years' Recollections*, 1858, ii. 212). But the 'jovial bachelor, plump and rosy as an abbot' (LEIGH HUNT, *Autob.* 1850, ii. 17), with his famous 'Pooh! pooh! I happen to know,' his ceaseless questionings in a harsh, guttural voice, his boastings, his extensive and distorted knowledge of all the gossip of the day, was spoken of by every one as a very kind-hearted and hospitable man. Even at an advanced age he was unusually young-looking; hence the joke of Rogers, that he was one of the little Hills spoken of as skipping in the Psalms, and the assertion of James Smith that the record of his birth had been destroyed in the fire of London.

He died in the Adelphi on 20 Dec. 1840, in his eighty-first year, leaving to Edward Dubois [q. v.] most of his remaining fortune. His furniture and plate were sold by auction on 23 April 1841 (*Catalogue*, 1841, 8vo). There is an engraving of him, by Linnell after a miniature, in 'Bentley's Miscellany,' 1841, ix. 89. An excellent portrait, by Maclise, was given in the 'Gallery of Literary Characters' (*Fraser's Mag.* 1834, x. 172), with a very ingenious imitation of his style of rapid monologue from the pen of Maginn.

[Annual Register, 1841, p. 176; W. Bates's Maclise Gallery, 1883, pp. 263–7. Some characteristic stories about Hill are given in Bentley's

Miscellany, 1841, ix. 86–90*; New Monthly Mag. 1847, lxxx. 43–8, 137–43; Barham's Life of Hook, 1849, i. 64, 173–8; Cyrus Redding's Fifty Years' Recollections, ii. 212–15; Memoirs of C. Mathews, iii. 622–7. See also Timbs's Curiosities of London, 1867, p. 2; Notes and Queries, 2nd ser. xii. 222–3; W. Knight's Mem. of Coleorton, 1887, ii. 27.] H. R. T.

**HILL, THOMAS** (1808–1865), topographer, born in 1808, entered in 1828 Clare Hall, Cambridge, where he graduated B.A. in 1830, and M.A. in 1832. He took holy orders in 1833, was assistant classical master at Mercers' School from 1832 to 1850, and was presented to the living of Holy Trinity, Queenhithe, London, in 1850. He was author of 'The Harmony of the Greek and Latin Languages,' London, 12mo, 1841, and 'History of the Nunnery of St. Clare and the parish of Holy Trinity,' London, 8vo, 1851. Hill died at 30 Little Trinity Lane, 13 Feb. 1865, aged 57.

[Crockford's Clerical Directory; Brit. Mus. Cat.; Gent. Mag. 1865, pt. i. p. 385.] H. M. C.

**HILL, THOMAS FORD** (*d.* 1795), antiquary, was the son of a glove manufacturer at Worcester. He was a quaker, and intended for a commercial life. After serving an apprenticeship at Pontefract, he was taken into the house of Messrs. Dawson & Walker in Cornhill, London, but abandoned business for literature and antiquities. In 1780 he made an antiquarian tour through Scotland. In 1784 he visited the continent, residing at Geneva to learn French, and afterwards exploring the mountainous districts of Savoy. His tour was in 1787 extended to Italy, for the purpose of antiquarian studies. He was abroad five years, during which he made the acquaintance of eminent men of learning, and of Cardinal Borgia and Prince Kaunitz. He made two other journeys to the continent in 1791 and 1792, when he travelled through a great part of Germany, and also visited Paris. In 1792 he was elected a fellow of the Society of Antiquaries. In 1794 he went again to Italy, and died on 16 July 1795 at Ariano, worn out by the difficulties he had encountered in his journey to Calabria in that year.

During his tour in Scotland in 1780 Hill collected many Erse songs, some of which appeared, together with a [illegible] in the 'Gentleman's Magazine' [illegible] 1783 i. 33, 36, 140, [illegible] did a letter of his on the [illegible] (1782, pp. 570–1). The [illegible] wards published separately [illegible] 'Ancient Erse Songs,' 1784. [illegible] work of Hill was 'Observations [illegible] of France, and their Progress since the Last Summer,' which was published in 1792. His portrait was painted at Rome in 1787 by Gavin Hamilton (1730–1797) [q. v.]

[Gent. Mag. 1795 pt. ii. p. 704, 789. 1796 pt. i. pp. 126–31; Nichols's Literary Anecdotes, viii. 154.] T. E. J.

**HILL, SIR THOMAS NOEL** (1784–1832), colonel, seventh son of Sir John Hill, third baronet of Hawkstone, Shropshire, and younger brother of General Lord Hill (see HILL, ROWLAND, VISCOUNT HILL), was born 14 Feb. 1784, and entered the army 25 Sept. 1801 as cornet 10th light dragoons (afterwards 10th hussars), in which he became lieutenant in 1803 and captain in 1805. He exchanged to the 53rd foot the year after, and on 16 Feb. 1809 was appointed major in the Portuguese army under Marshal Beresford. He commanded the first Portuguese regiment at the battle of Busaco, the siege and capture of Ciudad Rodrigo, the battles of Salamanca and Vittoria, and the capture of St. Sebastian. He was appointed captain and lieutenant-colonel 1st foot-guards (Grenadier guards) 25 July, and was knighted 28 July 1814. He served as assistant adjutant-general in the Waterloo campaign. He retired from the guards on half-pay, 27 May 1824. He was deputy adjutant-general in Canada in 1827–30, and was afterwards appointed commandant of the cavalry depot, Maidstone, where he died on 4 Jan. 1832.

Hill was a K.C.B., and had the orders of the Tower and Sword of Portugal and of Maximilian Joseph of Bavaria. He married, on 27 July 1821, Anna Maria Shore, fourth daughter of the first Lord Teignmouth, by whom he had six surviving children.

[Army Lists; Philippart's Royal Military Cal. 1820, iv.; Gent. Mag. 1832 pt. i. 84, 650.] H. M. C.

**HILL, THOMAS WILCOTT** (1763–1851), schoolmaster and [illegible], born at Kidderminster on 24 April 1763, was the son of a baker and dealer in horse corn. His forefathers for three generations had been [illegible] of Kidderminster, [illegible] from Hadley Hall, a [illegible] of Abbotsley, [illegible] (1766). [illegible] Hill [illegible] Hodgkins. [illegible] by the [illegible] Marine [illegible] was also [illegible] of his [illegible] to have [illegible] and astronomer, and on-

tural philosophy. When nine years old he heard several of the philosophical lectures of James Ferguson, of which he gives an interesting account in his autobiography. When fourteen years of age he was apprenticed to a brassfounder in Birmingham, but he found the business uncongenial, and his voluntary efforts as a Sunday-school teacher at the chapel of Dr. Priestley led him ultimately to devote his special attention to teaching. He joined Dr. Priestley's congregation, and was much influenced by his pastor. He made a close study of letter sounds. Dr. Guest, in his 'History of English Rhythms,' i. 9, attributed to him the discovery of 'the distinction between vocal and whisper letters.' He invented a system of philosophic shorthand, and he devised and induced a scientific society to adopt the scheme for the representation of minorities, which Mr. Thomas Hare afterwards reinvented. Honest, guileless, and unconventional, Hill is said to have been endowed with every sense but common sense. And that deficiency his wife, Sarah Lea, a woman of strong character, tried to supply. A manufacture of woollen stuffs in which he had engaged was ruined by the French war. Reduced to great straits, Hill at the suggestion of his wife opened a school in order that his children might be properly educated. The school was first opened about 1803 at Hill Top, then on the outskirts of Birmingham. His simple love of truth and courtesy made him a fair teacher, but he lacked mental perspective, and treated all kinds of knowledge as of equal importance. His private pupils in mathematics in the town included Edwin Guest [q. v.], afterwards master of Caius College, Cambridge, and Benjamin Hall Kennedy [q. v.], afterwards professor of Greek at Cambridge. Hill never freed himself from debt, but his buoyant optimism never allowed his embarrassments to trouble him, although his wife felt keenly their heavy burden, and their son Rowland soon took charge of their money affairs, with admirable effect. Hill remained at Hill Top till 1819. His son Rowland had then become chief director of the school, and removed it to Hazelwood, where he introduced his well-known scheme of education [see HILL, SIR ROWLAND].

In 1827 Hill and his sons removed the school to Bruce Castle at Tottenham. Hill died at Tottenham on 13 June 1851, aged 88. By his wife, Sarah Lea, he was father of Matthew Davenport Hill [q. v.]; Edwin Hill [q. v.]; Sir Rowland Hill [q. v.], the postal reformer; Arthur (1795–1885), headmaster of Bruce Castle school; Frederic (*b.* 1803, and still (1891) living), inspector of prisons in Scotland, and afterwards in England, subsequently an assistant secretary to the post office; and Caroline (1800–1877), the wife of Francis Clark of Birmingham, afterwards of Adelaide, South Australia. Two other children died young.

Hill's 'Remains,' containing an autobiographical fragment and some notices of his life, were privately printed at London, 1859, 8vo. A volume of 'Selections from his Papers' appeared in London in 1860. They consist of: 1. 'A Lecture on the Articulation of Speech,' 1821. 2. 'Phonotypy by Modification, a means by which unusual types can be dispensed with.' 3. 'A brief Account of his System of Shorthand.' He originally devised this ingenious system about 1802, and by various changes at length reduced it to a complete philosophical alphabet, on a strictly phonetic basis, without depriving it of its stenographic character. 4. 'A System of Numerical Nomenclature and Notation, grounded on the principles of abstract utility,' 1845. In this new system the names of the numbers are made, by virtue of arithmetical significance given to the vowels and diphthongs, to indicate their precise meaning by their structure. 5. 'Scheme for Conducting Elections.' 6. 'Easy Calculations for Matching the Days of the Month and the Days of the Week in Dates.' First printed privately in 1849.

[Hill's Remains; Gent. Mag. 1851, pt. ii. 326; Dr. G. Birkbeck Hill's Memoir of Sir Rowland Hill; Colvile's Worthies of Warwickshire, p. 405.]
T. C.

**HILL, WILLIAM** (1619–1667), classical scholar, born in 1619 at Curdworth, Warwickshire, was the son of Blackleech Hill, an attorney, and afterwards bailiff of Hemlingford hundred in Warwickshire. In October 1634, when aged fifteen, he entered Merton College, Oxford, where he was made a post-master, and in 1639 a fellow. He graduated M.A. in 1641, and later in life received the degree of D.D. from the university of Dublin. On leaving Oxford about 1640, Hill became master of the free school at Sutton Coldfield, Warwickshire, and brought it into credit. He afterwards removed to London, and there practised medicine with success. Wood (who, however, had not seen the book) says he epitomised some of the works of Lazarus Riverius, the physician. In 1658 Hill published an edition of Dionysius Periegetes, London, 8vo; other editions appeared in 1659, 1663, 1679, &c. Wood says the edition was used 'in many schools and by most juniors of the university of Oxon.' Leaving London to resume teaching, Hill became chief master of the school of St.

Patrick's, Dublin. At the Restoration he was, as a parliamentarian, removed from this post, and went to Finglas, near Dublin, where he became minister, and kept a boarding-school for the children of gentlemen. He died in November 1667 'of a pestilential fever' (which was also fatal to most of his family), and was buried on 29 Nov. in Finglas Church. Hill married when at Sutton Coldfield the well-to-do daughter of 'a plain countryman.' She died about 1641, and Hill, when practising medicine in London, married (according to Wood) 'a young lass, daughter of one Mr. Burges, a physician, who brought him forth a child that lived within the seventh month after marriage.'

Another WILLIAM HILL of Merton College became, according to Wood, a bible clerk of Merton in 1647, and afterwards a tale-bearer to the parliamentary visitors. This man obtained a living, but was ejected at the Restoration, and falling in with a number of fanatics, became privy to a plot to seize the king at Whitehall. He turned informer, and by his means the conspirators were arrested 29 Oct. 1662, and four of them were hanged at Tyburn, 23 Dec. Hill was rewarded with a benefice, which he did not long enjoy. Wood says he published a pamphlet giving a 'narrative of the plot.'

[Wood's Athenæ Oxon. (Bliss), iii. 800-2; Chalmers's Biog. Dict.; Brit. Mus. Cat.]

W. W.

**HILL, WILLIAM NOEL**, third LORD BERWICK (*d.* 1842), was the second son of Noel Hill, first lord Berwick (grand-nephew of Richard Hill [q. v.]), by Anne, daughter of Henry Vernon of Hilton, Staffordshire. He was ambassador at Naples from 1824 to 1833. In 1824 he assumed the additional name of Noel, and in the same year was created a privy councillor. In 1832 he succeeded his elder brother, Thomas Noel, as third Baron Berwick. He was an F.S.A. He died unmarried at Redrice, near Andover, on 4 Aug. 1842. His large library was dispersed by sale.

[Gent. Mag. 1842, ii. 423; Burke's Peerage; Diary and Corresp. of Lord Colchester, vol. iii.; Haydn's Book of Dignities.]

**HILL, WILLS**, first MARQUIS OF DOWNSHIRE (1718–1793), second and only surviving son of Trevor, first viscount Hillsborough, by his wife Mary, eldest daughter and co-heiress of Anthony Rowe of Maxwell Hall, Middlesex, and widow of Sir Edward Denton, bart., of Hillesden, Buckinghamshire, was born at Fairford, Gloucestershire, on 20 May 1718. At the general election in May 1741 he was returned to parliament for the boroughs of Warwick and Huntingdon, and elected to sit for Warwick, which he continued to represent until he was created an English peer. In May 1742 he succeeded his father as second Viscount Hillsborough in the peerage of Ireland. On the 27th of the same month, as chairman of the committee appointed by the House of Commons on the previous day, he moved that the refusal of the lords to pass the Indemnification Bill was 'an obstruction to justice and may prove fatal to the liberties of this nation.' The motion was, however, rejected by 245 to 193 (*Parl. Hist.* xii. 715-732). In July 1742 he was appointed lord-lieutenant of county Down in the room of his father, and 10 Nov. 1743 he took his seat for the first time in the Irish House of Peers (*Journals of the Irish House of Lords*, iii. 542). On 25 Aug. 1746 he was sworn a member of the Irish privy council. He moved the address of condolence in the House of Commons on 22 March 1751, on the death of the Prince of Wales. Walpole describes him as 'a young man of great honour and merit,' scrupulous in weighing his reasons, and excellent at setting them off by solemnity of voice and manner (*Memoirs of the Reign of George II*, i. 80). On 3 Oct. 1751 he was created, by letters patent, Viscount Kilwarlin and Earl of Hillsborough in the peerage of Ireland, with reminder in default of male issue to his uncle, Arthur Hill, and the heirs male of his body. He took part in the debate on the subsidy to the elector of Saxony on 22 Jan. 1752, and 'distinguished himself extremely upon this occasion. He spoke very strongly for us and upon right principles' (letter of the Duke of Newcastle to the Duke of Dorset of 25 Jan. 1752, *Hist. MSS. Comm.* 9th Rep. pt. iii. p. 43). In May 1753 he supported the Clandestine Marriage Bill (*Parl. Hist.* xv. 62-7), and on 24 May 1754 was appointed comptroller of the household to George II, being sworn an English privy councillor on the same day. Resigning the comptrollership he became treasurer of the chamber on 27 Dec. 1756, a post from which he retired in the following year. On 17 Nov. 1756 he was created Lord Harwich, baron of Harwich in the county of Essex, in the peerage of Great Britain, and took his seat in the House of Lords for the first time on 2 Dec. 1756 (*Journals of the House of Lords*, xxx. 3). On 10 Sept. 1757 he was appointed president of the board of trade and foreign plantations in the place of Lord Chetwynd, but resigned office on the Marquis of Rockingham becoming prime minister in July 1765. On Pitt's accession to power in the following year

[illegible] III to John [illegible] *Hist. MSS.* [illegible] He was [illegible] but [illegible] possess any [illegible] *Papers*, iii. 161. [illegible] Junius in his [illegible] differences [illegible] America. He took [illegible] Irish politics, and is said to [illegible] example to other Irish [illegible] improvements on the Down[illegible] He was elected a fellow of the [illegible] Society on 8 March 1764, was created [illegible] University on 21 May 1771, [illegible] appointed an elder brother of Trinity [illegible].

He married, first, on 3 March 1748, Lady Margaret Fitzgerald, sister of James, first duke of Leinster. She died at Naples 25 Jan. 1765, and was buried at Hillsborough. By her he had five children: viz., Arthur, who succeeded him as the second marquis; Mary Amelia, who, born on 16 Aug. 1750, was married on 2 Dec. 1773 to James, first marquis of Salisbury, and was burnt to death in the fire at Hatfield House on 27 Nov. 1835; Charlotte, who, born on 19 March 1754, was married on 7 May 1776 to John, first earl Talbot (cr. 1784), and died on 17 Jan. 1804; and a son and daughter who died in infancy. He married, secondly, on 11 Oct. 1768, Mary, baroness Stawell, only daughter and heiress of Edward, fourth baron Stawell, and widow of Henry Bilson Legge, sometime chancellor of the exchequer, by whom Downshire had no issue. His second wife died on 29 July 1780, when the barony of Stawell devolved on her only child by her first husband.

A portrait of Downshire, by J. Rising, was lent by the Marquis of Salisbury to the Loan Collection of National Portraits at South Kensington in 1867 (Catalogue, No. 497).

[Horace Walpole's Memoirs of the Reign of George II, 1847, i. 80, 145, 259–60, ii. 49–50, iii. 239; Horace Walpole's Memoirs of the Reign of George III, 1845, i. 141, 309, ii. 179, iii. 151, 205, 226, 238–41, 336–7, iv. 198–201; Grenville Papers, 1852–3, iii. lii–liv et passim; Lord E. Fitzmaurice's Life of William, Earl of Shelburne, 1876, ii. 2, 10, 77, 126–7, 193–205, 310; Hist. and Posthumous Memoirs of Sir N. W. Wraxall, 1884, i. 381–2; Lord Mahon's Hist. of England, 1858, v. 41, 185, 235–7, 240–3, 320, vi. 218, 278, vii. 19; Bancroft's Hist. of the United States of America, 1876, iii. 392, iv. 63–237, vi. 59; Collins's Peerage of England, 1812, v. 103–5; Lodge's Peerage of Ireland, 1789, ii. 332–3; Doyle's Official Baronage, 1886, ii. 195–196; Gent. Mag. 1793, vol. lxiii. pt. ii. p. 962; Foster's Alumni Oxonienses, ii. 663; London Gazettes; Haydn's Book of Dignities, 1851; Official Return of Lists of Members of Parliament, pt. ii. pp. 88, 92, 104, 118.] G. F. R. B.

**HILLARY, WILLIAM, M.D.** (*d.* 1763), physician, was a pupil of Boerhaave at Leyden, where he graduated M.D. in 1722, writing a dissertation on intermittent fevers. He settled in practice at Ripon, removed to Bath in 1734, and to Barbadoes in 1752, and returned to London in 1758, where he died 22 April 1763.

Hillary was a systematic observer of the weather and prevalent diseases. His observations began at Ripon in 1726, a year in advance of the corresponding work by Clifton Wintringham at York. They were discontinued during his practice at Bath, but resumed at Barbadoes, and continued until he left the colony, 30 May 1758. The first series is published in the appendix to his second edition of 'Rational and Mechanical Essay on the Small-pox,' London, 1740; 1st edition, London, 1735. The Barbadoes records are given in his important work 'Observations on the Changes of the Air, and the concomitant Epidemical Diseases in Barbadoes, with a Treatise on the Bilious Remittent Fever [Yellow Fever], &c.,' London, 1759; 2nd edition, 1766; American reprint, with notes by B. Rush, Philadelphia, 1811. His other writings are: 1. 'An Enquiry into the . . . Medicinal Virtues of Lincomb Spaw Water, near Bath,' London, 1743. 2. 'The Nature, Properties, and Laws of Motion of Fire,' London, 1759. 3. 'The Means of Improving Medical Knowledge,' London, 1761.

[Hillary's writings; Watt's Bibl. Brit.] C. C.

**HILLIARD, NICHOLAS** (1537–1619), miniature-painter, goldsmith, and jeweller, was a younger son of Richard Hilliard, a citizen of Exeter, and high sheriff of that city and county in 1560, who is said to have been descended from an old Yorkshire family. Nicholas was born at Exeter in 1537, and apprenticed to a jeweller and goldsmith, but at an early age he attempted painting in miniature. At the age of thirteen he painted a miniature of himself, signed and dated 'N. H. 1550,' which was formerly in the Harleian collection, and lately in that of Mr. Hollingworth Magniac, and while he was still young he drew the portrait of Mary Queen of Scots at the age of eighteen. He was appointed goldsmith, carver, and limner to Queen Elizabeth, whom he painted as princess and as queen. In 1586 he engraved the second great seal of Elizabeth, which has more artistic merit than others of the period. In 1587 a lease of the manor of Poyle in the parish of Stanmore, Middlesex, was granted to him for twenty-one years, 'in consideration of his paines in engraving y^e^ Great Seale of England' (*Notes and Queries*, III. iv. 207). After the accession of James I he received a grant, dated 5 May 1617, giving him for twelve years an exclusive right 'to invent, make, grave, and imprint any picture or pictures of our image, or other representation of our person' (Rymer, *Fœdera*, xvii. 15). This was a source of much profit to him, as it empowered him not only to grant licenses for the production and sale of the king's portrait, but also to seize such as were not duly authorised. Simon van de Pass and others were also employed by Hilliard to engrave the 'royal image,' as well as those of the royal family. Hilliard died in the parish of St. Martin-in-the-Fields, Westminster, on 7 Jan. 1619, and was buried

in the parish church. By his will, made shortly before his death, he bequeathed 20*s.* to the poor of his parish, divided the arrears of his pension between his two sisters, and left the residue of his estate to his son, Laurence Hilliard, who appears to have followed the same profession as his father, although no work by him is known. Laurence was alive in 1634.

Hilliard was the first English painter of miniatures, and his works were highly esteemed in his own day. Dr. Donne, in his poem on 'The Storm,' written in 1597, testified that

> a hand or eye
> By Hilliard drawn is worth a history
> By a coarse painter made.

He was, however, surpassed by his pupil, Isaac Oliver [q. v.], to whom many of his more highly finished miniatures have been attributed. Hilliard's miniatures are usually on card or vellum, and sometimes on the backs of playing cards. They are executed with much care and fidelity and great accuracy of detail in costume, and are painted with opaque colours, heightened with gold, but the faces are pale and shadowless. Thirteen were in the cabinet of Charles I, who purchased from Hilliard's son a remarkable jewel, containing the portraits of Henry VII, Henry VIII, Edward VI, and Queen Jane Seymour, and having on the top an enamelled representation of the battle of Bosworth, and on the reverse the red and white roses. The portraits are now, with other works by Hilliard, at Windsor Castle, but the jewel has long since disappeared.

Many of Hilliard's best miniatures are in the collection of the Duke of Buccleuch, who contributed twenty-three to the exhibition at the Royal Academy in 1879. They include portraits of Queen Elizabeth (four), Edward Seymour, duke of Somerset, Edward Vere, earl of Oxford, Richard Clifford, earl of Cumberland, Lady Arabella Stuart, Sir Philip Sidney, Mary Sidney, countess of Pembroke, Sir Francis Drake, Sir Francis Walsingham, Richard Hilliard, his father; his own portrait, dated 1574, 'ætatis suæ 37,' and that of his wife Alice, daughter of John Brandon, chamberlain of London, dated 1578, 'ætatis suæ 22.' Mr. Jeffery Whitehead possesses a little book of prayers written on vellum by Queen Elizabeth in six different languages, which has miniatures by Hilliard of the Duke of Alençon at the beginning, and of Elizabeth at the end. It was formerly in the collection of Horace Walpole at Strawberry Hill. Mr. Whitehead owns likewise the fine portrait of Hilliard by himself, which was formerly at Penshurst, and that of Mary Queen of Scots, painted in 1579, formerly in the Bale collection. Other miniatures by Hilliard are in the collections of the Duke of Portland, the Earl of Derby, the Earl of Carlisle, Major-general Sotheby, Mr. R. S. Holford, and Mr. J. Lumsden Propert. Miniatures of Queen Elizabeth by him are in the National Portrait Gallery and the Jones collection, South Kensington Museum.

There are engraved portraits of Hilliard in the Strawberry Hill and later editions of Walpole's 'Anecdotes of Painting.'

[De Piles's Art of Painting, 1706, p. 430; Walpole's Anecd. of Painting, ed. Wornum, 1849, i. 171-6; Redgrave's Dict. of Artists of the English School, 1878; Cat. of the Special Exhibition of Portrait Miniatures at the South Kensington Museum, 1865; Royal Acad. Exhibition Catalogues (Old Masters), 1879; Cat. of the Exhibition of Portrait Miniatures, Burlington Fine Arts Club, 1889.] R. E. G.

**HILLIER, CHARLES PARKER** (1838-1880), actor. [See HARCOURT, CHARLES.]

**HILLIER, GEORGE** (1815–1866), antiquary, eldest son of William Hillier, commander R.N., born at Kennington in 1815, was educated at Place Street House, near Ryde, Isle of Wight. He was long engaged in the preparation of the 'History and Antiquities of the Isle of Wight.' He projected it on a comprehensive plan, and collected materials for two volumes, but he received little support, and the parts appeared at long and uncertain intervals. The plates he engraved with his own hand, and to diminish the cost he latterly undertook the printing at his own house. Although incomplete, it is an admirable work. He was also employed in illustrating C. Warne's 'Dorsetshire,' and travelled with the author throughout the county in order to prepare the map, which exhibits much artistic skill and is of great antiquarian value. The discovery of the Anglo-Saxon cemetery at Chessel Down in the Isle of Wight, and the excavation of the graves, was one of Hillier's most valuable contributions to archæology. He died at Ryde on 1 April 1866, and was buried at Binstead.

His works are: 1. 'The Topography of the Isle of Wight. To which is appended, a Voyage round the Island,' Ryde, 1850, 12mo. 2. 'A Narrative of the attempted Escapes of Charles the First from Carisbrook Castle, and of his detention in the Isle of Wight. Including the letters of the King to Colonel Titus, now first decyphered and printed from the originals,' Lond. 1852, 8vo. 3. 'The Sieges of Arundel Castle, by Sir Ralph Hop-

ton and Sir William Waller,' Lond. 1854, 8vo. 4. 'A Memorial of the Castle of Carisbrook,' Lond. 1855, 8vo. 5. 'The Stranger's Guide to the town of Reading, with a History of the Abbey,' Reading, 1859, 12mo.

[Gent. Mag. 1866, pt. ii. 262; Anderson's Book of British Topography.] T. C.

**HILLS, HENRY** (*d.* 1713), printer, was the son of a ropemaker of Maidstone, Kent, if any credit can be given to a scurrilous life of him published in 1684. According to the same authority, he came to London shortly before the civil wars, and was employed as a postilion by Thomas Harrison [q. v.], afterwards known as the regicide, who brought him under the notice of John Lilburne, who apprenticed him to a printer. It is also said that, running away from his master, he enlisted in the parliamentary army, and fought at Edgehill and Worcester. He was appointed printer to Cromwell, and after the Restoration became printer to Charles II. On 7 July 1660 the university of Oxford farmed out to him and to John Field for four years, in consideration of 80*l.* per annum, its privilege of printing bibles (NICHOLS, *Illustr. of Lit.* iv. 204, 205). The charter of the Company of Stationers was newly exemplified on 13 Oct. in the same year at the request of Roger Norton, master, and Henry Hills and James Cotteral, wardens of the company.

Hills, who carried on business in Blackfriars, was continued in the office of king's printer in the reign of James II. His conversion to the Roman catholic religion brought upon him a storm of abuse. It was rumoured that when his confessor had enjoined him, by way of penance, to trudge five miles with peas in his shoes, he boiled his peas (*Gent. Mag.* March 1736). He and Thomas Newcomb were for a short time, from 10 Jan. 1709, printers to Queen Anne under a reversionary patent for thirty-four years, granted on 24 Dec. 1665, on the expiration of a patent then held by the Barkers, in which family it had continued from the reign of Elizabeth [see BARKER, SIR CHRISTOPHER]. In 1710 Hills pirated Addison's 'Letters from Italy.' He regularly pirated and printed upon coarse paper every good poem and sermon that was published. These practices led to the direction in the statute of 8 Anne that 'fine paper copies' of all publications should be presented to the public libraries. The 'Evening Post' of 12 Nov. 1713 announced that Henry Hills, 'printer in Black Fryers,' being dead, his stock was to be disposed of at the Blue Anchor in Paternoster Row.

His son, Gilham Hills, also a printer, died at Morden College, Blackheath, on 18 Oct. 1737. Another of his sons, Robert, was admitted a demy of Magdalen College, Oxford, on 11 Jan. 1687–8, and was expelled on 24 Oct. 1688 (BLOXAM, *Magdalen College Register*, vi. 56). He continued his studies at Douay, was ordained a priest, and eventually appointed to the mission at Winchester, where he died on 15 Jan. 1745–6 (GILLOW, *Dict. of English Catholics*, iii. 312).

Hills wrote the preface to 'A Dialogue between a Pedler and a Popish Priest,' London, 1699, 8vo, by John Taylor the Water Poet. The original was published in 1641.

[The following scurrilous pieces relate to Hills' chequered career: 1. A view of part of the many Traiterous, Disloyal, and Turn-about Actions of H. H., Senior, sometimes Printer to Cromwel, the Common-wealth, to the Anabaptist Congregation; to Cromwel's Army, Committee of Safety, Rump Parliament, &c., Lond., 1684, small sheet, fol. 2. The Life of H.H. With the relation at large of what passed betwixt him and the Taylors Wife in Black-friars, according to the Original, Lond. 1688, 8vo. See also Gent. Mag. 1736 p. 164, 1737 p. 638; Macaulay's Hist. of England, ii. 110; Nichols's Lit. Anecd. i. 72, 479, ii. 501, iii. 578, iv. 434, 532, viii. 168; Timperley's Encycl. of Literary and Typographical Anecdote, pp. 433, 566, 603, 604.] T. C.

**HILLS, ROBERT** (1769–1844), water-colour painter, was born at Islington, 26 June 1769. He received some instruction in drawing from John Alexander Gresse [q. v.], and commenced to exhibit at the Royal Academy in 1791, sending a 'Wood scene with Gipseys,' which was followed by a landscape in 1792. In 1804 he helped to establish the (now Royal) Society of Painters in Water-colours, of which he was for many years the secretary. To the exhibitions of the society he was a constant contributor till 1818, when he withdrew from it for five years. During that period he exhibited six or seven drawings yearly at the Royal Academy. He resumed his membership of the Society of Water-colours in 1823, and was a regular contributor till his death, which took place at 17 Golden Square, 14 May 1844. He was buried at Kensal Green.

It is as a draughtsman of animals, especially deer, pigs, and cattle, that Hills is most distinguished. He was never tired of sketching them from nature and making etchings of them. Of the latter there is a collection of 1,240 in the British Museum, with all the plates in the finest states. Besides etchings of animals he published (1816) 'Sketches in Flanders and Holland,' with thirty-six aquatints etched by himself. His water-colour drawings are marked by their careful finish,

their rich colour, and the pretty bits of park and lane in which he set his groups of animals. Their chief fault is over-elaboration. He frequently introduced animals into the drawings of other artists, especially those of George Barret, jun., and G. F. Robson, and he attempted sculpture. A bronze stag cast from a terra-cotta model by him is described as 'a masterpiece of art' in the 'Annals of the Fine Arts,' 1817. There are several drawings by him at the South Kensington Museum.

[Redgrave's Dict.; Bryan's Dict. (Graves); Annals of the Fine Arts, 1817, &c.] C. M.

**HILLSBOROUGH**, Viscount. [See Hill, Wills.]

**HILLYAR**, Sir JAMES (1769–1843), rear-admiral, eldest son of James Hillyar, surgeon in the navy, was born 29 Oct. 1769. He first entered the navy in 1779, on board the Chatham, commanded by Captain (afterwards Sir John) Orde, and later by Captain A. Snape Douglas, and was in her at the capture of the Magicienne off Boston on 2 Sept. 1781. The Chatham was paid off at the peace in 1783, but Hillyar, continuing actively employed on the North American and home stations, was in 1793 appointed to the Britannia, carrying the flag of Admiral Hotham. Thence he was removed to the Victory, flagship of Lord Hood, who rewarded his energy and good conduct at Toulon, and afterwards in Corsica, with a commission, 8 March 1794, as lieutenant of the Aquilon with Captain Robert Stopford [q.v.] In her he was present in the action of 1 June 1794; he was shortly afterwards moved, with Stopford, into the Phaeton, one of the frigates with Cornwallis in his celebrated 'Retreat,' and remaining attached to the Channel fleet till June 1799. Hillyar, again following Captain Stopford, was then moved into the Excellent, from which in April 1800 he was promoted to command the Niger, armed *en flûte*, and sent out to the Mediterranean with troops. On 3 Sept. 1800 he commanded the boats of the Minotaur and Niger in the cutting out of two Spanish corvettes at Barcelona; and in the following year, while on the coast of Egypt, served under Sir Sidney Smith in command of the armed boats on the lakes and the Nile. Through 1803 he continued in active cruising under the orders of Nelson, who wrote to Lord St. Vincent, 20 Jan. 1804, specially recommending him for promotion and immediate employment: 'At twenty-four years of age he maintained his mother and sisters and a brother, . . . he declined the Ambuscade which was offered him, because although he would get his rank, yet if he were put upon half-pay his family would be the sufferers' (Nicolas, v. 384). On Nelson's suggestion, the armament of the Niger was increased, and she was made a post ship, Hillyar being continued (29 Feb. 1804) in the command, which he held, attached to the Mediterranean fleet, till the end of 1807. In 1809 he commanded the St. George as flag-captain to Rear-admiral Sir Eliab Harvey, and afterwards to Rear-admiral Pickmore in the Baltic, where Sir James Saumarez appointed him to the Phœbe, a 36-gun frigate. In her, in the following spring, he went out to the East Indies, where he assisted in the reduction of Mauritius, December 1810, and of Java, August 1811. Returning to England, he was early in 1813 sent out to the Pacific to destroy the American fur establishments in the north. At Juan Fernandez, where he was joined by the Racoon and Cherub sloops, he heard that the United States frigate Essex was taking British merchantmen on that station. Having gone as far north as the Gallapagos islands, he sent the Racoon to execute his former orders; and, with the Cherub in company, ranged down the coast looking for the Essex. After five months' search he found her in the beginning of February at Valparaiso, where she was lying with three prizes, one of which she had armed as a tender, under the name of the Essex Junior. Porter, the captain of the Essex, expected an immediate attack; and, if Hillyar had found her, as he had been informed, with half her men on shore and quite unprepared, he might perhaps have laid her on board; but as she was ready for action, he gave up any such intention, and meeting Porter on shore, assured him that he would respect the neutrality of the port. The whole story, however, rests solely on Porter's uncorroborated assertion, and is intrinsically improbable, for the Essex's armament of 32-pounder carronades was, at short range, enormously superior to the long 18-pounders of the Phœbe. Nevertheless, the Phœbe and Cherub maintained a blockade for six weeks; and after several vain attempts to elude it, Porter on 27 March resolved to force his way, but he had scarcely got outside before, in a sudden squall, the Essex lost her main topmast. He tried to regain the anchorage, but failing in the attempt ran into a small bay about three miles from the town, and anchored within a few hundred yards of the shore. Hillyar at once followed and opened fire, the Cherub lending what little assistance she could. The long 18's of the Phœbe told with deadly effect on the Essex, whose heavy carronades were powerless for return; and, after a gallant but unavailing defence, Porter was obliged to haul down his flag.

The loss of the Essex had been exceptionally heavy, and her hull above water was riddled. The Phœbe had four men killed and seven wounded, and the damage sustained by the ship herself was comparatively slight. Porter and his countrymen had expected great things from the tremendous armament of the Essex, and were naturally very sore. Hence arose many absurd charges against Hillyar. He was accused of 'a deliberate and treacherous breach of faith,' though his informal promise of neutrality, if made at all, could only refer to the port of Valparaiso. He was also said to have acted a cowardly part in attacking the Essex when disabled, and for keeping out of reach of her 32-pounders, while he destroyed her with his long 18's. A recent American writer, however, admits the absurdity of expecting a captain to give up the advantages of his armament and superior condition (ROOSEVELT, p. 301). The Essex Junior surrendered without resistance, and the Essex having been sufficiently repaired, sailed for England in company with the Phœbe, where they arrived in the following November. In 1830–1 Hillyar commanded the Revenge in the experimental squadron under Sir Edward Codrington, and for a short time as senior officer in the North Sea during the siege of Antwerp. He was then appointed to the Caledonia, and employed on the coast of Portugal during 1832 and the commencement of the following year. On 10 Jan. 1837 he became rear-admiral. He was nominated K.C.H. in January 1834, and K.C.B. on 4 July 1840. He died 10 July 1843. He married in 1805 Mary, a daughter of Nathaniel Taylor, naval storekeeper at Malta, and had issue, among others, Admiral Sir Charles Farrell Hillyar, K.C.B. (*d.* 1888), and Admiral Henry Shank Hillyar, C.B. Lady Hillyar died, aged 96, in 1884.

[Marshall's Roy. Nav. Biog. iv. (vol. ii. pt. ii.) 849; United Service Mag. 1843, pt. iii. p. 271; James's Naval Hist. edit. 1860, vi. 150; Roosevelt's Naval War of 1812, p. 291; Porter's Journal of a Cruise made to the Pacific Ocean, ii. 143; Porter's Life of Commodore Porter, p. 220; Loyall Farragut's Life of Farragut, chap. v., contains Farragut's account of the capture of the Essex, in which he was serving as a very young midshipman.] J. K. L.

**HILSEY** or **HILDESLEIGH, JOHN** (*d.* 1538), bishop of Rochester, is stated by Wood to have belonged to the Hildsleys of Benham, Berkshire, a branch of the Hildsleys of Hildsley, Berkshire (E. ASHMOLE, *Antiquities of Berkshire*, 1723, i. 35, 36, ii. 329, iii. 317); to have early devoted himself to learning and religion; to have received instructions from a friar of the Dominican house at Bristol, and to have entered the order of Dominican friars there. From Bristol he removed to the Dominican house at Oxford, and there in May 1527 graduated B.D., and proceeded D.D. in 1532; it is probable that he studied also at Cambridge. In May 1533 he was prior of the Dominican house at Bristol, and wrote a letter to Cromwell, whom he apparently regarded as his patron, and with whom he seems to have had earlier dealings, to explain and excuse his conduct in preaching against Hugh Latimer, whose sermons had created great excitement in the city (WRIGHT, *Suppression of the Monasteries*, Letters iv. and v., p. 37). In April 1534 Cromwell appointed him provincial of his order, and commissioner, along with Dr. George Browne [q. v.], provincial of the Augustinians, to visit the friaries throughout England. The commissioners were to administer to the friars the oath of allegiance to Henry VIII, Anne Boleyn, and their issue, to obtain from them an acknowledgment of the king as 'caput ecclesiæ Anglicanæ,' and to make inventories of their property. The commissioners visited the London houses 17–20 April, went in May to such friaries as were within easy reach of London, and then proceeded towards the west, Hilsey gaining the nickname of 'the Blacke Friar of Bristowe.' On 21 June he reported to Cromwell from Exeter that on the whole the oaths had been taken submissively, and in July he reached Cardiff in pursuit of two Observant friars who were attempting to leave the kingdom. In October he told Cromwell that he was threatened with the loss of the provincialship of the Dominicans, and complained that Browne was arrogating to himself all authority. Hilsey's manner of conducting the visitation made him very unpopular, and he and Browne were specially denounced by the 'pilgrims of grace.' In 1535, on the death of Fisher, Hilsey succeeded him as bishop of Rochester. According to an entry in Fisher's 'Register,' he was consecrated 18 Sept. by Archbishop Cranmer at Winchester (LE NEVE). On 23 Sept. he begged Cromwell for his predecessor's mitre, staff, and seal, as being himself too poor to procure such things. In a piteous reply to a complaint from Cromwell that he is 'covetous, and not sufficiently complaisant to the king's visitors,' he states that if Cromwell is not favourable to him his income will only amount to 200*l.* In January 1536 he preached at Queen Catherine's funeral, alleging that in the hour of death she had acknowledged that she had never been queen of England. In March he obtained a faculty from Cromwell enabling him to remain prior of the London Black Friars, and when they were dispersed he re-

ceived a pension of 60*l.* a year. In 1536 he exercised the duties of censor of the press for the king. On 24 Nov. 1538 he preached at St Paul's Cross, and showed the blood of the abbey of Hales, affirming it to be clarified honey and saffron (HOLINSHED, pp. 275, 946), and on 24 Nov. 1538 he similarly denounced the Rood of Grace of Boxley, exhibiting its machinery and breaking it to pieces (STOW, *Annales*, p. 574; BURNET, *Hist. of the Reformation*, ed. Pocock, i. 385, vi. 194). In November 1538, as perpetual commendatory of the Black Friars, London, he surrendered the house into the king's hand. His letters towards the end of his life complain of 'cyatica;' he died before the end of 1538, and was buried in his cathedral (HASTED, *Kent*, ii. 41).

Hilsey was occupied during his last years in compiling at Cromwell's order a service-book in English. It appeared in 1539 as 'The Manuall of Prayers, or the Prymer in Englyshe, set out at lengthe, whose contentes the reader, by the Prologue next after the Kalender, shal sone perceave, and there in shall se brefly the order of the whole boke. Set forth by Jhon, late bysshoppe of Rochester, at the commandement of the ryght honorable Lorde Thomas Crumwel, Lorde Privie seale, Vicegerent to the kynges hyghnes' (printed by John Mayler for John Waylande), 8vo. This has a dedication by Hilsey to Cromwell, and an elaborate 'instruction of the sacrament,' besides some shorter explanatory prologues. Hilsey's arrangement of the Epistles and Gospels is substantially the same as in the later prayer-books (cf. BURTON, lvi.) The book was republished in great part as 'The Prymer both in Englyshe and Latin' in 1540, and by Dr. Burton in 1834 in his 'Three Primers of Henry VIII.' At Cromwell's request Hilsey also prepared 'The Primer in English, most necessary for the Educacyon of Chyldren, abstracted oute of the Manuall of Prayers, or Primer in Englishe and Laten, set forth by John, laet bysh. of Rochester,' &c., 1539, 8vo, and wrote 'De veri Corporis Esu in Sacramento,' which was dedicated to Cromwell, and is noticed in John White's 'Diacorio-Martyrion,' London, 1553, 4to. There are ascribed to Hilsey 'Resolutions concerning the Sacraments,' and 'Resolutions of some Questions relating to Bishops, Priests, and Deacons,' but he apparently only assisted the compilation of these documents. He helped to compile 'The Institution of a Christian Man.'

[Wood's Athenæ Oxon. i. 112; Gasquet's Henry VIII and the Engl. Monasteries, i. 173, &c., ii. 454, &c.; Cooper's Athenæ Cantabr. i. 70; Cal. State Papers, Hen. VIII, 1534–8, passim; Dixon's History of the Church of England, i. 214, &c., ii. 361; Rymer's Fœdera, xiv. 489, 490; British Magazine, xxxvi. 175, 305; H. Wharton's Anglia Sacra, p. 383; Narratives of Reformation (Camd. Soc.), p. 286; Gorham's Reformation Gleanings, p. 19; Ames's Typogr. Antiq. (Herbert), p. 487; J. B. Mullinger's University of Cambridge, ii. 18–31; Dugdale's Monasticon, vi. 1487 (but read Hilsey for Fisher); Oxf. Univ. Reg. (Oxf. Hist. Soc.) i. 147.] R. B.

**HILTON, JOHN** (*d.* 1657), musical composer, contributed madrigals to 'The Triumphs of Oriana,' 1601, in the index to which he is assigned the degree of Mus.B., though no further proof is forthcoming of his having taken this degree before 1626. The close of his madrigal, 'Fair Oriana, Beauty's Queen,' shows such boldness in the use of the device called 'nota cambiata' that it is difficult to imagine it to be the work of a tiro in composition. Thomas Oliphant edited two madrigals by Hilton, 'One April Morn' and 'Smooth-flowing Stream,' which he stated to exist in a manuscript of the date 1610. On 1 July 1626 Hilton took the degree of Mus.B. at Cambridge, being enrolled as a member of Trinity College. His exercise is mentioned in the grace according to the usual form, but there is no record of its performance. His first publication on his own account, 'Ayres, or Fa La's for Three Voyces,' appeared in 1627. This work, which he calls 'these vnripe First-fruits of my Labours,' is dedicated to Dr. William Heather, apparently his master. Prefatory verses by Edward Lake and John Rice respectively seem to allude to the composer's sufferings at the hands of unfriendly critics. To some such cause the irregular intervals at which he published his compositions may be due. In 1628 he was made parish clerk and organist of St. Margaret's, Westminster, receiving for the former office a salary of 6*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.*, or ten marks a year. It is assumed that on the suppression of the organs in 1644 he retained the post of clerk. On the death of William Lawes in 1645, Hilton wrote an elegy for three voices, 'Bound by the neere conjunction of our Soules,' which appears in the 'Choice Psalms' of Henry and William Lawes, published in 1648. Four years later the celebrated collection, 'Catch that catch can,' appeared, containing twelve canons and thirty catches and rounds by Hilton himself, together with similar compositions by twenty-one other composers (2nd edition, issued after Hilton's death, in 1658). In Brit. Mus. Addit. MS. 11608, among seventeen compositions by Hilton for one or more voices, some in the form of dialogues, appear his latest known works, two songs dated 1656, and entitled respectively 'Love is the

sun itself' and 'When first I gaz'd on Cœlia's face.' He died in 1657, and was buried in St. Margaret's, Westminster, on 21 March.

Besides the works mentioned, a service by Hilton is printed in Rimbault's 'Cathedral Music,' and the organ parts of another (evening) service and of six anthems are extant. Many catches and rounds by him are still sung; among them, 'Come, follow,' 'Come, let us all a-maying go,' and 'Turn, Amaryllis,' are the most familiar. Two more songs, with accompaniment for lute, written in tablature, are in Egerton MS. 2013, and a composition for three viols is in Add. MSS. 29283–5. J. Warren, in the Musical Antiquarian Society's edition of the 'Fa-las,' p. 3, note, mentions that a book belonging to him, copied in 1682, contains 'eight fancies,' which are probably by a descendant or relation of Hilton. A portrait of Hilton is in the Music School, Oxford, and is engraved in Hawkins's 'History,' chap. cxxi. The inscription on the portrait gives the correct date of the Cambridge degree, but states the composer's age to be fifty at the time of painting (1649), which is clearly wrong.

[Grove's Dict. of Music, i. 740; Pref. to Musical Antiquarian Society's edition of Hilton's 'Fa-las;' Hawkins's Hist., ed. 1853, &c., p. 578. (The statement that Hilton was buried in the cloisters of Westminster Abbey, and that an anthem was sung in the church before the corpse was brought out for interment, is certainly erroneous in some part, and may be wholly wrong.) Cambridge University Grace Book, Z., p. 119; and Subscriptiones, i. 236, where his autograph acknowledgment is found.] J. A. F. M.

**HILTON, JOHN** (1804–1878), surgeon, was born at Castle Hedingham in Essex in 1804, and was educated at Chelmsford. He entered Guy's Hospital as a student in 1824, became M.R.C.S. Engl. in 1827, and was soon afterwards appointed demonstrator of anatomy at Guy's. While demonstrator he made elaborate dissections of the human body, which were reproduced in wax by Joseph Towne [q. v.], and are among the most valued specimens in the anatomical museum at Guy's Hospital. In 1844 he was appointed assistant-surgeon at Guy's, and in 1849 full surgeon. Having obtained the fellowship of the College of Surgeons he became a member of its council in 1852, and was president in 1867. He was professor of human anatomy and surgery at the college (1860–2), and his lectures on 'Rest and Pain' were afterwards published. He ceased to lecture on surgery at Guy's in 1870, but continued to practise in New Broad Street in the city. He died at Clapham on 14 Sept. 1878, aged 74 years.

As a surgeon Hilton had remarkable powers of observation, and could discover important facts from the least obvious indications. As a lecturer and clinical teacher he had a large following, although he had an unfortunate way of irritating students. His book 'On Rest and Pain: a Course of Lectures on the Influence of Mechanical and Physiological Rest in the Treatment of Accidents and Surgical Diseases, and the Diagnostic Value of Pain,' 1863 (second and subsequent editions edited by W. H. A. Jacobson), is a surgical classic. His other writings were: 'Clinical Lectures,' in 'Guy's Hospital Reports;' 'Notes on some of the Developmental and Functional Relations of certain Portions of the Cranium,' selected from Hilton's Lectures on Anatomy, by F. W. Pavy, 1855; and the 'Hunterian Oration' for 1867. A portrait of him was published in 'The Medical Profession in all Countries,' 1873, i. No. 17.

[Bettany and Wilks's Biog. Hist. of Guy's Hospital; Guy's Hospital Gazette, 1878, iii. 135–7; Lancet, 1878, ii. 460; Proc. Royal Medical and Chirurgical Soc. 1878–9, viii. 388–90.] G. T. B.

**HILTON, WALTER** (*d.* 1396), religious writer, was a canon of the house of Augustinian canons at Thurgarton in Nottinghamshire. Tanner, in his 'Bibliotheca Britannica,' and Pits, from whom Tanner probably copied, state that he was a monk of the Charterhouse at Shene, which was founded by Henry V. Pits indeed adds that he died in 1433, but a manuscript note in the translation of one of his works (*Harl. MS.* 6576) states distinctly that he died on the eve of the Annunciation 1395, i.e. 24 March 1395–1396. His chief work, the 'Scala Perfectionis,' was certainly written before 1414, as a copy of the book occurs in the list of the library of John Newton, treasurer of York Cathedral, who died in that year. It was originally written in English, but was translated into Latin by Thomas Fyslawe, a Carmelite friar, not many years after its first appearance. Printed editions of the English text were published by Wynkyn de Worde in 1494 and by Pynson in 1506. The book is still read, especially by catholics, and in the two later editions by Fathers Guy (1869) and Dalgairns (1870) the spelling and phraseology have been slightly modernised. There are several manuscripts of this treatise in the British Museum, of which eight are in the Harleian collection. Two of them, Lansd. MS. 362 and Harl. MS. 6579, Father Guy suggests are the author's autograph. These volumes are not, however, written by the same hand. The Harleian MS. is the earlier, but is apparently not a correct copy, for it

begins 'Ghostly sister,' while other copies have 'brother' or 'brother and sister.' Fyslawe's translation, however, has 'soror' only, following this Harleian MS. The Latin translation of this treatise is also known as 'Baculum Contemplationis' and 'Speculum Contemplationis.' Three other manuscripts of the 'Scala' are in the Rawlinsonian collection at the Bodleian Library.

Other works by Hilton are: 1. 'De Imagine Peccati,' beginning 'Dilecte in Christo frater, inter cetera que mihi scripsisti' (*Digby MS.* 115, f. 1; *Cott. MS.* Tit. D. xi. 40). 2. 'Speculum de Utilitate et prerogativis religionis regularis,' beginning 'Quia vero ex tenore cujusdam litere mihi nuper transmisse' (*Merton Coll. MS.* 48, f. 239; Harl. 3852; *Reg. MS.* 8 A. vii. f. 1). 3. A tract, beginning 'Noviter militanti nova congruit milicia;' an exposition in English of this work is extant in Harley MS. 2406). 4. A tract, headed 'Here bigynes a devoute matier be the drawyng of M. Waltere Hylton,' beginning 'For als mikell as the Apostil sais' (*Harl. MS.* 2409). 5. 'The Cloud of Unknowynge,' attributed to Hilton and William Exmeuse, beginning 'Gostly frende in God, I prey and I beseche the' (*Univ. Coll. Oxon. MS.* 14). 6. 'A tretis of viij chapitres necessarie for men that given hem to perfeccion, which was founden in a book of Maister Lowes de Fontibus at Cantebrigge, and turned into Englisch bi Maister Water Hilton of Thurgarton,' beginning 'The firste token of love is that the lover submitte.' 7. 'A devoute boke compylyd by Mayster Walter Hylton to a devoute man in temperall estate howe he shulde rule hym,' &c., beginning 'Dere broder in Cryst two maner of states there are in holy chyrche' (printed by Pynson, 1516). This is not the same as 'the luytel boke that was writen to a worldly lord to teche hym howe he schuld have hym in hys state in ordeynyng love to God and to his even Cristene,' of which there is a copy in Brit. Mus. Addit. MS. 22283, f. 160 *b*, and which has been ascribed to Hilton, but is more probably the work of Richard Rolle of Hampole. 8. 'A devoute treatyse compyled by M. Walter Hylton of the songe of Aungells' (printed in 1521). 9. 'Quomodo temptationes sunt evadende.' 10. 'Liber theologicus cui titulus Imago Dei Homo' (*Harl. MS.* 330). 11. 'Epistola aurea de Origine Religionis' (*Digby MS.* 33, f. 316). The error in the date of Hilton's death noticed above has led biographers to attribute to him several works which present no evidence of his authorship, and in some cases belong to a slightly later period than that in which he lived. Tanner and Oudin give a very full list of works, but as some of them are only in manuscripts not easily accessible, it is impossible here to discuss the correctness of the attribution. Other works attributed to Hilton are: 'De Utilitate Ordinis Carthusiani' (*Magd. Coll. Oxon. MS.* 93); 'Media Vita,' in English (*Rawlinson MS.* A. 355); three letters, De consolatione in tentationibus, De Communi Vita, and Ad quendam religiosum (*Reg. MS.* 6 E. iii. 37); 'Conclusiones de Imaginibus contra Hæreticos' (*ib.* 11 B. x. 4). Hilton's name is often found in connection with devotional works which should more probably be assigned to Richard Rolle [q. v.]

[Pits, De Illustr. Angliæ Scriptoribus, p. 624; Tanner's Bibl. Britannico-Hibernica, p. 425; Oudin, De Scriptoribus Ecclesiæ, iii. c. 3986; Catalogues of Cottonian, Harleian, Lansdowne, and Add. MSS. in the Brit. Mus.; Coxe's Catalogue of MSS. in Colleges and Halls at Oxford; Bibliotheca Carthusiana; The Scale of Perfection, edited by Robert E. Guy, London, 1869; the same, edited by J. B. Dalgairns, London, 1870; Writings and Examinations of Brute, Thorpe, Cobham, Hilton, &c., London, 1831, p. 189.] C. T. M.

**HILTON, WILLIAM** (1786–1839), historical painter, was born at Lincoln, 3 June 1786. His father, a portrait-painter, wished to bring him up to a trade, but his tendency towards art was strong, and he was ultimately placed with John Raphael Smith [q. v.], the engraver. Peter De Wint [q. v.] was his fellow-pupil. In 1806 he entered the Academy schools. His first known works are well-finished designs in oil for 'The Mirror' and 'The Citizen of the World.' He commenced to exhibit at the Royal Academy in 1803, and in 1810 was awarded a premium by the British Institution. In the next year he was awarded another for his picture of 'The Entombment of Christ,' and the institution bought his 'Mary anointing the feet of Jesus' (exhibited at the Royal Academy in 1813) and 'Christ crowned with Thorns' (1825), now at South Kensington in the collection purchased by the Chantrey bequest. In 1813 he was elected an associate, and in 1818 a full member of the Royal Academy. In this year he visited Rome with Thomas Phillips, R.A., and painted 'The Rape of Europa' for Sir John Leicester. In 1827 he succeeded Henry Thomson as keeper of the Academy, and in 1828 he married the sister of his friend De Wint. Although he received much encouragement from the British Institution, which as late as 1834 awarded him a complimentary premium for his picture of 'Edith discovering the dead body of Harold' (now in the National Gallery), and though he soon rose to the full honours of the Aca-

demy, he was not successful in selling his pictures, most of the best of which were in his possession at his death. Among these were 'The Angel releasing St. Peter from Prison,' 'Sir Calepine rescuing Serena' (now in the National Gallery), both exhibited in 1831, 'Una with the Lion entering Corceca's Cave' (well known from its engraving published by the Art Union), 'The Murder of the Innocents,' his last exhibited picture (1838), and the unfinished 'Rizpah,' on which he was engaged at his death. His health is said to have been ruined by grief for the death of his wife in 1835. He died 30 Dec. 1839.

In 1840 a large collection of Hilton's works was exhibited at the British Institution, and in 1841 an association of gentlemen, chiefly artists, purchased the picture of 'Sir Calepine rescuing Serena' from the artist's executors, and presented it to the National Gallery; and several pictures and studies by him, including 'Edith discovering the dead body of Harold,' were presented by Mr. Vernon in 1847. Unfortunately the lavish use of asphaltum has done serious injury to most of Hilton's best pictures, including the 'Sir Calepine,' the 'Edith,' and the triptych of 'The Crucifixion' at Liverpool.

[Cat. of Nat. Gall.; Redgrave's Dict.; Redgraves' Century of Painters; Bryan's Dict. (Graves); Annals of the Fine Arts, 1818; Seguier's Dict. of Painters; Armstrong's Life of Peter De Wint.] C. M.

**HINCHINBROKE**, Viscount. [See Montagu, Sir Edward, 1625–1672.]

**HINCHLIFF, JOHN ELLEY** (1777–1867), sculptor, born in 1777, became the chief assistant in the studio of John Flaxman, R.A. [q. v.], and worked in that capacity for about twenty years. After Flaxman's death in 1826 he completed some of his unfinished works, notably the statues of the Marquis of Hastings at Calcutta, and of John Philip Kemble in Westminster Abbey. In 1814 he exhibited at the Royal Academy a group of 'Christian and Apollyon,' in 1815 another of 'Leonidas,' followed in subsequent years by other works of the same nature, 'Menelaus and Paris,' 'Theseus and Hippodamia,' &c. He executed a few busts, including one of Flaxman, which he exhibited at the British Institution in 1849. He was mainly occupied, however, in executing mural tablets and other sepulchral monuments. Hinchliff lived for many years in Mornington Place, Hampstead Road, where he died at the close of 1867, in his ninety-first year.

Hinchliff, John James (1805–1875), engraver, son of the above, adopted the profession of engraving, and attained some note by his illustrations to Beattie's 'Castles and Abbeys of England,' Gastineau's 'Picturesque Scenery of Wales,' &c. He was employed for many years by the hydrographic department of the admiralty, and died at Walton-by-Clevedon, Somerset, in 1875.

[Art Journal, 1868, p. 48; Redgrave's Dict. of Artists; Royal Acad. Catalogues; Clement and Hutton's Artists of the 19th Century.] L. C.

**HINCHLIFFE, JOHN** (1731–1794), bishop of Peterborough, was born in Westminster in 1731. His father kept a livery stable in Swallow Street, but had sufficient influence to get his son appointed on the foundation of Westminster School in 1746. In 1750 he was elected as one of the Westminster scholars to proceed to Trinity College, Cambridge. He was admitted scholar on this foundation on 26 April 1751, graduated B.A. in 1754, was elected fellow on 2 Oct. 1755, proceeded M.A. in 1757, and D.D. by royal letters in July 1764. After taking his degree Hinchliffe was for seven years assistant-master at Westminster School. Here he had John Crewe [q. v.] (afterwards first Lord Crewe) as one of his pupils, with whom he subsequently travelled, and whose sister he married. In 1763, when travelling with Crewe, he made acquaintance with the Duke of Grafton, who was afterwards his patron. On his return from his travels Hinchliffe was chosen head-master of Westminster School on 8 March 1764, in succession to Dr. Markham, but resigned the post three months later on account of ill-health. For the next two years he was tutor to the Duke of Devonshire. In 1766 the Duke of Grafton presented him to the living of Greenwich, and procured his appointment as chaplain in ordinary to the king. In 1768 Hinchliffe was appointed master of Trinity College, Cambridge, in succession to Dr. Smith, was installed on 3 March 1768, and was chosen vice-chancellor of the university in the same year. On 17 Dec. 1769 he was consecrated bishop of Peterborough, when he resigned the vicarage of Greenwich, though he still retained the mastership of Trinity. The bishop took a prominent part in the debates in the House of Lords on the American war. In 1775, when the force of the American opposition to the tariff was undervalued, he advocated coercion, and drew upon himself an indignant reproach from the Duke of Richmond. But the next year, when it was apparent that the spirit of the American people was fairly roused, the bishop recommended conciliation. On the Duke of Grafton's motion for conciliatory measures, he said: 'There is no earthly government but in a great measure is founded on opinion. When once the whole mass of the people

think themselves oppressed, it is the wisest, because it is the only safe way, for those who govern to change their system.' In a like spirit he continued to speak in many subsequent debates. He protested eloquently against the employment of the savage natives on the side of the government. In the debate in 1778 on the repeal of certain obnoxious laws against the Roman catholics, Hinchliffe supported toleration, but expressed a fear that hasty measures of relief might produce an outburst of fanaticism, a forecast justified by the riots of 1780. Hinchliffe's liberal opinions offended the government of the day, and it was thought inexpedient that he should remain at the head of the most important college in Cambridge. When, therefore, a good opportunity arose, by the vacancy of the rich deanery of Durham, it was offered to Hinchliffe on condition of his resigning the mastership of Trinity. To this deanery he was appointed on 24 Sept. 1788. Hinchliffe died at Peterborough 11 Jan. 1794 of paralysis, after a long illness. By his wife Elizabeth, daughter of John Crewe of Crewe Hall, he had two sons and three daughters, who survived him. Hinchliffe was famous in his day as a speaker and preacher, being noted for his musical voice and fine delivery. His speeches as reported are good specimens of polished oratory. His only publications were: 1. 'A Sermon before the House of Lords,' 30 Jan. 1773. 2. 'A Sermon before the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel,' 1776. 3. 'A Sermon at the Annual Gathering of Charity Schools,' 1786. 4. A volume of collected 'Sermons' was published in 1796.

[Gent. Mag. 1794, i. 93, 99; Parliamentary History, vols. xviii. xix. xx.; Nichols's Literary Anecdotes, ix. 487; Welch's Westminster Scholars, ed. 1852; Watt's Bibl. Brit.] G. G. P.

**HINCKLEY**, JOHN (1617?–1695), controversialist, born about 1617, was the son of Robert Hinckley of Coughton, Warwickshire, and was 'puritanically educated.' On 4 July 1634 he was admitted a member of St. Alban Hall, Oxford, and was ultimately cured of his puritanism by the preaching of Dr. Peter Wentworth in St. Mary's Church. He proceeded B.A. on 11 April 1638, M.A. on 22 March 1640, and B.D. and D.D. by accumulation, 9 July 1679 (Wood, *Fasti Oxon.* ed. Bliss, i. 500, 515, ii. 370). In 1640 he took orders, and was received into the family of the Purefoys of Wadley, near Faringdon, Berkshire. According to Wood he was presented by George Purefoy to the rectory of Drayton Fenny, Leicestershire; but his name does not occur in the parish records. During the Commonwealth he contrived to maintain good relations with both parties, and was left unmolested. In 1657 he was holding the vicarage of Coleshill, Berkshire. After the Restoration he obtained the wealthy rectory of Northfield, Worcestershire, and on 15 Oct. 1673 was collated to the prebend of Gaia Minor in Lichfield Cathedral (Le Neve, *Fasti*, ed. Hardy, i. 610). He died on 13 April 1695, aged 78, and was buried on the 17th of that month in Northfield Church. On his monument it is stated that he 'expended a great deal of money in defence of the rights of this church.' He married first in 1647 Susannah (1621–1671), daughter of Henry Shelley of Sussex, by whom he had nine children; and secondly, in 1681, Frances (1625–1701), daughter of Robert, lord Tracy, but had no children by her. Two of his sons, Walter (1648–1699) and John (1654–1705), became successively rectors of Northfield (Nash, *Worcestershire*, ii. 191–2).

Hinckley's eloquent preaching drew together nonconformists as well as churchmen. He published: 1. 'Two Sermons preached before the Judges of Assize. . . . With two other Sermons preached at St. Maries in Oxford. . . . To which are added Matrimoniall Instructions to persons of honour,' 12mo, Oxford, 1657. 2. 'Epistola veridica ad homines Φιλοπρωτεύοντας [signed N.Y.] Cui additur oratio pro statu ecclesiæ,' 4to, London, 1659. 3. 'Sermon at the funeral of George Purefoy the elder,' 4to, London, 1661. 4. 'Πιθανολογία. Or, a Persuasive to Conformity. . . . By a Country Minister,' 8vo, London, 1670. 5. 'Fasciculus Literarum: or, Letters on several occasions,' 8vo, London, 1680, which contains his controversy with Richard Baxter.

[Authorities quoted; Wood's Athenæ Oxon. (Bliss), iv. 432–4.] G. G.

**HINCKS**, EDWARD, D.D. (1792–1866), orientalist, eldest son of Thomas Dix Hincks [q. v.], was born at Cork, 19 Aug. 1792, and after a home education proceeded in 1807 to Trinity College, Dublin, where he graduated B.A. with the gold medal in 1811. In 1825 he was appointed rector of Killyleagh, co. Down, and there he constantly resided until his death, 3 Dec. 1866. Despite the seclusion of his country rectory, Hincks established a reputation of the first order among the pioneers of cuneiform decipherment. His earlier contributions to the 'Transactions of the Royal Irish Academy' were chiefly on the subject of Egyptian hieroglyphics, and Dr. Brugsch has placed on record (*Zeitschr. d. deutsch. morg. Gesellschaft*, vol. iii.) his opinion that Hincks was the first to employ the true method for their decipherment. In 1846 his studies were directed to Assyrian,

as is shown by his paper (in the 'Trans. R. I. A.') on the so-called Median and Persian inscriptions, and others on the Babylonian inscriptions, and those of Van, which he then regarded as Indo-European with a practically Babylonian alphabet. The analytical powers displayed in these essays are very considerable. Hincks enjoyed the distinction of the discovery at Killyleagh of the Persian cuneiform vowel system (*R. I. A.* vol. xxi.) simultaneously with Rawlinson's independent discovery of the same at Bagdad, and his review of the latter's memoir on the Behistun inscriptions (*Dublin University Magazine*, January 1847) is at once luminous and scholarly. Many other discoveries may be noted among his numerous articles, mainly contributed to the 'Transactions of the Royal Irish Academy,' of which the chief are: 'The Enchorial Language of Egypt,' 1833; 'On the Egyptian Stele,' 1847; 'Catalogue of the Egyptian MSS. in the Library of Trinity College, Dublin,' 1843; 'On the Hieroglyphic Alphabet,' 1847; 'On the three kinds of Persopolitan Writing,' 1847; 'On the Khorsabad Inscriptions,' 1850; 'On the Assyrio-Babylonian Phonetic Character,' 1850; 'Assyrian Mythology,' 1850; 'On the Chronology of the 26th Egyptian Dynasty,' 1850; 'On Certain Ethnological Boulders,' 1850; 'List of Assyrio-Babylonian Characters with Phonetic Values,' 1852; 'On the Relation between the Accadian and the Indo-European, Semitic, and Egyptian Languages,' 1855 (?); 'On the Assyrian Verbs' (*Journal Sacred Lit.* 1855), 1856; 'Inscr. of Tiglath Pileser,' 1857; 'On the Polyphony of the Assyrio-Babylonian Cuneiform Character,' 1863; 'Hiéroglyphes et cunéiformes' (in Chabas' 'Mélanges Egyptologiques,' 1864); 'Assyrio-Babylonian Measures of Time,' 1865. He began an 'Assyrian Grammar' in the 'Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society' (new ser. iii. 1866), but left no materials for its completion.

[Annual Report of the Royal Asiatic Society, 1867; Brit. Mus. Cat.] S. L.-P.

**HINCKS, Sir FRANCIS** (1807–1885), Canadian statesman, born at Cork in 1807, was youngest son of Thomas Dix Hincks [q. v.] He received a classical education under his father at Fermoy and Belfast. In his seventeenth year he began commercial life as clerk in a firm of Belfast shipowners. After emigrating to Canada in 1831 he opened a warehouse at Toronto in premises belonging to William Baldwin, father of Robert Baldwin, the future prime minister of Canada, and soon obtained a high reputation as a man of business. From the first, he interested himself in Canadian politics, and during the rebellion of 1837 earnestly espoused the liberal cause. In 1838 he successfully started the 'Examiner' newspaper, with the motto 'Responsible Government and the Voluntary Principle.' In March 1841 he was elected for the county of Oxford to the first parliament held after the union of the two Canadian provinces, and in the ensuing year became inspector-general of public accounts in the Baldwin-Lafontaine ministry.

Hincks took a prominent part in parliament, and helped to pass the Municipal Act of 1 Jan. 1842, which transferred the administration of local affairs from quarter-sessions to local councils elected by popular vote. Soon after the arrival in May 1843 of Sir Charles Metcalfe as governor-general, who refused to regard himself as in any way subject to the Canadian parliament, the Baldwin-Lafontaine ministry resigned. In November 1844 parliament was dissolved. Hincks was defeated at Oxford, and a conservative majority was returned to the new parliament.

In 1844 Hincks started the 'Montreal Pilot,' which became the leading opposition journal. The chief point in agitation was the secularisation of the clergy reserves, which the conservative ministry refused to undertake. In 1846 the government voted a sum of 10,000*l.* to compensate the loyalists in Upper Canada who had suffered in the rebellion. A demand for similar compensation at once came from Lower Canada. After much agitation, a sum of about 10,000*l.* was voted. This only amounted to one twenty-fifth of the claims, and owing to Hincks and his friends the demand for a Rebellion Losses Bill for Lower Canada became a cardinal article of the liberal programme.

In June 1847 James Bruce, eighth earl of Elgin [q. v.], became governor. The legislature was dissolved in December. The new elections resulted in a large liberal majority, and in the second Baldwin-Lafontaine cabinet Hincks resumed his old place of inspector-general. On 18 Jan. 1849 the government introduced the celebrated Rebellion Losses Bill, proposing a loan of 100,000*l.*, to be applied to the indemnification of those persons in Lower Canada who had received no benefit from the act of 1846. The debt was to be charged on the consolidated revenues of the two provinces, a great injustice to Upper Canada. Only those persons actually found guilty of rebellion by a court of law were excluded from any share in the compensation money. The loyalists of Upper Canada resolved to stop the passage of the bill at all costs. Its final acceptance by Lord Elgin, after a long and bitter struggle, was the signal for a popular outbreak in Montreal.

Hincks's private residence was destroyed by the mob. The bill, however, was maintained by the imperial government.

In October 1851, on the retirement of Robert Baldwin, Hincks assumed the office of premier. His chief French colleague was Augustin Morin, and this ministry is usually known as the Hincks-Morin administration. The repeal of the English corn laws and other imperial legislation had given a great impetus to the exportation of Canadian cereals. Hincks energetically sought to satisfy the consequent demand for an extended railway system in Canada. During the autumn session of 1852, for instance, no less than twenty-eight railway bills were passed. State lands were set aside for future railway lines. The Municipal Loan Fund Act was passed to enable municipalities to borrow money for the development of local resources. Hincks strongly favoured the scheme of an intercolonial railway, but it came to nothing, although in 1852 he visited England in order to press its importance on the imperial government, and to obtain the guarantee of an imperial loan. Hincks, however, gave every aid to carrying out the Grand Trunk Line of Upper Canada. In 1854 he and Lord Elgin negotiated at Washington the reciprocity treaty between Canada and the United States, which removed all restrictions in trade between the two countries so far as unmanufactured products of the soil, the forest, the mine, and the sea were concerned. But the treaty was only temporary, and on its lapse in 1865 was not renewed. The Hincks-Morin ministry also passed the Parliamentary Representation Act, which raised the number of members of the lower house from 84 to 130, 65 for each province. It also rearranged the electoral districts on a fairer basis. As premier, Hincks, who has been styled the Colbert of Canada, greatly developed the economic resources of the colony. But his schemes increased the public indebtedness, and there followed a long series of annual deficits in the revenue.

As early as 1848 it had become evident that the Canadian liberal party was disunited. Hincks and his friends having secured responsible government showed some hesitation in applying themselves to the two most important articles of their programme—the secularisation of the clergy reserves and the abolition of the seigneurial tenures of Lower Canada. The more advanced section of the liberal party, consisting of younger men known as 'Clear Grits,' and headed by George Brown, editor of the 'Toronto Globe,' soon began to express dissatisfaction with the premier, which was formulated in a series of public letters which Brown addressed to Hincks before the general election of 1851. Hincks had shown every consideration for the religious sentiments of his Lower Canadian Roman catholic allies, and Brown accused him of fostering Roman catholic aggression. In dealing with the clergy reserves Hincks sought in correspondence with the English colonial office to obtain the repeal of the act which vested their disposal in the imperial parliament, and suggested a cautious measure which, while satisfying the Upper Canada liberals, should not alarm the Roman catholic inhabitants of the lower province. Hincks's failure to obtain the repeal of the Imperial Act and a strong expression in one of Lord Elgin's despatches about the leaders of the agitation greatly increased his unpopularity with the 'Clear Grits.' Meanwhile he declined to recognise a convention of extremists meeting in his own constituency of Oxford, who demanded that he as their representative should solely act by their instructions.

On 9 June 1853 a religious faction-fight, known as the Gavazzi riot, took place at Montreal. Owing to an accident the soldiery fired on the crowd, by which five persons were killed and forty wounded. The government were accused of having shown a grossly unfair preference for the Roman catholics, and Hincks was universally denounced by the Orangemen. In 1853 the imperial parliament surrendered their right of disposing of the clergy reserves, but when the Canadian legislature met on 13 June 1854 no mention was made in the queen's speech of intended action on this question or on that of the seigneurial tenures of Lower Canada. Hincks explained that he did not feel justified in legislating on such topics in an expiring house, which had been expressly declared to be an inadequate representation of the people. An amendment censuring the ministry was carried, Lord Elgin dissolved parliament, and in the ensuing elections, although Hincks retained his seat, many of his supporters were beaten by the 'Clear Grits,' and in the first debate in the new parliament the ministers found themselves in a minority and resigned. The new government under Sir Allan McNab, mainly formed of conservatives, was supported by Hincks and many followers, and the secularisation of the clergy reserves and the abolition of the seigneurial tenures of Lower Canada were carried out.

A few months after his resignation Hincks sailed for England. From 1855 to 1862 he was governor of Barbadoes and the Windward Islands, being the first colonial statesman appointed to a colonial governorship. From 1862 to 1869 he was governor of British

Guiana. In 1862 he was created a companion of the Bath, and in 1869 a knight commander of the order of St. Michael and St. George. On the completion of his service in British Guiana Hincks received a pension, returned to Canada, and became finance minister in Sir John Macdonald's cabinet. In 1873 he resigned. During the ensuing year he became president of the City Bank of Montreal, and its failure involved him in a legal prosecution, in which he was acquitted of all blame. In 1878 he was a member of the committee appointed to settle the boundaries between Ontario and the United States territory. Later on he became editor of the 'Journal of Commerce' at Montreal, where he died on 18 Aug. 1885.

Hincks wrote: 1. 'Canada: its Financial Position and Resources,' Lond., 1849, 8vo. 2. 'Reply to the Speech of the Hon. J. Howe on the Union of the North American Provinces, &c.,' Lond., 1855, 8vo. 3. 'Religious Endowments in Canada. The Clergy Reserve and Rectory Questions. A Chapter in Canadian History,' Lond., 1869, 8vo. 4. 'The Political History of Canada between 1840 and 1855 . . .,' Montreal, 1877, 8vo. 5. 'The Boundaries formerly in dispute between Great Britain and the United States . . .,' Montreal, 1885, 8vo.

[Histories of Canada by Dent, Withrow, Bryce, and Garneau; H. J. Morgan's Sketches of Celebrated Canadians; G. M. Rose's Cyclopædia of Canadian Biography; Appleton's American Biography; Canadian Parliamentary Reports for the period; Hincks's works.] G. P. M-y.

**HINCKS, THOMAS DIX, LL.D.** (1767–1857), Irish presbyterian divine, was born at Bachelor's Quay, Dublin, on 24 June 1767. His father, Edward Hincks (*d.* 1772), had removed in that year to Dublin from Chester. Dix was his mother's name. On her husband's early death she retained his post in the Dublin customs. Hincks was at school in Nantwich, Cheshire, and Dublin. Intended for medicine, he was articled in 1782 to a Dublin apothecary, but after two years he entered Trinity College, Dublin, to study for the ministry. Here he did not finish his course, but in September 1788 entered Hackney New College, under Price, Kippis, and Rees. Kippis recommended him as assistant to Samuel Perrott at Cork. He began his ministry there in 1790, but was not ordained till 1792 by the southern presbytery. In 1791 he opened a school, which he continued till 1803, when he became a member of the Royal Irish Academy, and a salaried officer of the Royal Cork Institution, of which he was the projector. He lectured on chemistry and natural philosophy (1810–13). He removed to Fermoy, co. Cork, in 1815, succeeding Dr. Adair as tutor of the Fermoy academy. There he formed (1818) a small presbyterian congregation which met in the court-house. From 1821 to 1836 he was classical headmaster in the Belfast Academical Institution, filling also from 1822 the chair of Hebrew in the collegiate department of the institution till the establishment of the Queen's College in 1849. Of most of the scientific societies of Ireland he was a member. On settling in Belfast he was admitted a member of the Antrim presbytery. His theology was Arian, but he avoided polemics, and was on intimate terms with men of all religious parties. In 1834 he was made LL.D. of Glasgow. He died after some years of broken health on 24 Feb. 1857 in Murray's Terrace, Belfast, and was buried in the churchyard of Killeleagh, co. Down, his eldest son's parish. His portrait has been engraved, and there is a memorial window to him in the First Presbyterian Church, Belfast. He married, in September 1791, Anne (*b.* 25 Nov. 1767; *d.* 6 March 1835), eldest daughter of William Boult of Chester, grandfather of Swinton Boult [q. v.] He had seven children, of whom five survived him. Edward and Francis, the eldest and youngest sons, are separately noticed. WILLIAM HINCKS (*b.* May 1794; *d.* 10 Sept. 1871) was minister at Cork (1815), Exeter (1816–22), and Renshaw Street, Liverpool (1822–7), professor of natural philosophy at Manchester College, York (1827–39), editor of the 'Inquirer' (1842–9), professor of natural history at Queen's College, Cork (1849–53) and at University College, Toronto (1853–71). Thomas (*b.* 1796; *d.* 28 March 1882) was archdeacon of Connor from 1865. John (*b.* 24 Feb. 1804; *d.* 5 Feb. 1831) was minister at Renshaw Street, Liverpool (1827–31). A daughter, Anne, died unmarried on 26 Aug. 1877 at Montreal.

Hincks published: 1. 'Letters . . . in answer to Paine's Age of Reason,' &c., Cork, 1795, 8vo; 2nd edit. 1796, 8vo. 2. 'A Plea for the Academical Institution,' &c., Belfast, 1823, 8vo. 3. 'An Introduction to Ancient Geography,' &c., Belfast, 1825, 8vo. 4. 'Rudiments of Greek Grammar,' &c., Belfast, 1825, 8vo, and several other school-books. While in Cork he edited the 'Munster Agricultural Magazine,' a quarterly, and wrote the article 'Ireland' and others on Irish topics for Rees' 'Cyclopædia.' He contributed papers to the 'Transactions of the Royal Irish Academy.'

[Memoir by W. B. [William Bruce] in Christian Reformer, 1857, pp. 228 sq.; Bible Christian, 1835, p. 144; Thom's Memoir of John Hincks, prefixed to Sermons, 1832; Belfast News-Letter,

Edit.,' 8vo, Cambridge, 1831. 5. 'A Digested Series of Examples in the applications of the Principles of the Differential Calculus,' 8vo, Cambridge, 1832. 6. 'The Principles and Practice of Arithmetic,' 8vo, Cambridge, 1832; 8th edit., with a new appendix of miscellaneous questions, 1856. 7. 'The Principles and Practice of Arithmetical Algebra, &c., 3rd edit.,' 8vo, Cambridge, 1855. 8. 'The Solutions of the Questions in the Principles and Practice of Arithmetic, 2nd edit.,' 12mo, Cambridge, 1856.

[Light Blue, ii. 120; information kindly supplied by the master of Sidney Sussex College; Cambr. Univ. Calendars; Hind's Works.] G. G.

**HINDE, WILLIAM** (1569?–1629), puritan divine, born at Kendal, Westmoreland, about 1569, entered Queen's College, Oxford, in Michaelmas term 1586 as a servitor, but was elected successively tabarder and perpetual fellow. He graduated B.A. on 2 July 1591 (Wood, *Fasti Oxon.* ed. Bliss, i. 254), and M.A. on 2 July 1594 (*ib.* i. 267). About 1603 he became perpetual curate of Bunbury, Cheshire, in which county, says Wood, he was 'esteemed the ringleader of the nonconformists during the time that Dr. Thomas Morton sate bishop of Chester, with whom he had several contests about conformity.' He was, in fact, in constant trouble through his so-called 'indifferency' (Barwick, *Life of Bishop Morton*, 1669, passim). Hinde died at Bunbury in June 1629, and was buried there.

A devoted admirer of John Rainolds, Hinde published the latter's 'Prophecie of Obadiah opened and applyed in sundry . . . sermons,' 4to, Oxford, 1613, and 'The Discovery of the Man of Sinne . . . preached in divers sermons,' 4to, Oxford, 1614. With J. Dod he revised and edited Robert Cleaver's 'Bathshebaes Instructions to her sonne Lemuel: containing a fruitfull . . . exposition of the last chapter of Proverbs,' 4to, London, 1614. His own writings include: 1. 'A Path to Pietie, leading to the Way, the Truth, and the Life, Christ Jesus,' 8vo, Oxford, 1613. 2. 'The Office and Use of the Moral Law of God in the days of the Gospel justified and explained at large,' &c., 4to, London, 1623. 3. 'A faithful Remonstrance: or the Holy Life and Happy Death of John Bruen of Bruen-Stapleford, in the County of Chester, Esq.,' 8vo, London, 1641, published by Hinde's son Samuel, who was chaplain to Charles II and incumbent of St. Mary's Church, Dover.

[Wood's Athenæ Oxon. ed. Bliss, ii. 461–24; B. Brook's Puritans, ii. 36; Brit. Mus. Cat.] G. G.

**HINDERWELL, THOMAS** (1744–1825), historian, eldest son of Thomas Hinderwell, a retired master-mariner and shipowner, of Scarborough, was born at Scarborough on 17 Nov. 1744. He received his early education in his native town and at Coxwold grammar school, near Helmsley, and while still young entered the merchant service, in which he remained till about 1775. In 1778 Hinderwell was elected a member of the corporation of Scarborough, and afterwards took a very active part in promoting the general interests of the port. In 1781 he was elected to the mayoralty of the borough, which office he also filled in 1784, 1790, and 1800. In 1816 he retired from the corporation. For a period of upwards of forty years Hinderwell was a staunch supporter of the Amicable Society, which in 1784 elected him as its president. He also rendered great assistance in the formation of the Scarborough Auxiliary Bible Society. He did much to establish the lifeboat; and when the claim of Henry Greathead [q. v.] to remuneration for this invention was referred to a committee of the House of Commons, Hinderwell's evidence was highly complimented by the Right Hon. George Rose, and is said to have carried great weight. Hinderwell died at his residence in Scarborough on 22 Oct. 1825, and was buried beneath a plain marble slab in the ground attached to St. Mary's Church, near the grammar school.

Hinderwell is chiefly known by his 'History of Scarborough,' of which the first edition appeared at York in 1798, 4to. A second edition, considerably augmented and improved, was published at London in 1811, with a dedication to his friend William Wilberforce, then M.P. for the county of York; a third edition was published at Scarborough in 1832. Bigland, in his 'Beauties of England,' calls Hinderwell's 'History of Scarborough' 'one of the most accurate and interesting works relating to this or any other part of England.' He also wrote 'Authentic Narratives of Affecting Shipwrecks,' 1799; 'Address to the Public on the Sabbath,' 1800; 'Remarks on the Times,' 1809; 'Lines descriptive of Scarborough,' 1823.

[Brief Memoir of T. Hinderwell, by B. Evans, prefixed to the third edition of the History of Scarborough, 1832; Bigland's Beauties of England.] W. C. S.

**HINDLE, JOHN** (1761–1796), vocalist and composer, born in 1761, was the son of Bartholomew Hindle of Westminster. It appears that after 1789 he owned some property at Tottenham in Middlesex. He was lay vicar of Westminster Abbey; matriculated 16 Nov

1791 at Magdalen College, Oxford, and, according to the title-pages of his works, graduated Mus.B. in that university. In August 1788 Hindle sang (counter-tenor) before members of the royal family at the Worcester musical festival: and in 1791 and 1792 he performed, chiefly in part songs, at the London Vocal Concerts. He died in 1796.

Hindle's best-known glee, 'Queen of the Silver Bow' (A. T. T. B.), and his 'Tell my Strephon' were published in the 'Professional Collection of Glees,' about 1790. His 'Set of Glees for Three, Four, and Five Voices,' Op. 2, to poetry by Pope, Horace (Atterbury), Ben Jonson, Cowley, Waller, &c., and a 'Collection of Songs for one or two Voices,' followed after he had taken his degree.

[Alumni Oxon.; Hist of Tottenham, App. i. p. 13; Annals of the Three Choirs, p. 71; Dict. of Musicians, 1827, i. 368; Grove's Dict. of Music, i. 740; Hindle's music in Brit. Mus. Library.] L. M. M.

**HINDLEY, JOHN HADDON** (1765–1827), oriental scholar, son of Charles Hindley, cloth mercer of Manchester, was born at that town in 1765, and educated at the Manchester grammar school. In 1785 he went to Brasenose College, Oxford, and in 1788 was elected a Hulme exhibitioner. He graduated B.A. 14 Jan. 1788 and M.A. on 11 Oct. 1790. Two years later he was appointed chaplain of Manchester Collegiate Church, and librarian of the Chetham Library. The latter position he resigned in 1804. He was an accomplished and learned man and had poetical abilities of no mean order. He was, however, reserved and crotchety, and from his complaining and querulous disposition was called 'the Book of Lamentations.' In his later years his mind gave way. He died unmarried at Clapham on 17 June 1827.

The circumstance that the Chetham Library possessed a number of valuable oriental manuscripts led Hindley to the study of Persian, and to the subsequent publication of the following works: 1. 'Persian Lyrics or scattered Poems from the Diwan-i-Hafiz, with paraphrases in Verse and Prose,' &c., 1800, 4to. 2. 'Extracts, Epitomes, and Translations from Asiatick Authors,' vol. i. 1807, 4to. 3. 'Pendeh-i-Attar: the Counsels of Attar, edited from a Persian Manuscript,' 1807 and 1814. 4. 'Resemblances Linear and Verbal, translated from Jami by F. Gladwin, edited by J. H. H.,' &c., 1811, 12mo.

[Smith's Manchester School Register (Chetham Soc.), i. 205; Thomas Wilson's Miscellanies (Chetham Soc.); Palatine Note-book, iv. 168; Foster's Alumni Oxon. p. 665; Brit. Mus. Cat.] C. W. S.

# INDEX

TO

## THE TWENTY-SIXTH VOLUME.


PAGE

**Henry II** (1133–1189) . . . . . 1
**Henry III** (1207–1272) . . . . . 12
**Henry IV** (1367–1413) . . . . . 31
**Henry V** (1387–1422) . . . . . 43
**Henry VI** (1421–1471) . . . . . 56
**Henry VII** (1457–1509) . . . . . 69
**Henry VIII** (1491–1547) . . . . . 76
**Henry of Scotland** (1114?–1152) . . . . 94
**Henry, heir of Henry II** (1155–1183) . . 95
**Henry of Cornwall, or of Almaine** (1235–1271) . . . . . 96
**Henry of Lancaster, Earl of Lancaster** (1281?–1345) . . . . . 100
**Henry of Lancaster, first Duke of Lancaster** (1299?–1361) . . . . . 101
**Henry Frederick, Prince of Wales** (1594–1612) . . . . . 106
Henry, Duke of Gloucester (1639–1660), styled sometimes Henry of Oatlands . . . 108
Henry Frederick, Duke of Cumberland and Strathearn (1745–1790) . . . . . 109
Henry Benedict Maria Clement, Cardinal York, styled by the Jacobites Henry IX (1725–1807) . . . . . 110
**Henry, Saint** (*fl.* 1150) . . . . . 111
**Henry of Abendon** (*d.* 1437) . . . . 112
**Henry of Blois** (*d.* 1171) . . . . . 112
Henry of Eastry (*d.* 1331) . . . . . 117
Henry of Huntingdon (1084?–1155) . . . 118
Henry of Marlborough or **Marleburgh** (*fl.* 1420) . . . . . 119
Henry the Minstrel, or **Blind Harry or Hary** (*fl.* 1470–1492) . . . . . 120
Henry of Saltrey (*fl.* 1150) . . . . . 122
Henry, James (1798–1876) . . . . . 122
Henry, Matthew (1662–1714) . . . . . 123
Henry, Philip (1631–1696) . . . . . 124
Henry, Robert (1718–1790) . . . . . 126
Henry, Thomas (1734–1816) . . . . . 127
Henry, Sir Thomas (1807–1876) . . . . 128
Henry, William, D.D. (*d.* 1768) . . . . 128
Henry, William 1774–1836 . . . . . 129
Henryson, Edward 1510?–1590?) . . . . 129
Henryson or Henderson, Robert (1430?–1506?) . . . . . 130
Henryson or Henderson, Sir Thomas, Lord Chesters (*d.* 1638) . . . . . 131
Hensey, Florence (*fl.* 1758) . . . . . 131
Henshall, Samuel (1764?–1807) . . . . 132
Henshaw, Joseph, D.D. (1603–1679) . . . 133
Henshaw, Nathaniel, M.D. (*d.* 1673) . . . 134
Henshaw, Thomas (1618–1700) . . . . 134
Henslow, John Stevens (1796–1861) . . . 135
Henslowe, Philip (*d.* 1616) . . . . . 136
Hensman, John (1780–1864) . . . . . 138
Henson, Gravener (1785–1852) . . . . 138
Henstridge, Daniel (*d.* 1736) . . . . . 139
**Henton or Heinton, Simon** (*fl.* 1360) . . 139

Henty, Edward (1808–1878) . . . . . [illegible]
Henwood, William Jory (1805–1875) . . . [illegible]
Hepburn, Francis, or Francis Ker (1779–1853) [illegible]
Hepburn, Francis Stewart, fifth Earl of Bothwell (*d.* 1624) . . . . . [illegible]
Hepburn, Sir George Buchan (1789–1819) . [illegible]
Hepburn, James, fourth Earl of Bothwell (1536?–1578) . . . . . [illegible]
Hepburn, James (1573–1620) . . . . . [illegible]
Hepburn, Sir James (*d.* 1637) . . . . . [illegible]
Hepburn, John (*d.* 1522) . . . . . [illegible]
Hepburn, Sir John (1598?–1636) . . . . [illegible]
Hepburn, Patrick, third Lord Hailes and first Earl of Bothwell (*d.* 1508) . . . . . 159
Hepburn, Patrick, third Earl of Bothwell (1512?–1556) . . . . . [illegible]
Hepburn, Patrick (*d.* 1573) . . . . . 162
Hepburn, Robert (1690?–1712) . . . . . 163
Herapath, John (1790–1868) . . . . . 163
Herapath, William (1796–1868) . . . . . 164
Herand, John Abraham (1789–1887) . . . 165
Herault, John (1566–1626) . . . . . 165
Herbert of Bosham (*fl.* 1162–1186) . . . 166
Herbert, Alfred (*d.* 1861) . . . . . 167
Herbert, Algernon (1792–1855) . . . . 168
Herbert, Anne, Countess of Pembroke and Montgomery (1590–1676). See Clifford, Anne.
Herbert, Arthur, Earl of Torrington (1647–1716) . . . . . 169
Herbert, Arthur John (1834–1856). See under Herbert, John Rogers.
Herbert, Cyril Wiseman (1847–1882) . . . 172
Herbert, Edward, first Lord Herbert of Cherbury (1583–1648) . . . . . 173
Herbert, Sir Edward (1591?–1657) . . . 181
Herbert, Edward, third Lord Herbert of Cherbury (*d.* 1678). See under Herbert, Edward, first Lord Herbert of Cherbury.
Herbert, Sir Edward, titular Earl of Portland (1648?–1698) . . . . . 183
Herbert, Edward, second Earl of Powis (1785–1848) . . . . . 184
Herbert, George (1593–1633) . . . . . 185
Herbert, George Augustus, eleventh Earl of Pembroke and eighth Earl of Montgomery (1759–1827) . . . . . 189
Herbert, Henry, second Earl of Pembroke (1534?–1601) . . . . . 189
Herbert, Sir Henry (1595–1673) . . . . 190
Herbert, Henry, fourth Lord Herbert of Cherbury (*d.* 1691). See under Herbert, Edward, first Lord Herbert of Cherbury.
Herbert, Henry, created Lord Herbert of Cherbury (1654–1709) . . . . . 193
Herbert, Henry, second Lord Herbert of Cherbury (*d.* 1738). See under Herbert, Henry, created Lord Herbert of Cherbury.

PAGE
Herbert, Henry, ninth Earl of Pembroke and sixth Earl of Montgomery (1693–1751) . 194
Herbert, Henry, tenth Earl of Pembroke and seventh of Montgomery (1734–1794) . . 194
Herbert, Henry Howard Molyneux, fourth Earl of Carnarvon (1831–1890) . . . 195
Herbert, Henry John George, third Earl of Carnarvon (1800–1849) . . . . 201
Herbert, Henry William (1807–1858), a writer under the name of Frank Forester . 202
Herbert, John Rogers (1810–1890) . . . 203
Herbert Losinga (*d.* 1119). See Losinga.
Herbert, Lady Lucy (1669–1744) . . . 204
Herbert, Mary, Countess of Pembroke (1555 ?–1621) . . . . . 204
Herbert, Sir Percy Egerton (1822–1876) . 207
Herbert, Philip, Earl of Montgomery and fourth Earl of Pembroke (1584–1650) . . 208
Herbert, Philip, fifth Earl of Pembroke (1619–1669). See under Herbert, Philip, Earl of Montgomery and fourth Earl of Pembroke.
Herbert, Philip, seventh Earl of Pembroke (1653–1683). See under Herbert, Philip, Earl of Montgomery and fourth Earl of Pembroke.
Herbert, Richard, second Lord Herbert of Cherbury (1600 ?–1655). See under Herbert, Edward, first Lord Herbert of Cherbury.
Herbert, St. Leger Algernon (1850–1885) . 212
Herbert, Sidney, first Lord Herbert of Lea (1810–1861) . . . . . 212
Herbert, Thomas (1597–1642 ?) . . . 214
Herbert, Sir Thomas (1606–1682) . . . 215
Herbert, Thomas, eighth Earl of Pembroke (1656–1733) . . . . . 217
Herbert, Sir Thomas (1793–1861) . . . 217
Herbert, William (*d.* 1333 ?) . . . . 218
Herbert, Sir William, Earl of Pembroke (*d.* 1469) . . . . . 218
Herbert, William, second Earl of Pembroke, and afterwards Earl of Huntingdon (1460–1491). See under Herbert, Sir William, Earl of Pembroke (*d.* 1469).
Herbert, Sir William, first Earl of Pembroke of the second creation (1501 ?–1570) . . 220
Herbert or Harbert, Sir William (*d.* 1593) . 223
Herbert or Harbert, William (*fl.* 1604) . . 225
Herbert, William, third Earl of Pembroke (1580–1630) . . . . . 226
Herbert, William (*fl.* 1634–1662). See under Herbert or Harbert, William.
Herbert, William, first Marquis and titular Duke of Powis (1617–1696) . . . 231
Herbert, William, second Marquis and titular Duke of Powis (*d.* 1745) . . . . 232
Herbert, William (1718–1795) . . . 232
Herbert, William (1778–1847) . . . 234
Herbert, William (1771–1851) . . . 235
Herbison, David (1800–1880) . . . . 235
Herd, David (1732–1810) . . . . 236
Herd, John, M.D. (1512 ?–1588) . . . 237
Herdman, John, M.D. (1762 ?–1842) . . 237
Herdman, Robert (1829–1888) . . . 237
Herdman, William Gawin (1805–1882) . . 238
Herdson, Henry (*fl.* 1651) . . . . 239
Herebert or Herbert, Saint (*d.* 687) . . 239
Hereford, Duke of. See Henry IV.
Hereford, Earls of. See Bohun, Henry de, first Earl (of the Bohun line) (1176–1220); Bohun, Humphrey de, second Earl (*d.* 1274); Bohun, Humphrey de, third Earl (*d.* 1298); Bohun, Humphrey de, fourth Earl (1276–1322); Fitzosbern, William (*d.* 1071); Fitzwilliam, Roger, *alias* Roger de Breteuil (*fl.* 1071–1075); Gloucester, Miles de (*d.* 1143).
Hereford, Viscount. See Devereux, Walter (*d.* 1558).
Herewald (*d.* 1104) . . . . . 239
Hereward (*fl.* 1070–1071) the Wake . . 240
Herfast, known to the Normans as Arfast (*d.* 1084 ?) . . . . . 242
Hericke. See also Herrick and Heyrick.
Hericke or Herrick, Sir William (1557–1653) . 243
Hering, George Edwards (1805–1879) . . 244
Heriot, George (1563–1624) . . . . 244
Heriot, John (1760–1833) . . . . 246
Herks, Garbrand (*fl.* 1560). See under Garbrand, John (1542–1589).
Herks, *alias* Garbrand, John, D.D. (1542–1589). See Garbrand.
Herle, Charles (1598–1659) . . . . 246
Herle, William de (*d.* 1347) . . . . 248
Herlewin (*d.* 1137). See Ethelmær.
Hermann (*fl.* 1070) . . . . . 249
Hermann (*d.* 1078) . . . . . 249
Herne, John (*fl.* 1644) . . . . . 250
Herne, John (*fl.* 1660). See under Herne, John (*fl.* 1644).
Herne, Thomas (*d.* 1722) . . . . 250
Heron, Haly (*fl.* 1565–1585) . . . 251
Heron, Sir Richard (1726–1805) . . . 251
Heron, Robert (1764–1807) . . . . 251
Heron, Sir Robert (1765–1854) . . . 252
Herrick. See also Hericke and Heyrick.
Herrick, Robert (1591–1674) . . . . 253
Herries, Lord. See Maxwell.
Herries, Sir Charles John (1815–1883) . . 255
Herries, John Charles (1778–1855) . . 255
Herring, Francis, M.D. (*d.* 1628) . . . 258
Herring, John Frederick (1795–1865) . . 258
Herring, Julines (1582–1644) . . . . 259
Herring, Thomas (1693–1757) . . . 259
Herring, William (*d.* 1774). See under Herring, Thomas.
Herschel, Caroline Lucretia (1750–1848). 260
Herschel, Sir John Frederick William (1792–1871) . . . . . 263
Herschel, Sir William (1738–1822) . . . 268
Herschell, Ridley Haim (1807–1864) . . 274
Herschell, Solomon (1761–1842). See Hirschel.
Hershon, Paul Isaac (1817–1888) . . . 275
Hert, Henry (*fl.* 1549). See Hart.
Hertelpoll or Hartlepool, Hugh of (*d.* 1302 ?) . 275
Hertford, Marquis of. See Seymour, William (1586–1660); Conway, Francis Seymour (1719–1794).
Hertford, Earls of. See Clare, Gilbert de, seventh Earl (of the Clare family) (1243–1295); Clare, Gilbert de, eighth Earl (1291–1314); Clare, Richard de, said to be first Earl (*d.* 1136 ?); Clare, Richard de, sixth Earl (1222–1262); Clare, Roger de, third Earl (*d.* 1173); Seymour, Edward (1538–1621).
Hertslet, Lewis (1787–1870) . . . . 275
Hervey or Hervæus (*d.* 1131) . . . . 276
Hervey, Augustus John, third Earl of Bristol (1724–1779) . . . . . 277
Hervey, Carr, Lord Hervey (1691–1723). See under Hervey, John, first Earl of Bristol.
Hervey, Frederick Augustus, D.D., fourth Earl of Bristol (1730–1803) . . . 279

PAGE
Hervey, George William, second Earl of Bristol (1721–1775) . . . . . 282
Hervey, James (1714–1758) . . . . . 282
Hervey, James, M.D. (1751 ?–1824) . . . 284
Hervey, John (1616–1679) . . . . . 284
Hervey, John, Lord Hervey of Ickworth (1696–1743) . . . . . 284
Hervey, John, first Earl of Bristol (1665–1751) 288
Hervey, Mary, Lady (1700–1768) . . . . 289
Hervey, Thomas (1698–1775) . . . . . 290
Hervey, Thomas Kibble (1799–1859) . . . 291
Hervey, William (*d.* 1567). See Harvey, William.
Hervey, William, Lord Hervey of Kidbrooke (*d.* 1642) . . . . . 292
Heseltine, James (1690–1763) . . . . . 292
Hesilrige or Haselrig, Sir Arthur (*d.* 1661) . 292
Hesketh, Harriet, Lady (1733–1807) . . . 296
Hesketh, Henry (1637 ?–1710) . . . . 296
Hesketh, Sir Peter (1801–1866). See Fleetwood, Sir Peter Hesketh.
Hesketh, Richard (1562–1593) . . . . 296
Hesketh, Roger, D.D. (1643–1715) . . . . 297
Hesketh or Hasket, Thomas (1561–1613) . 297
Heskyns or Heskin, Thomas, D.D. (*fl.* 1566) . 297
Heslop, Luke (1738–1825) . . . . . 298
Heslop, Thomas Pretious (1823–1885) . . . 298
Hesse-Homburg, Landgravine of (1770–1840). See Elizabeth, Princess.
Hessel, Phœbe (1713 ?–1821) . . . . . 298
Hester, John (*d.* 1593) . . . . . 298
Heston, Walter (*fl.* 1350) . . . . . 299
Hetherington, Henry (1792–1849) . . . . 299
Hetherington, William Maxwell (1803–1865) 300
Heton, Martin, D.D. (1552–1609) . . . . 301
Heton, Thomas (*fl.* 1573). See under Heton, Martin, D.D.
Heugh, Hugh, D.D. (1782–1846) . . . . 301
Heveningham, William (1604–1678) . . . 302
Hewett, Sir George (1750–1840) . . . . 303
Hewett, Sir William (*d.* 1567) . . . . 304
Hewett, Sir William Nathan Wrighte (1834–1888) . . . . . 305
Hewit or Hewett, John (1614–1658) . . . 306
Hewitson, William Chapman (1806–1878) . 307
Hewitt, James, Viscount Lifford (1709–1789) 308
Hewitt, John (1719–1802) . . . . . 308
Hewitt, John (1807–1878) . . . . . 309
Hewlett, Ebenezer (*fl.* 1747) . . . . . 309
Hewlett, James (1789–1836) . . . . . 309
Hewlett, John (1762–1844) . . . . . 310
Hewlett, Joseph Thomas James (1800–1847) . 310
Hewley, Sarah, Lady (1627–1710) . . . . 310
Hewson, John (*d.* 1662) . . . . . 311
Hewson, William (1739–1774) . . . . . 312
Hewson, William (1806–1870) . . . . . 313
Hexham, John of (*d.* 1160). See John.
Hey, John (1734–1815) . . . . . 314
Hey, Richard (1745–1835) . . . . . 314
Hey, William (1736–1819) . . . . . 315
Hey, William (1772–1844). See under Hey, William (1736–1819).
Hey, William (1796–1875). See under Hey, William (1736–1819).
Heydon, Sir Christopher (*d.* 1623) . . . . 316
Heydon, Sir Henry (*d.* 1503) . . . . . 316
Heydon, Sir John (*d.* 1653) . . . . . 317
Heydon, John (*fl.* 1667) . . . . . 317
Heylyn, John (1685 ?–1759) . . . . . 318
Heylyn, Peter (1600–1662) . . . . . 319
Heylyn or Heylin, Rowland (1562 ?–1631) . 323
Heyman, Sir Peter (1580–1641) . . . . 324
Heynes, Simon (*d.* 1552) . . . . . 325
PAGE
Heyrick, Richard (1600–1667) . . . . 325
Heyrick, Thomas (*d.* 1694) . . . . . 327
Heysham, John, M.D. (1753–1834) . . . 327
Heytesbury, William (*fl.* 1340) . . . . 327
Heytesbury, Baron, William A'Court (1779–1860) . . . . . 328
Heyther, William (*d.* 1627). See Heather.
Heywood, Sir Benjamin (1793–1865) . . . 328
Heywood, Eliza (1693 ?–1756). See Haywood.
Heywood, Ellis or Elizæus (1530–1578) . . 329
Heywood, James (1687–1776) . . . . 329
Heywood, Jasper, D.D. (1535–1598) . . . 329
Heywood, John (1497 ?–1580 ?) . . . . 331
Heywood, Nathaniel (1633–1677) . . . . 334
Heywood, Nathaniel, the younger (1659–1704). See under Heywood, Nathaniel (1633–1677).
Heywood, Oliver (1630–1702) . . . . 334
Heywood, Peter (1773–1831) . . . . . 336
Heywood, Robert (1574 ?–1645) . . . . 337
Heywood, Samuel (1753–1828) . . . . 338
Heywood, Thomas (*d.* 1650 ?) . . . . 338
Heywood, Thomas (1797–1866) . . . . 342
Hibbart or Hibbert, William (*fl.* 1760–1800) 342
Hibberd, Shirley (1825–1890) . . . . 342
Hibbert, George (1757–1837) . . . . . 343
Hibbert, Henry (1600 ?–1678) . . . . 343
Hibbert, Robert (1770–1849) . . . . . 344
Hibbert-Ware, Samuel (1782–1848) . . . 344
Hibbs, Richard (1812 ?–1886) . . . . 345
Hibernicus, Thomas (*fl.* 1310). See Thomas.
Hickeringill or Hickhorngill, Edmund (1631–1708) . . . . . 346
Hickes, Francis (1566–1631) . . . . . 349
Hickes, Gaspar (1605–1677) . . . . . 349
Hickes, George (1642–1715) . . . . . 350
Hickes or Hicks, John (1633–1685) . . . 354
Hickes, Thomas (1599–1634). See under Hickes, Francis.
Hickey, Antony (*d.* 1641) . . . . . 355
Hickey, John (1756–1795). See under Hickey, Thomas.
Hickey, Thomas (*fl.* 1760–1790) . . . . 356
Hickey, William (1787 ?–1875) . . . . 356
Hickman, Charles, D.D. (1648–1713) . . . 357
Hickman, Francis (*fl.* 1690) . . . . . 357
Hickman, Henry (*d.* 1692) . . . . . 357
Hicks or Hickes, Baptist, first Viscount Campden (1551–1629) . . . . . 358
Hicks, Sir Michael (1543–1612) . . . . 359
Hicks, William (1621–1660) . . . . . 360
Hicks, William, called Captain Hicks (*fl.* 1671) 360
Hicks, William, commonly known as Hicks Pasha (1830–1883) . . . . . 360
Hicks, William Robert (1808–1868) . . . 361
Hickson, William Edward (1803–1870) . . . 362
Hieover, Harry (1795–1859). See Bindley, Charles.
Hieron, Samuel (1576 ?–1617) . . . . 362
Hiffernan, Paul (1719–1777) . . . . . 363
Higbert or Hygebryht (*fl.* 787) . . . . 364
Higden, Henry (*fl.* 1693) . . . . . 365
Higden, Ranulf (*d.* 1364) . . . . . 365
Higden, William (*d.* 1715) . . . . . 366
Higford, William (1581 ?–1657) . . . . 366
Higgins, Bryan, M.D. (1737 ?–1820) . . . 366
Higgins, Charles Longuet (1806–1885) . . 367
Higgins, Francis (1669–1728) . . . . 367
Higgins, Francis (1746–1802) . . . . 368
Higgins, Godfrey (1773–1833) . . . . 368
Higgins, John (*fl.* 1570–1602) . . . . 369
Higgins, Matthew James (1810–1868) . . . 370
Higgins, William (*d.* 1825) . . . . . 371

# Index to Volume XXVI.


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